

REPORT AND TESTIMONY

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES OF

THE REMOVAL OF THE NEGROES FROM THE SOUTHERN
STATES TO THE NORTHERN STATES.

IN THREE PARTS.

PART I.

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COMMITTEE.

DANIEL W. VOORHEES, CHAIRMAN,

ZEBULON B. VANCE,

GEORGE H. PENDLETON,

WILLIAM WINDOM,

HENRY W. BLAIR.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE 1, 1880.—Ordered to be printed.

Mr. VANCE, from the Committee to Investigate the Causes which have led to the Emigration of Negroes from the Southern to Northern States, submitted the following

REPORT:

The Select Committee, appointed by the Senate to investigate the causes which have led to the migration of the negroes from the Southern States to the Northern States, having duly considered the same, beg leave to submit the following report :

On the 18th day of December, 1879, the Senate passed the following resolution :

Whereas large numbers of negroes from the Southern States are emigrating to the Northern States; and

Whereas it is currently alleged that they are induced to do so by the unjust and cruel conduct of their white fellow-citizens towards them in the South, and by the denial or abridgment of their personal and political rights and privileges: There fore,

Be it resolved, That a committee of five members of this body be appointed by its presiding officer, wh ose duty it shall be to investigate the causes which have led to the afore-said emigration, and to report the same to the Senate; and said committee shall have power to send for persons and papers, and to sit at any time.

In obedience to this resolution the committee proceeded to take testimony on the 19th day of January, and continuing from time to time until 153 witnesses had been examined, embracing persons from the States of North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Missouri, Kansas, and Indiana. Much of this testimony is of such a character as would not be received in a court of justice, being hearsay, the opinions of witnesses, &c., but we received it with a view to ascertaining, if possible, the real state of facts in regard to the condition of the Southern colored people, their opinions and feelings, and the feelings and opinions of their white neighbors. We think it clearly established from the testimony that the following may be said to be the causes which have induced this migration of the colored people from various portions of the South to Northern States, chiefly to Kansas and Indiana: That from North Carolina, the State to which we first directed our attention, was undoubtedly induced in a great degree by Northern politicians, and by negro leaders in their employ, and in the employ of railroad lines.

Examining particularly into the condition of the colored men in that State, it was disclosed by the testimony of whites and blacks, Republicans and Democrats, that the causes of discontent among those people could not have arisen from any deprivation of their political rights or any hardship in their condition. A minute examination into their

situation shows that the average rate of wages, according to the age and strength of the hand for field labor, was from eight to fifteen dollars per month, including board, and house to live in, garden and truck patches around the house, fire-wood, and certain other privileges, all rent free.

These, added to the extra labor which could be earned by hands during the season of gathering turpentine and resin, or of picking cotton, made the general average of compensation for labor in that State quite equal to if not better than in any Northern State to which these people were going, to say nothing of the climate of North Carolina, which was infinitely better adapted to them.

The closest scrutiny could detect no outrage or violence inflicted upon their political rights in North Carolina for many years past. They all testified that they voted freely; that their votes were counted fairly; that no improper influence whatsoever was exerted over them; and many were acquiring real estate, and were enjoying the same privileges of education for their children, precisely, that the whites were enjoying.

It was also disclosed by the testimony that there existed aid societies in the city of Washington, in the city of Topeka, Kans., Indianapolis, and elsewhere throughout the West, whose avowed object was to furnish aid to colored men migrating to the West and North; and notwithstanding that the agents and members of these societies generally disclaimed that it was their intention to induce any colored men to leave their homes, but only to aid in taking care of them after they had arrived, yet it was established undeniably, not only that the effect of these societies and of the aid extended by them operated to cause the exodus originally, but that they stimulated it directly by publishing and distributing among the colored men circulars artfully designed and calculated to stir up discontent. Every single member, agent, friend, or sympathizer with these societies and their purposes were ascertained to belong to the Republican party, and generally to be active members thereof. Some of the circulars contained the grossest misrepresentation of facts, and in almost all cases the immigrants expected large aid from the government of clothes, or land, or money, or free transportation, or something of that kind. Hundreds of them, on given days at various points in the South, crowded to the depots or to the steamboat landings upon a rumor that free transportation was to be furnished to all who would go. It was also disclosed by the testimony on the part of some very candid and intelligent witnesses that their object in promoting this exodus of the colored people was purely political. They thought it would be well to remove a sufficient number of blacks from the South, where their votes could not be made to tell, into close States in the North, and thus turn the scale in favor of the Republican party.

Wages, rents, method of cropping on shares, &c., were inquired into in all of the Southern States mentioned, and the fact ascertained that the aggregate was about the same as in North Carolina. In most of the Southern States where wages were higher than in North Carolina expenses were also higher, so that the aggregate, as before stated, was about the same.

One cause of complaint alleged as a reason for this exodus of the colored people from the South was their mistreatment in the courts of justice. Directing our attention to this the committee have ascertained that in many of the districts of the South the courts were under entire Republican control—judges, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs, &c., and that there were generally as many complaints from districts thus controlled as there were from districts which were under the control of the

Democratic officials; and that the whole of the complaints taken together might be said to be such as are generally made by the ignorant who fail to receive in courts what they think is justice.

Your committee found no State or county in the South, into which this investigation extended, where colored men were excluded from juries either in theory or in practice; they found no county or district in the South where they were excluded, either in theory or practice, from their share in the management of county affairs and of the control of county government. On the contrary, whenever their votes were in a majority we found that the officers were most generally divided among the black people, or among white people of their choice. Frequently we found the schools to be controlled by them, especially that portion of the school fund which was allotted to their race, and the complaints which had been so often made of excessive punishment of the blacks by the courts as compared with the whites, upon investigation in nearly all cases, proved to be either unfounded in fact or that if there was an apparent excess of punishment of a black man the cause was ascertained to be in the nature of the crime with which he was charged, or the attendant circumstances.

The educational advantages in the South, the committee regret to say, were found to be insufficient, and far inferior to those of most of the States of the North, but such as they were we found in every case that the blacks had precisely the same advantages that the whites enjoyed; that the school fund was divided among them according to numbers; that their teachers were quite as good, and chosen with as much care; that their schools existed as many months in the year; in short, the same facilities were afforded to the blacks as were to the whites in this respect; and that these schools were generally supported by the voluntary taxation imposed by the legislatures composed of white men, levied upon their own property for the common benefit.

With regard to political outrages which have formed the staple of complaint for many years against the people of the South, your committee diligently inquired, and have to report that they found nothing or almost nothing new. Many old stories were revived and dwelt upon by zealous witnesses, but very few indeed ventured to say that any considerable violence or outrage had been exhibited toward the colored people of the South within the last few years, and still fewer of all those who testified upon this subject, and who were evidently anxious to make the most of it, testified to anything as within their own knowledge. It was all hearsay, and nothing but hearsay, with rare exceptions.

Many of the witnesses before us were colored politicians, men who make their living by politics, and whose business it was to stir up feeling between the whites and blacks; keep alive the embers of political hatred; and were men of considerable intelligence, so that what they failed to set forth of outrages perpetrated against their race may be safely assumed not to exist. Many, on the contrary, were intelligent, sober, industrious, and respectable men, who testified to their own condition, the amount of property that they had accumulated since their emancipation, the comfort in which they lived, the respect with which they were regarded by their white neighbors. These universally expressed the opinion that all colored men who would practice equal industry and sobriety could have fared equally well; and in fact their own condition was ample proof of the treatment of the colored people by the whites of the South, and of their opportunities to thrive, if they were so determined. Some of these men owned so much as a thousand acres of real estate in the best portions of the South; many of them had tenants

of their own, white men, occupying their premises and paying them rent; and your committee naturally arrived at the conclusion that if one black man could attain to this degree of prosperity and respectable citizenship, others could, having the same capacity for business and practicing the same sobriety and industry.

Your committee also directed their attention to the complaints frequently made with regard to the laws passed in various States of the South relating to landlord and tenant, and to the system adopted by many planters for furnishing their tenants and laborers with supplies. We found, upon investigation of these laws, and of the witnesses in relation to their operation, that as a general rule they were urgently called for by the circumstances in which the South found itself after the war. The universal adoption of homestead and personal property exemption laws deprived poor men of credit, and the landlord class, for its own protection, procured the passage of these laws giving them a lien upon the crop made by the tenant until his rents and his supplies furnished for the subsistence of the tenant and his family had been paid and discharged; and while upon the surface these laws appeared to be hard and in favor of the landlord, they were, as was actually testified by many intelligent witnesses, quite as much or more in favor of the tenant, as it enabled him to obtain credit, to subsist himself and his family, and to make a crop without any means whatsoever but his own labor. It was alleged also that in many instances landlords, or if not landlords then merchants, would establish country stores for furnishing supplies to laborers and tenants, and the laborer, having no money to go elsewhere or take the natural advantage of competition, was forced to buy at these stores at exorbitant prices.

Your committee regret to say that they found it to be frequently the case that designing men, or bad and dishonest men, would take advantage of the ignorance or necessity of the negroes to obtain these exorbitant prices; but at the same time your committee is not aware of any spot on earth where the cunning and the unscrupulous do not take advantage of the ignorant; and cannot regard it as a sufficient cause for these black people leaving their homes and going into distant States and among strangers unless they had a proper assurance that the States to which they were going contained no dishonest men, or men who would take such advantage of them. Your committee feel bound to say, however, in justice to the planters of the South, that this abuse is not at all general nor frequent; and that as a general rule while exorbitant prices are exacted sometimes from men in the situation of the blacks, yet the excuse for it is the risk which planter and merchant run. Should a bad crop year come, should the Army worm devour the cotton, or any other calamity come upon the crop, the landlord is without his rent, the storekeeper is without his pay, and worse than all the laborer is without any means of subsistence for the next year. It is hoped and believed that when the heretofore disturbed condition of the people of the South settles down into regularity and order, the natural laws of trade and competition will assert themselves and this evil will be to a great extent remedied, whilst the diffusion of education among the colored people will enable them to keep their own accounts and hold a check upon those who would act dishonestly towards them.

On the whole, your committee express the positive opinion that the condition of the colored people of the South is not only as good as could have been reasonably expected, but is better than if large communities were transferred to a colder and more inhospitable climate, thrust into competition with a different system of labor, among strangers

who are not accustomed to them, their ways, habits of thought and action, their idiosyncrasies, and their feelings. While a gradual migration, such as circumstances dictate among the white races, might benefit the individual black man and his family as it does those of the whites, we cannot but regard this wholesale attempt to transfer a people without means and without intelligence, from the homes of their nativity in this manner, as injurious to the people of the South, injurious to the people and the labor-system of the State where they go, and, more than all, injurious to the last degree to the black people themselves. That there is much in their condition to be deplored in the South no one will deny; that that condition is gradually and steadily improving in every respect is equally true. That there have been clashing of the races in the South, socially and politically, is never to be denied nor to be wondered at; but when we come to consider the method in which these people were freed, as the result of a bitter and desolating civil war; and that for purposes of party politics these incompetent, ignorant, landless, homeless people, without any qualifications of citizenship, without any of the ties of property or the obligations of education, were suddenly thrown into political power, and the effort was made not only to place them upon an equality with their late masters, but to absolutely place them in front and hold them there by legislation, by military violence, and by every other means that could possibly be resorted to; when we consider these things, no philosophical mind can behold their present condition, and the present comparative state of peace and amity between the two races, without wonder that their condition is as good as it is.

No man can behold this extraordinary spectacle of two people attempting to reconcile themselves in spite of the interference of outsiders, and to live in harmony, to promote each other's prosperity in spite of the bitter animosities which the sudden elevation of the one has engendered, without the liveliest hope that if left to themselves the condition of the former subject race will still more rapidly improve, and that the best results may be reasonably and fairly expected.

Your committee is further of the opinion that all the attempts of legislation; that all the inflammatory appeals of politicians upon the stump and through the newspapers; that the wild and misdirected philanthropy of certain classes of our citizens; that these aid societies, and all other of the influences which are so industriously brought to bear to disturb the equanimity of the colored people of the South and to make them discontented with their position, are doing them a positive and almost incalculable injury, to say nothing of pecuniary losses which have thus been inflicted upon Southern communities.

Your committee is further of opinion that Congress having enacted all the legislation for the benefit of the colored people of the South which under the Constitution it can enact, and having seen that all the States of the South have done the same; that by the Constitution of the United States and the constitutions of the various States these people are placed upon a footing of perfect equality before the law, and given the chance to work out their own civilization and improvement, any further attempts at legislation or agitation of the subject will but excite in them hopes of exterior aid that will be disappointing to them, and will prevent them from working out diligently and with care their own salvation; that the sooner they are taught to depend upon themselves, the sooner they will learn to take care of themselves; the sooner they are taught to know that their true interest is promoted by culti-

wating the friendship of their white neighbors instead of their enmity, the sooner they will gain that friendship; and that friendship and harmony once fully attained, there is nothing to bar the way to their speedy civilization and advancement in wealth and prosperity, except such as hinder all people in that great work.

D. W. VOORHEES.

Z. B. VANCE.

GEO. H. PENDLETON.

Mr. WINDOM, from the Committee to Investigate the Causes which have led to the Emigration of Negroes from the Southern to the Northern States, submitted the following

REPORT OF THE MINORITY.

The undersigned, a minority of the committee appointed under resolution of the Senate of December 15, 1879, to investigate the causes which have led to the emigration of negroes from the Southern to the Northern States, submit the following report:

In the month of December last a few hundred colored men, women, and children, discontented with their condition in North Carolina, and hoping to improve it, were emigrating to Indiana.

This movement, though utterly insignificant in comparison with the vastly greater numbers which were moving from other Southern States into Kansas, seemed to be considered of very much more importance, in certain quarters, on account of its alleged political purposes and bearing. The theory upon which the investigation was asked was that the emigration into the State of Indiana was the result of a conspiracy on the part of Northern leaders of the Republican party to colonize that State with negroes for political purposes. The utter absurdity of this theory should have been apparent to everybody, for if the Republican party, or its leaders, proposed to import negroes into Indiana for political purposes, why take them from North Carolina? Why import them from a State where the Republicans hope and expect to carry the election, when there were thousands upon thousands ready and anxious to come from States certainly Democratic. Why transport them by rail at heavy expense half way across the continent when they could have taken them from Kentucky without any expense, or brought them up the Mississippi River by steamers at merely nominal cost? Why send twenty-five thousand to Kansas to swell her 40,000 Republican majority, and only seven or eight hundred to Indiana? These considerations brand with falsehood and folly the charge that the exodus was a political movement induced by Northern partisan leaders. And yet to prove this absurd proposition the committee devoted six months of hard and fruitless labor, during which they examined one hundred and fifty-nine witnesses, selected from all parts of the country, mainly with reference to their supposed readiness to prove said theory, expended over \$30,000, and filled three large volumes of testimony.

The undersigned feel themselves authorized to say that there is no evidence whatever even tending to sustain the charge that the Republican party, or any of its leaders, have been instrumental, either directly or indirectly, in aiding or encouraging these people to come from their homes in the South to any of the Northern States. A good deal of complaint was made that certain "aid societies" in the North had encouraged and aided this migration, and a futile attempt was made to prove that these societies were acting in the interest of the Republican party. Upon inquiry, however, it was ascertained that their purposes

were purely charitable and had no connection whatever with any political motive or movement. They were composed almost wholly of colored people, and were brought into existence solely to afford temporary relief to the destitute and suffering emigrants who had already come into the Northern and Western States.

In the spring of 1879 thousands of colored people, unable longer to endure the intolerable hardships, injustice, and suffering inflicted upon them by a class of Democrats in the South, had, in utter despair, fled panic-stricken from their homes and sought protection among strangers in a strange land. Homeless, penniless, and in rags, these poor people were thronging the wharves of Saint Louis, crowding the steamers on the Mississippi River, and in pitiable destitution throwing themselves upon the charity of Kansas. Thousands more were congregating along the banks of the Mississippi River, hailing the passing steamers, and imploring them for a passage to the land of freedom, where the rights of citizens are respected and honest toil rewarded by honest compensation. The newspapers were filled with accounts of their destitution, and the very air was burdened with the cry of distress from a class of American citizens flying from persecutions which they could no longer endure. Their piteous tales of outrage, suffering and wrong touched the hearts of the more fortunate members of their race in the North and West, and aid societies, designed to afford temporary relief, and composed largely, almost wholly, of colored people, were organized in Washington, Saint Louis, Topeka, and in various other places. That they were organized to induce migration for political purposes, or to aid or encourage these people to leave their homes for any purpose, or that they ever contributed one dollar to that end, is utterly untrue, and there is absolutely nothing in the testimony to sustain such a charge. Their purposes and objects were purely charitable. They found a race of wretched, miserable people flying from oppression and wrong, and they sought to relieve their distress. The refugees were hungry, and they fed them; in rags, and they clothed them; homeless and they sheltered them; destitute, and they found employment for them—only this and nothing more.

The real origin of the exodus movement and the organizations at the South which have promoted it are very clearly stated by the witnesses who have been most active in regard to it.

Henry Adams, of Shreveport, Louisiana, an uneducated colored laborer, but a man of very unusual natural abilities, and, so far as the committee could learn, entirely reliable and truthful, states that he entered the United States Army in 1866 and remained in it until 1869; that when he left the Army he returned to his former home at Shreveport, and, finding the condition of his race intolerable, he and a number of other men who had also been in the Army set themselves to work to better the condition of their people.

In 1870—

He says—

a parcel of us got together and said we would organize ourselves into a committee and look into affairs and see the true condition of our race, to see whether it was possible we could stay under a people who held us in bondage or not.

That committee increased until it numbered about five hundred, and Mr. Adams says:

Some of the members of the committee was ordered by the committee to go into every State in the South where we had been slaves, and post one another from time to time, about the true condition of our race, and nothing but the truth.

In answer to the question whether they traveled over various States he said :

Yes, sir; and we worked, some of us, worked our way from place to place, and went from State to State and worked—some of them did—amongst our people, in the fields, everywhere, to see what sort of a living our people lived—whether we could live in the South amongst the people that held us as slaves or not. We continued that on till 1874.

Every one paid his own expenses, except the one we sent to Louisiana and Mississippi. We took money out of our pockets and sent him, and said to him you must now go to work. You can't find out anything till you get amongst them. You can talk as much as you please, but you have got to go right into the field and work with them and sleep with them to know all about them.

I think about one hundred or one hundred and fifty went from one place or another.

Q. What was the character of the information that they gave you?—A. Well, the character of the information they brought to us was very bad, sir.

Q. Do you remember any of these reports that you got from members of your committee?—A. Yes, sir; they said in several parts where they was that the land rent was still higher there in that part of the country than it was where we first organized it, and the people was still being whipped, some of them, by the old owners, the men that had owned them as slaves, and some of them was being cheated out of their crops just the same as they was there.

Q. Was anything said about their personal and political rights in these reports as to how they were treated?—A. Yes; some of them stated that in some parts of the country where they voted they would be shot. Some of them stated that if they voted the Democratic ticket they would not be injured.

Q. Now, let us understand more distinctly, before we go any further, the kind of people who composed that association. The committee, as I understand you, was composed entirely of laboring people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did it include any politicians of either color, white or black?—A. No politicianers didn't belong to it, because we didn't allow them to know nothing about it, because we was afraid that if we allowed the colored politicianer to belong to it he would tell it to the Republican politicianers, and from that the men that was doing all this to us would get hold of it too, and then get after us.

Q. About what time did you lose all hope and confidence that your condition could be tolerable in the Southern States?—A. Well, we never lost all hopes in the world till 1877.

Q. Why did you lose all hope in that year?—A. Well, we found ourselves in such condition that we looked around and we seed that there was no way on earth, it seemed, that we could better our condition there, and we discussed that thoroughly in our organization in May. We said that the whole South—every State in the South—had got into the hands of the very men that held us slaves—from one thing to another—and we thought that the men that held us slaves was holding the reins of government over our heads in every respect almost, even the constable up to the governor. We felt we had almost as well be slaves under these men. In regard to the whole matter that was discussed it came up in every council. Then we said there was no hope for us and we had better go.

Q. You say, then, that in 1877 you lost all hope of being able to remain in the South, and you began to think of moving somewhere else?—A. Yes; we said we was going if we had to run away and go into the woods.

Q. About how many did this committee consist of before you organized your council? Give us the number as near as you can tell.—A. As many as five hundred in all.

Q. The committee, do you mean?—A. Yes; the committee has been that large.

Q. What was the largest number reached by your colonization council, in your best judgment?—A. Well, it is not exactly five hundred men belonging to the council that we have in our council, but they all agreed to go with us and enroll their names with us from time to time, so that they have now got at this time ninety-eight thousand names enrolled.

Q. Then through that council, as sort of subscribers to its purpose and acts and for carrying out its objects, there were ninety-eight thousand names?—A. Yes; ninety-eight thousand names enrolled.

Q. In what parts of the country were these ninety-eight thousand people scattered?—A. Well, some in Louisiana—the majority of them in Louisiana—and some in Texas, and some in Arkansas. We joins Arkansas.

Q. Were there any in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir; a few in Mississippi.

Q. And a few in Alabama?—A. Yes, sir; a few in Alabama, too.

Q. Did the organization extend at all into other States farther away?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Have you members in all the Southern States?—A. Not in every one, but in a great many of the others.

Q. Are these members of that colonization council in communication as to the condition of your race, and as to the best thing to be done to alleviate their troubles?—A. O, yes.

Q. What do you know about inducements being held out from politicians of the North, or from politicians anywhere else, to induce these people to leave their section of country and go into the Northern or Western States?—A. There is nobody has written letters of that kind, individually—not no white persons, I know, not to me, to induce anybody to come.

Q. Well, to any of the other members of your council?—A. No, I don't think to any of the members. If they have, they haven't said nothing to me about it.

It appears also from the evidence of Samuel L. Perry, of North Carolina, a colored man, who accompanied most of the emigrants from that State to Indiana, and who had more to do with the exodus from that quarter than any other man, that the movement had its origin as far back as 1872, as the following questions and answers will show:

Q. You have heard a good deal of this testimony with reference to this exodus from North Carolina. Now begin at the beginning and tell us all you know about it.—A. Well, the beginning, I suppose, was in this way: The first idea or the first thing was, we used to have little meetings to talk over these matters. In 1872 we first received some circulars or pamphlets from O. F. Davis, of Omaha, Nebraska.

Q. In 1872?—A. Yes, sir; in 1872—giving a description of government lands and railroads that could be got cheap; and we held little meetings then; that is, we would meet and talk about it Sunday evenings—that is, the laboring class of our people—the only ones I knew anything about: I had not much to do with the big professional negroes, the rich men. I did not associate with them much, but I got among the workmen, and they would take these pamphlets and read them over.

Mr. Perry says that the feeling in favor of migrating subsided somewhat, but sprang up again in 1876. From that time down to 1879 there were frequent consultations upon the subject, much dissatisfaction expressed respecting their condition, and a desire to emigrate to some part of the West. He says about "that time I was a subscriber to the New York Herald, and from an article in that paper the report was that the people were going to Kansas, and we thought we could go to Kansas too; that we could get a colony to go West. That was last spring. We came back and formed ourselves into a colony of some hundred men." They did not, however, begin their westward movements until the fall of 1879, when it being ascertained by the railroad companies that a considerable number of people were proposing to migrate from North Carolina to the West, several railroad companies, notably the Baltimore and Ohio, offered to certain active and influential colored men \$1 per head for all the passengers they could procure for the respective competing lines.

By reference to the evidence, part 3, page 136, it will be seen that the emigration movement in Alabama originated as far back as the year 1871, when an organization of colored people, called the State Labor Union, delegated Hon. George F. Marlow to visit Kansas, and other parts of the West, for the purpose of examining that country and reporting back to a future convention his views as to the expediency of removing thereto. A convention of colored people was held again in 1872, at which Mr. Marlow made the following glowing report of the condition of things in Kansas and the inducements that State offered to the colored people. He said:

In August, 1871, being delegated by your president for the purpose, I visited the State of Kansas, and here give the results of my observations, briefly stated.

It is a new State, and as such possesses many advantages over the old.

It is much more productive than most other States.

What is raised yields more profit than elsewhere, as it is raised at less expense.

The weather and roads enable you to do more work here than elsewhere.

The climate is mild and pleasant.

Winters short and require little food for stock.

Fine grazing country; stock can be grazed all winter.

The population is enterprising, towns and villages spring up rapidly, and great profits arise from *all* investments.

Climate dry, and land free from swamps.

The money paid to doctors in less healthy regions can here be used to build up a house.

People quiet and orderly, schools and churches to be found in every neighborhood, and ample provision for free schools is made by the State.

Money plenty, and what you raise commands a good price.

Fruits of all kinds easily grown and sold at large profits.

Railroads are being built in every direction.

The country is well watered.

Salt and coal are plentiful.

It is within the reach of every man, no matter how poor, to have a home in Kansas. The best lands are to be had at from \$2 to \$10 an acre, *on time*. The different railroads own large tracts of land, and offer liberal inducements to emigrants. You can get good land in some places for \$1.25 an acre. The country is mostly open prairie, level, with deep, rich soil, producing from forty to one hundred bushels of corn and wheat to the acre. The corn grows about eight or nine feet high, and I never saw better fruit anywhere than there.

The report was adopted.

The feeling of the colored people in that State in 1872 was well expressed by Hon. Robert H. Knox, of Montgomery, a prominent colored citizen, who, in addressing the convention, spoke as follows:

I have listened with great attention to the report of the commissioner appointed by authority of the State Labor Union to visit Kansas, and while I own the inducements held out to the laboring man in that far-off State are much greater than those enjoyed by our State, I yet would say let us rest here awhile longer; let us trust in God, the President, and Congress to give us what is most needed here, personal security to the laboring masses, the suppression of violence, disorder, and kluksism, the protection which the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee, and to which as citizens and men we are entitled. Failing in these, it is time then, I repeat, to desert the State and seek homes elsewhere where there may be the fruition of hopes inaugurated when by the hand of Providence the shackles were stricken from the limbs of four million men, where there may be enjoyed in peace and happiness by your own fireside the earnings of your daily toil.

Benjamin Singleton, an aged colored man, now residing in Kansas, swears that he began the work of inducing his race to migrate to that State as early as 1869, and that he has brought mainly from Tennessee, and located in two colonies—one in Cherokee County, and another in Lyons County, Kansas—a total of 7,432 colored people. The old man spoke in the most touching manner of the sufferings and wrongs of his people in the South, and in the most glowing terms of their condition in their new homes; and when asked as to who originated the movement, he proudly asserted, "I am the father of the exodus." He said that during these years since he began the movement he has paid from his own pocket over \$600 for circulars, which he has caused to be printed and circulated all over the Southern States, advising all who can pay their way to come to Kansas. In these circulars he advised the colored people of the advantages of living in a free State, and told them how well the emigrants whom he had taken there were getting on. He says that the emigrants whom he has taken to Kansas are happy and doing well. The old man insists with great enthusiasm that he is the "whole cause of the Kansas immigration," and is very proud of his achievement.

Here, then, we have conclusive proof from the negroes themselves that they have been preparing for this movement for many years. Organizations to this end have existed in many States, and the agents of such organizations have traveled throughout the South. One of these organizations alone kept one hundred and fifty men in the field for years, traveling among their brethren and secretly discussing this among other

means of relief. As stated by Adams and Perry, politicians were excluded, and the movement was confined wholly to the working classes.

The movement has doubtless been somewhat stimulated by circulars from railroad companies and State emigration societies which have found their way into the South, but these have had comparatively little effect. The following specimen of these emigration documents, which was gotten up and circulated by Indiana Democrats, printed at a Democratic printing office, and written by a Democrat, in our judgment appeals more strongly to the imagination and wants of the negro than any we have been able to find:

In every county of the State there is an asylum where those who are unable to work and have no means of support are cared for at the public expense.

Laborers who work by the month or by the year make their own contract with the employer, and all disputes subsequently arising are settled by legal processes in the proper courts, *everybody being equal before the law in Indiana.* The price of farm labor has varied considerably in the last twenty years. *About \$16 per month may be assumed as about the average per month, and this is understood to include board and lodging at the farm-house.* This amount is paid in current money at the end of each month, unless otherwise stipulated in the contract. Occasionally a tenement house is found on the larger farms, where a laborer lives with his family, and either rents a portion of the farm or cultivates it on special contract with the landlord. *With us there is no class of laborers as such. The young man who to-day may be a hired laborer at monthly wages, may in five years from now be himself a proprietor, owning the soil he cultivates and paying wages to laborers.* The upward road is open to all, and its highest elevation is attainable by industry, economy, and perseverance.

Sixteen dollars per month, with board! Everybody equal before the law! No class of laborers as such! The hired man of to-day himself the owner of a farm in five years! No cheating of tenants, but everything paid in current money. And if all this will not attract the negro he is told there is an "asylum in every county" to which he can go when unable to support himself. The document also promises to everybody "free schools" in "brick or stone school-houses," and says they have "\$2,000,000 greater school fund than any State in the Union." These Democratic documents have been circulated by the thousand, and doubtless many of them have found their way into the negro cabins of North Carolina. It is not surprising that the negro looks with longing eyes to that great and noble State.

CAUSES OF THE EXODUS.

There is surely some adequate cause for such a movement. The majority of the committee have utterly failed to find it, or, if found, to recognize it. When it was found that any of their own witnesses were ready to state causes which did not accord with their theory they were dismissed without examination, as in the cases of Ruby and Stafford, and a half dozen others who were brought from Kansas, but who on their arrival here were found to entertain views not agreeable to the majority.

We regret that a faithful and honest discussion of this subject compels a reference to the darkest, bloodiest, and most shameful chapter of our political history. Gladly would we avoid it, but candor compels us to say that the volume which shall faithfully record the crimes which, in the name of Democracy, have been committed against the citizenship, the lives, and the personal rights of these people, and which have finally driven them in utter despair from their homes, will stand forever without a parallel in the annals of Christian civilization. In discussing these sad and shameful events, we wish it distinctly understood that we do not arraign the whole people nor even the entire Democratic party

of the States in which they have occurred. The colored and other witnesses all declare that the lawlessness from which they have suffered does not meet the approval of the better class of Democrats at the South. They are generally committed by the reckless, dissolute classes who unfortunately too often control and dominate the Democratic party and dictate its policy. We have no doubt there are many Democrats in the South who deeply regret this condition of things, and who would gladly welcome a change, but they are in a helpless, and we fear a hopeless, minority in many sections of that country.

The unfortunate and inexcusable feature of the case is that, however much they may deplore such lawlessness, they have never, so far as we can learn, declined to accept its fruits. They may regret the violence and crimes by which American citizens are prevented from voting, but they rejoice in the Democratic victories which result therefrom. So long as they shall continue thus to accept the fruits of crime, the criminals will have but little fear of punishment or restraint, and the lawless conduct which is depopulating some sections of their laboring classes will go on. There is another unfortunate feature of this matter. So long as crimes against American citizenship shall continue to suppress Republican majorities, and to give a "solid South" to the Democracy, there will be found enough Democrats at the North who will shut their eyes to the means by which it is accomplished, and seek to cover up and excuse the conduct of their political partisans at the South.

This is well illustrated by the report of the majority of the committee. In the presence of most diabolic outrages clearly proven; in the face of the declaration of thousands of refugees that they had fled because of the insecurity of their lives and property at the South, and because the Democratic party of that section had, by means too shocking and shameful to relate, deprived them of their rights as American citizens; in the face of the fact that it has been clearly shown by the evidence that organizations of colored laborers, one of which numbered ninety-eight thousand, have existed for many years and extending into many States of the South, designed to improve their condition by emigration—in the face of all these facts the majority of the committee can see no cause for the exodus growing out of such wrongs, but endeavor to charge it to the Republicans of the North.

In view of this fact, it is our painful duty to point out some of the real causes of this movement. It is, however, quite impossible to enumerate all or any considerable part of the causes of discontent and utter despair which have finally culminated in this movement. To do so would be to repeat a history of violence and crime which for fifteen years have reddened with the blood of innocent victims many of the fairest portions of our country; to do so would be to read the numberless volumes of sworn testimony which have been carefully corded away in the crypt and basement of this Capitol, reciting shocking instances of crime, crying from the ground against the perpetrators of the deeds which they record. The most which we can hope to do within the limits of this report is to present a very few facts which shall be merely illustrative of the conditions which have driven from their homes and the graves of their fathers an industrious, patient, and law-abiding people, whom we are bound by every obligation of honor and patriotism to protect in their personal and political rights and privileges.

We begin with the State of North Carolina because the migration from that State has been comparatively insignificant, and also because the conditions there are more favorable to the colored race than in any of

the other cotton States of the South. Owing to the lack of funds, and to the time employed in the examination of witnesses called by the majority, the Republican members of the committee summoned no witnesses from the State of North Carolina, and were obliged to content themselves with such facts as could be obtained from one or two persons who happened to be in this city, and such other facts as were brought out upon cross-examination of the witnesses called by the other side. By the careful selection of a few well-to-do and more fortunate colored men from that State, the majority of the committee secured some evidence tending to show that a portion of the negroes of North Carolina are exceptionally well treated and contented, and yet upon cross-examination of their own witnesses facts were disclosed which showed that, even there, conditions exist which are ample to account for the migration of the entire colored population.

There are three things in that State which create great discontent among the colored people: First, the abridgment of their rights of self-government; second, their disadvantages as to common schools; third, discriminations against them in the courts; and, fourth, the memory of Democratic outrages. Prior to Democratic rule the people of each county elected five commissioners, who had supervision over the whole county, and who chose the judges of elections. The Democrats changed the constitution so as to take this power from the people, and gave to the general assembly authority to appoint these officers. This they regard not only as practically depriving them of self-government, but, as stated by one of the witnesses, Hon. R. C. Badger, as placing the elections, even in Republican townships, wholly under the control of the Democrats, who thereby "have the power to count up the returns and throw out the balance for any technicality, exactly as Garcelon & Co. did in Maine." This creates much dissatisfaction, because they believe they are cheated out of their votes. The negro values the ballot more than anything else, because he knows that it is his only means of defense and protection. A law which places all the returning boards in the hands of his political opponents necessarily and justly produces discontent.

Next to the ballot the negro values the privileges of common schools, for in them he sees the future elevation of his race. The prejudice even in North Carolina against white teachers of colored schools seems to have abated but little since the war. Mr. Badger, when cross-examined on this point, said:

Q. Is there any prejudice still remaining there against white teachers of colored schools?—A. I think there is.

Q. Will you explain it?—A. I cannot explain it, except by the prejudices between the races.

Q. You mean, white persons teaching a colored school lose social status?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, a white lady who comes from the North and teaches a colored school, to what extent is she tabooed?—A. I don't think she would have any acquaintances in white society.

Q. Would she be any quicker invited into white society than a colored woman?—A. Just about the same.

This fact contains within itself a volume of testimony. It shows that the negro is still regarded as a sort of social and political pariah, whom no white person may teach without incurring social ostracism and being degraded to the level of the social outcast he or she would elevate in the scale of being. Is it surprising that the negro is dissatisfied with his condition and desires to emigrate to some country where his children may hope for better things?

The most serious complaints, however, which are made against the

treatment of colored citizens of North Carolina is that justice is not fairly administered in the courts as between themselves and the whites. On this point the evidence of Mr. R. C. Badger reveals a condition of things to which no people can long submit. Here is his illustration of the manner in which justice is usually meted out as between the negroes and the whites:

Q. How about the discrimination in the courts as between the whites and blacks?—
A. That is principally in matters of larceny. In such cases the presumption is reversed as to the negro. A white man can't be convicted without the fullest proof, and with the negroes, in matters between themselves, such as assault and battery, they get as fair a trial as the whites. At the January term of our court Judge Avery presided. A white man and a colored woman were indicted for an affray. The woman was in her husband's barn getting out corn; they were going to move, and the white man came down there and said, "You seem to have a good time laughing here this morning," and she said, yes, she had a right to laugh. He said, "You are getting that corn out, and you would have made more if you had stuck to your husband." She seemed to be a sort of termagant, and she said nobody said that about her unless you told them. He made some insulting remark, and she made something in return to him, and he took a billet of wood and struck her on the shoulder, and he pulled a pistol and beat her with it, and she went for him to kill him. *They found the man not guilty and they found her guilty*, but Judge Avery set the verdict aside and ordered the case *nolle prosequi* against her.

Q. Do you think that is a fair sample of the justice they get?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think they will convict a colored woman in order to get a chance to turn loose a white man?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. Badger was not our witness. He was called by the majority, but he is a gentleman of high character, the son of an ex-member of this body, and thoroughly acquainted with the condition of things in his State. He puts the case just mentioned as a "fair sample" of North Carolina justice toward the negro. It is true the judge set aside the verdict, but this does not change the fact that before a North Carolina jury the negro has but little hope of justice.

Back of all these things lies the distrust of Democracy which was inspired during the days when the "Kuklux," the "White Brotherhood," the "Universal Empire," and the "Stonewall Guard" spread terror and desolation over the State in order to wrest it from Republicanism to Democracy. The memory of those dark days and bloody deeds, the prejudice which still forbids white ladies to teach colored schools, and denies "even-handed justice" in the courts, and the usurpations which place the returning boards all in the hands of Democrats, have inspired a feeling of discontent which has found expression in the efforts of a few to leave the State. These facts, taken in connection with the bonus of one dollar per head offered by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company (a Democratic corporation represented by a Democratic agent) to leading colored men who would secure passengers for their road, has led to the emigration of some seven or eight hundred colored people from that State, and the only wonder is that thousands instead of hundreds have not gone.

LOUISIANA AND MISSISSIPPI.

The States of Louisiana and Mississippi have furnished the larger portion of the migration to Kansas, and as the conditions which caused the exodus are the same in both of these States, we may speak of them together. No single act of wrong has inspired this movement, but a long series of oppression, injustice, and violence, extending over a period of fifteen years. These people have been long-suffering and wonderfully patient, but the time came when they could endure it no longer and they resolved to go. We can convey no adequate idea of what they endured

before adopting this desperate resolve, but will mention a few facts drawn from well authenticated history, from sworn public documents, and from the evidence taken by the Exodus Investigating Committee. Writing under date of January 10, 1875, General P. H. Sheridan, then in command at New Orleans, says:

Since the year 1866 nearly thirty-five hundred persons, a great majority of whom were colored men, have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1868 the official record shows that eighteen hundred and eighty-four were killed and wounded. From 1868 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few cases have been unable to arrest, convict, or punish the perpetrators. Consequently there are no correct records to be consulted for information. There is ample evidence, however, to show that more than twelve hundred persons have been killed and wounded during this time on account of their political sentiments. Frightful massacres have occurred in the parishes of Bossier, Caddo, Catahoula, Saint Bernard, Saint Landry, Grant, and Orleans.

He then proceeds to enumerate the political murders of colored men in the various parishes, and says:

Human life in this State is held so cheaply that when men are killed on account of political opinions, the murderers are regarded rather as heroes than criminals in the localities where they reside.

This brief summary is not by a politician, but by a distinguished soldier, who recounts the events which have occurred within his own military jurisdiction. Volumes of testimony have since been taken confirming in all respects General Sheridan's statement, and giving in detail the facts relating to such murders, and the times and circumstances of their occurrence. The results of the elections which immediately followed them disclose the motives and purposes of their perpetrators. These reports show that in the year 1868 a reign of terror prevailed over almost the entire State. In the parish of Saint Landry there was a massacre of colored people which began on the 28th of September, 1868, and lasted from three to six days, during which between two and three hundred colored men were killed. "Thirteen captives were taken from the jail and shot, and a pile of twenty-five dead bodies were found burned in the woods." The result of this Democratic campaign in the parish was that the registered Republican majority of 1,071 was wholly obliterated, and, at the election which followed a few weeks later not a vote was cast for General Grant, while Seymour and Blair received 4,787.

In the parish of Bossier a similar massacre occurred between the 20th and 30th of September, 1868, which lasted from three to four days, during which two hundred colored people were killed. By the official registry of that year the Republican voters in Bossier Parish numbered 1,938, but at the ensuing election only *one* Republican vote was cast.

In the parish of Caddo during the month of October, 1868, over forty colored people were killed. The result of that massacre was that out of a Republican registered vote of 2,894 only one was cast for General Grant. Similar scenes were enacted throughout the State, varying in extent and atrocity according to the magnitude of the Republican majority to be overcome.

The total summing-up of murders, maimings, and whippings which took place for political reasons in the months of September, October, and November, 1868, as shown by official sources, is over one thousand. The net political results achieved thereby may be succinctly stated as follows: The official registration for that year in twenty-eight parishes contained 47,923 names of Republican voters, but at the Presidential election, held a few weeks after the occurrence of these events, but 5,360 Republican votes were cast, making the net Democratic gain from said transactions 42,563.

In nine of these parishes where the reign of terror was most prevalent, out of 11,604 registered Republican votes only 19 were cast for General Grant. In seven of said parishes there were 7,253 registered Republican votes but not one was cast at the ensuing election for the Republican ticket.

In the years succeeding 1868, when some restraint was imposed upon political lawlessness and a comparatively peaceful election was held, these same Republican parishes cast from 33,000 to 37,000 Republican votes, thus demonstrating the purpose and the effects of the reign of murder in 1868. In 1876 the spirit of violence and persecution which, in parts of the State, had been partially restrained for a time, broke forth again with renewed fury. It was deemed necessary to carry that State for Tilden and Hendricks, and the policy which had proved so successful in 1868 was again invoked and with like results. On the day of general election in 1876 there were in the State of Louisiana 92,996 registered white voters and 115,310 colored, making a Republican majority of the latter of 22,314. The number of white Republicans was far in excess of the number of colored Democrats. It was, therefore, well known that if a fair election should be held the State would go Republican by from twenty-five to forty thousand majority. The policy adopted this time was to select a few of the largest Republican parishes and by terrorism and violence not only obliterate their Republican majorities, but also intimidate the negroes in the other parishes. The sworn testimony found in our public documents and records shows that the same system of assassinations, whippings, burnings, and other acts of political persecution of colored citizens which had occurred in 1868 was again repeated in 1876 and with like results.

In fifteen parishes where 17,726 Republicans were registered in 1876 only 5,758 votes were cast for Hayes and Wheeler, and in one of them (East Feliciana) where there were 2,127 Republicans registered but 1 Republican vote was cast. By such methods the Republican majority of the State was supposed to have been effectually suppressed and a Democratic victory assured. And because the legally constituted authorities of Louisiana, acting in conformity with law and justice, declined to count some of the parishes thus carried by violence and blood the Democratic party, both North and South, has ever since complained that it was fraudulently deprived of the fruits of victory, and it now proposes to make this grievance the principal plank in the party platform.

On the 6th of December, 1876, President Grant in a message to Congress transmitted the evidence of these horrible crimes against the colored race, committed in the name and in the interest of the Democracy. They are not mere estimates nor conjectures, but the names of the persons murdered, maimed, and whipped, and of the perpetrators of the crimes, the places where they occurred, and the revolting circumstances under which they were committed, are all set forth in detail. This shocking record embraces a period of eight years, from 1868 to 1876, inclusive, and covers ninety-eight pages of fine type, giving an average of about one victim to each line. We have not counted the list, but it is safe to say that it numbers over four thousand.

These crimes did not end in 1876 with the accession of the Democracy to control of the State administration. The witnesses examined by your committee gave numerous instances of like character which occurred in 1878. Madison Parish may serve as an illustration. This parish, which furnished perhaps the largest number of refugees to Kansas, had been exceptionally free from bulldozing in former years. William Murrell,

one of the witnesses called by the committee, states the reasons for the exodus from that parish as follows :

You have not read of any exodus yet as there will be from that section this summer, and the reason for it is that, for the first time since the war in Madison Parish, last December we had bulldozing there. Armed bodies of men came into the parish—not people who lived in the parish, but men from Ouachita Parish and Richland Parish; and I can name the leader who commanded them. He was a gentleman by the name of Captain Tibbals, of Ouachita Parish, who lives in Monroe, who was noted in the celebrated massacre there in other times. His very name among the colored people is sufficient to intimidate them almost. He came with a crowd of men on the 28th of December into Madison Parish, when all was quiet and peaceable. There was no quarrel, no excitement. We had always elected our tickets in the parish, and we had put Democrats on the ticket in many cases to satisfy them. There were only 238 white voters and about 2,700 colored registered voters.

Mr. Murrell says that David Armstrong, who was president of the third ward Republican club, a man who stood high in the community, and against whom no charge was made except that of being a Republican, made the remark :

"What right have these white men to come here from Morehouse Parish, and Richland Parish, and Franklin Parish to interfere with our election?" And some white men heard of it and got a squad by themselves and said, "We'll go down and give that nigger a whipping." So Sunday night, about ten o'clock, they went to his house to take him out and whip him. They saw him run out the back way and fired on him. One in the crowd cried out, "Don't kill him!" "It is too late, now," they said, "he's dead." The Carroll Conservative, a Democratic newspaper, published the whole thing; but the reason they did it was because we had one of their men on our ticket as judge, and they got sore about it, and we beat him. They killed Armstrong and took him three hundred yards to the river, in a sheet, threw him in the river, and left the sheet in the bushes.

Proceeding with the account of that transaction, Mr. Murrell swears that the colored people had heard that the bulldozers were coming from the surrounding parishes, and that he and others called on some of the leading Democrats in order to prevent it, but all in vain. He says :

We waited on Mr. Holmes, the clerk of the court, and we said to him, "Mr. Holmes, it is not necessary to do any bulldozing here; you have the counting machinery all in your hands, and we would rather be counted out than bulldozed; can't we arrange this thing?" I made a proposition to him and said, "You know I am renominated on the Republican ticket, but I will get out of the way for any moderate Democrat you may name, to save the State and district ticket. We will not vote for your State ticket; you cannot make the colored people vote the State ticket; but if you will let us have our State ticket we will give you the local offices." We offered them the clerk of the court, not the sheriff, and the two representatives. We told him we would not give them the senator, but the district judge and attorney. After this interview Holmes sent us to Dr. Askew, ex-chairman of the Democratic committee, and he said to me, "Now, Murrell, there is no use talking, I advise you to stand from under. When these men get in here we can't control them. We like you well enough and would not like to see you hurt. I will see you to-night at Mr. Holmes's." We had an interview with Mr. Holmes and made this proposition, and Holmes asked me this question: "Murrell, you know damned well the niggers in this parish won't vote the Democratic ticket—there is no use to tell me you will give us the clerk of the court, you know the niggers won't do it. You can't trust the niggers in politics; all your eloquence and all the speeches you can make won't make these niggers vote this ticket or what you suggest, even if we was to accept it. No, by God, Murrell, there's no use talking, we are going to carry this parish; we have found a way to carry it. There ain't no use talking any more about it. No, by God, we are going to carry it. Why," he said, "*there is more eloquence in double-barreled shot-guns to convince niggers than there is in forty Ciceros.*" I said to him, "Well, do you suppose the merchants and planters will back you up," and he said, "O, by God, they have got nothing to do with it. We have charge of it. *We three men, the Democratic committee, have full power to work.*"

The result of this "work" was, as stated by the witness, and not disputed by any one before the committee, that in this parish, containing 2,700 registered Republican voters, and only 238 Democrats, the Demo-

crats returned a majority of 2,300. The witness, who was a candidate on the Republican ticket, swears that not more than 360 votes were cast. Democratic shot-gun eloquence did its "work," as prophesied by Mr. Askew, ex-chairman of the Democratic committee, but it also served as a wonderful stimulus to migration from Madison Parish.

We cite this case for two reasons: First, because it has been said that the negroes have not emigrated from bulldozed parishes; and, secondly, because it serves as an illustration of the many similar cases which were given to the committee.

We desire also to invite attention to the evidence of Henry Adams, a colored witness from Shreveport, La. Adams is a man of very remarkable energy and native ability. Scores of witnesses were summoned by the majority of the committee from Shreveport, but none of them ventured to question his integrity or truthfulness. Though a common laborer, he has devoted much of his time in traveling through Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, working his way and taking notes of the crimes committed against his race. His notes, written in terse and simple language, embraced the names of six hundred and eighty-three colored men who have been whipped, maimed, or murdered within the last eight years, and his statement of these crimes covers thirty-five pages of closely printed matter in the report. We are sure no one can read it without a conviction of its truthfulness and a feeling of horror at the barbarous details he relates. Adams is the man who has organized a colonization council, composed of laboring colored people, and rigidly excluding politicians, which numbers ninety-eight thousand who have enrolled themselves with a view to emigration from that country as early as possible. He details the character and the purpose of the organization and the efforts it has made to obtain relief and protection for its members. "First," he says, "we appealed to the President of the United States to help us out of our distress, to protect us in our rights and privileges. Next, we appealed to Congress for a territory to which we might go and live with our families. Failing in that," says he, "our other object was to ask for help to ship us all to Liberia, Africa, somewhere where we could live in peace and quiet. If that could not be done," he adds, "*our idea was to appeal to other governments outside of the United States to help us to get away from the United States and go and live there under their flag.*" What a commentary upon our own boasted equality and freedom! Finding no relief in any direction, they finally resolved to emigrate to some of the Northern States. He says they had some hope of securing better treatment at home until 1877, when "we lost all hopes and determined to go anywhere on God's earth, we didn't care where; we said we was going if we had to run away and go to the woods." Perhaps we can best summarize the condition of affairs in Louisiana, and the causes of the exodus from that State, as the negroes themselves regarded them, by quoting a brief extract from the report of the business committee to the colored State convention held in New Orleans on the 21st of April, 1879:

NEW ORLEANS, April 21, 1879.

MR. PRESIDENT: Your committee on business have the honor to submit this their final report. Discussing the general and widespread alarm among the colored people of Louisiana, including so potent a fear that in many parishes, and in others perhaps largely to follow, there is an exodus of agricultural labor which indicates the prostration and destruction of the productive, and therefore essentially vital, interests of the State. *The Committee find that the primary cause of this lies in the absence of a republican form of government to the people of Louisiana. Crime and lawlessness existing to an extent that laughs at all restraint, and the misgovernment naturally induced from a State adminis-*

tration itself the product of violence, have created an absorbing and constantly increasing distrust and alarm among our people throughout the State. All rights of freemen denied and all claims to a just recompense for labor rendered or honorable dealings between planter and laborer disallowed, justice a mockery, and the laws a cheat, the very officers of the courts being themselves the mobocrats and violators of law, the only remedy left the colored citizen in many parishes of our State to-day is to emigrate. The fiat to go forth is irresistible. The constantly recurring, nay, ever-present, fear which haunts the minds of these our people in the turbulent parishes of the State is that slavery in the horrible form of peonage is approaching; that the avowed disposition of the men in power to reduce the laborer and his interest to the minimum of advantages as freemen and to absolutely none as citizens has produced so absolute a fear that in many cases it has become a panic. It is flight from present sufferings and from wrongs to come.

Here are the reasons for the exodus as stated by the colored people themselves. In view of the facts which we have stated, and of the terrible history which we cannot here repeat, does any one believe their statement of grievances is overdrawn? Is there any other race of freemen on the face of the earth who would have endured and patiently suffered as they have? Is there any other government among civilized nations which would have permitted such acts to be perpetrated against its citizens?

We will not dwell upon the conditions which have driven these people from Mississippi. It would be but a repetition of the intolerance, persecutions, and violence which have prevailed in Louisiana. The same Democratic "shot gun eloquence" which was so potent for the conversion of colored Republicans in the one has proven equally powerful in the other. The same "eloquence" which wrested Louisiana from Republicans also converted Mississippi. And in both the same results are visible in the determination of the colored people to get away.

Nearly all the witnesses who were asked as to the causes of the exodus answered that it was because of a feeling of insecurity for life and property; a denial of their political rights as citizens; long-continued persecutions for political reasons; a system of cheating by landlords and storekeepers which rendered it impossible for them to make a living no matter how hard they might work; the inadequacy of school advantages, and a fear that they would be eventually reduced to a system of peonage even worse than slavery itself.

On the latter point they quoted the laws of Mississippi, which authorize a justice's court to inflict heavy fines for the most trivial offenses, and authorize the sheriff to hire the convicts to planters and others for twenty-five cents a day to work out the fine and cost, and which provide that for every day lost from sickness he shall work another to pay for his board while sick. Under these laws they allege that a colored man may be fined \$500 for some trifling misdemeanor, and be compelled to work five or six years to pay the fine; and that it is not uncommon for colored men thus hired out to be worked in a chain-gang upon the plantations under overseers, with whip in hand, precisely as in the days of slavery. And some of the witnesses declared that if an attempt be made to escape they are pursued with blood-hounds, as before the war.

Henry Ruby, a witness summoned by the majority of the committee, swore that in Texas, under a law similar to that in Mississippi, a colored man had been arrested for carrying a "six-shooter" and fined \$65, including costs, and that he had been at work nearly three years to pay it. The laws of that State do not fix the rate for hiring, but "county convicts" may be hired at any price the county judge may determine. He mentioned the case of a colored woman who was hired out for a quarter of a cent per day. Describing this process of hiring, he says:

They call these people county convicts, and if you have got a farm you can go and hire them out of the jail. They have got that system, and the colored men object to

it. I know some of these men who have State convicts that they hire and they work them under shotguns. A farmer hires so many of the State, and they are under the supervision of a sergeant with a gun and nigger-hounds, to run them with if they get away. They hire them and put them in the same gang with the striped snit on, and, if they want, the guard can bring them down with his shotgun. Then they have these nigger-hounds, and if one of them gets off and they can't find him they take the hounds, and from a shoe, or anything of the kind belonging to the convict, they trail him down.

Q. Are these the same sort of blood-hounds they used to have to run the negroes with?—A. Yes, sir.

These things need no comment. To the negro they are painfully suggestive of slavery. Is it a wonder that he has resolved to go where peonage and blood-hounds are unknown?

Several witnesses were called from Saint Louis and Kansas, who had conversed with thousands of the refugees, and who swore that they all told the same story of injustice, oppression, and wrong. Upon the arrival of the first boat-loads at Saint Louis, in the early spring of 1879, the people of that city were deeply moved by the evident destitution and distress which they presented, and thousands of them were interviewed as to the causes which impelled them to leave their homes at that inclement season of the year. In the presence of these people, and with a full knowledge of their condition and of the causes of their flight, a memorial to Congress was prepared, and signed by a large number of the most prominent and respectable citizens of Saint Louis, embracing such names as Mayor Overholtz (a Democrat), Hon. John F. Dillon, judge of the United States circuit court, ex-United States Senator J. B. Henderson, and nearly a hundred other leading citizens, in which the condition and grievances of the refugees are stated as follows:

The undersigned, your memorialists, respectfully represent that within the last two weeks there have come by steamboats up the Mississippi River, from chiefly the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and landed at Saint Louis, Mo., a great number of colored citizens of the United States, not less than twenty hundred, and composed of men and women, old and young, and with them many of their children.

This multitude is eager to proceed to Kansas, and without exception, so far as we have learned, refuse all overtures or inducements to return South, even if their passage back is paid for them.

The condition of the great majority is absolute poverty; they are clothed in thin and ragged garments for the most part, and while here have been supported to some extent by public, but mostly by private charity.

The older ones are the former slaves of the South; all now entitled to life and liberty.

The weather from the first advent of these people in this Northern city has been unusually cold, attended with ice and snow, so that their sufferings have been greatly increased, and if there was in their hearts a single kind remembrance of their sunny Southern homes they would naturally give it expression now.

We have taken occasion to examine into the causes they themselves assign for their extraordinary and unexpected transit, and beg leave to submit herewith the written statements of a number of individuals of the refugees, which were taken without any effort to have one thing said more than another, and to express the sense of the witness in his own language as nearly as possible.

The story is about the same in each instance: great privation and want from excessive rent exacted for land, connected with murder of colored neighbors and threats of personal violence to themselves. The tone of each statement is that of suffering and terror. Election days and Christmas, by the concurrent testimony, seem to have been appropriated to killing the smart men, while robbery and personal violence in one form and another seem to have run the year round.

We submit that the great migration of negroes from the South is itself a fact that overbears all contradiction, and proves conclusively that great causes must exist at the South to account for it.

Here they are in multitudes, not men alone, but women and children, old, middle-aged, and young, with common consent leaving their old homes in a natural climate and facing storms and unknown dangers to go to Northern Kansas. Why? Among them all there is little said of hope in the future; it is all of fear in the past. They are not drawn by the attractions of Kansas; they are driven by the terrors of Missis-

issippi and Louisiana. Whatever becomes of them, they are unanimous in their unalterable determination not to return.

There are others coming. Those who have come and gone on to Kansas must suffer even unto death, we fear; at all events more than any body of people entitled to liberty and law, the possession of property, the right to vote, and the pursuit of happiness, should be compelled to suffer under a free government from terror inspired by robbery, threats, assaults, and murders.

We protest against the dire necessities that have impelled this exodus, and against the violation of common right, natural and constitutional, proven to be of most frequent occurrence in places named; and we ask such action at the hands of our representatives and our government as shall investigate the full extent of the causes leading to this unnatural state of affairs and protect the people from its continuance, and not only protect liberty and life, but enforce law and order.

It is intolerable to believe that with the increased representation of the Southern States in Congress those shall not be allowed freely to cast their ballots upon whose right to vote that representation has been enlarged. We believe no government can prosper that will allow such a state of injustice to the body of its people to exist, any more than society can endure where robbery and murder go unchallenged.

The occasion is, we think, a fit one for us to protest against a state of affairs thus exhibited in those parts of the Union from which these negroes come, which is not only most barbarous toward the negro, but is destructive to the constitutional rights of all citizens of our common country.

Accompanying this memorial are numerous affidavits of the refugees fully confirming all its statements.

As to the future of the exodus we can only say that every witness, whose opinion was asked upon this point, declared that it has only begun, and that what we have seen in the past is nothing compared to what is to come, unless there shall be a radical change on the part of Democrats in the South. They say that the negro has no confidence in the Democratic party, and that if a Democratic President shall be elected there will be a general stampede of the colored race.

There is but one remedy for the exodus—fair treatment of the negro. If the better class of white men at the South would retain the colored laborer they must recognize his manhood and his citizenship, and restrain the vicious and lawless elements in their midst. If Northern Democrats would check the threatened inundation of black labor into their States, they must recognize the facts which have produced the exodus, and unite with us in removing its causes.

We present in conclusion the following brief summary of the results of the investigation:

First. This movement was not instigated, aided, or encouraged by Republican leaders at the North. The only aid they have ever given was purely as a matter of charity, to relieve the distress of the destitute and suffering emigrants who had already come to the North.

Second. Not one dollar has ever been contributed by anybody at the North to bring these people from their homes. On the contrary, the only contributions shown to have been made for such purpose made were by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, a Democratic corporation, which employed agents to work up the emigration from North Carolina, paying \$1 per head therefor.

Third. It is *not* proven that the emigrants are dissatisfied in their new homes and wish to return to the South. On the contrary, a standing offer to pay their expenses back to the South has not induced more than about three hundred out of thirty thousand to return.

Fourth. It is *not* proven that there is no demand for their labor at the North, for nearly all those who have come have found employment, and even in Indiana hundreds of applications for them were presented to the committee.

Fifth. It is *not* proven that there is any sufficient reason for the grave political apprehensions entertained in some quarters, for it was shown

by Mr. Dukehart, who sold all the tickets to those who came from North Carolina, that not more than *two hundred voters had gone to Indiana*.

Sixth. The exodus movement originated entirely with the colored people themselves, who for many years have been organizing for the purpose of finding relief in that way, and the colored agents of such organizations have traveled all over the South consulting with their race on this subject.

Seventh. A long series of political persecutions, whippings, maimings, and murders committed by Democrats and in the interest of the Democratic party, extending over a period of fifteen years, has finally driven the negro to despair, and compelled him to seek peace and safety by flight.

Eighth. In some States a system of convict hiring is authorized by law, which reinstates the chain-gang, the overseer, and the blood-hound substantially as in the days of slavery.

Ninth. A system of labor and renting has been adopted in some parts of the South which reduces a negro to a condition but little better than that of peonage, and which renders it impossible for him to make a comfortable living, no matter how hard he may work.

Tenth. The only remedy for the exodus is in the hands of Southern Democrats themselves, and if they do not change their treatment of the negro and recognize his rights as a man and a citizen, the movement will go on, greatly to the injury of the labor interests of the South, if not the whole country.

WILLIAM WINDOM.
HENRY W. BLAIR.

S. Rep. 693—III

PART I.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

TO INVESTIGATE THE CAUSES OF THE

REMOVAL OF THE NEGROES FROM THE SOUTHERN
STATES TO THE NORTHERN STATES.

Sessions held at Washington, beginning Monday, January 19, 1880.

EXODUS COMMITTEE.

FIRST DAY.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS L. TULLOCK.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Monday, January 19, 1880.*

THOMAS L. TULLOCK sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Please state your name and present residence.—Answer. My name is Thomas L. Tullock ; my residence is Washington City.

Q. How long have you lived here?—A. I have lived here about fourteen years.

Q. From what State did you come when you came here ?—A. I came here from New Hampshire.

Q. What official position do you hold under the government at this time?—A. I am at present assistant postmaster of the city of Washington ; I was formerly, for eight years, collector of internal revenue for the District of Columbia.

Q. Mr. Tullock, I find your name appended to a paper to which I desire to call your attention, and to ask whether it is there by your authority?—A. Yes, sir ; that is my name there ; all I can say about it is, Mr. Wall called upon me and informed me that I had been appointed one of the auditors of a certain society, an emigrant society, it appeared ; but I have not attended any of the meetings of the society and know nothing of its organization or management, any further than that I was told that it was an organization for the purpose of helping needy colored emigrants ; but I have never seen any of the emigrants, and know nothing about the matter. I was informed that I was chosen auditor, and that is all.

Q. Do I understand that you never saw this paper before?—A. I have no recollection of ever having seen it.

Q. And were not apprised of its contents?—A. I have not read it ; I did not sign it ; I would not have signed my name by the designation "honorable." It may be that I inquired something in regard to the organization, but I have not read the paper and did not know the tenor of it.

Q. What was the position that you assumed on Mr. Wall's recommendation?—A. I do not know that I assumed any particular position ; he informed me that I was appointed a member of the board of auditors of the Emigrant Aid Society.

Q. What were the duties of that office?—A. I presume that in any expenditure that might be made the auditor would have to examine the accounts, and certify to their correctness.

Q. How long ago was this information conveyed to you by Mr. Wall, that you had been appointed a member of the board of auditors?—A. It was perhaps two or three months ago—some little time before these

people, these colored emigrants, came to this city. I could not speak definitely as to the exact time.

Q. Did you perform any duties as member of the board of auditors?—A. I did not, with this exception: on two or three occasions Mr. Wall brought me orders on the treasurer for me to sign—to authorize the treasurer to advance some money for the purchase of tickets for certain emigrants. That is all the official duty I have ever performed.

Q. To whom were these orders addressed?—A. To the treasurer of the society.

Q. Who was the treasurer of the society?—A. The orders were addressed to Mr. A. M. Clapp; he was the treasurer.

Q. Do you remember the sums of money that you authorized him to advance?—A. I could not state definitely; I think I have signed three orders.

Q. Have you an idea of the amount or the approximate amount of each of these orders?—A. I could not state definitely; I think perhaps they amounted to \$400 in all.

Q. At what time were these orders given?—A. I could not state definitely; within the last six weeks, I think.

Q. Have you any knowledge as to what source that money was derived from—that fund on which you drew?—A. I have no knowledge further than that a collection was taken up in the church with which I am connected to aid the emigrants. They received about thirty or forty dollars from that source.

Q. What church is that?—A. The Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church of this city. Probably there were collections taken up in the other churches; I have understood there were.

Q. Was that the time when there was a large party of these people in the city?—A. Yes, sir. They were said to be here, and in a destitute condition; and I signed an order for the money to procure tickets for their transportation.

Q. You yourself took no pains to ascertain their actual necessities, or how they came to be here destitute?—A. No, sir.

Q. You acted upon the representation of others in whom you had confidence?—A. Yes, sir. I cautioned the president and secretary to take proper vouchers when they purchased the tickets. The emigrants were here, and had to leave that night; I had no time to investigate.

The chairman proposed to submit the paper to the committee as evidence, but a member of the committee objected, and the chairman agreed that it would be well first to identify the paper, and lay a proper foundation for its introduction; which was accordingly done by the following brief examination of Mr. Wall:

TESTIMONY OF O. S. B. WALL.

O. S. B. WALL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Wall, I wish you to identify this paper. State whether you are familiar with this paper, and whether it is signed by authority with your name and the names of others?—Answer. Those are my sentiments, and it was at my instance that this was gotten up.

Q. You recognize it as genuine?—A. Yes, sir; it is a good one—good sense, and I am not ashamed of it.

Q. We are not asking as to whether you are ashamed of it or not; only whether you identify it as being a genuine paper issued by you?—A. Yes, sir; that is the paper. (See appendix, Exhibit A.)

MR. TULLOCK RECALLED.

Q. Mr. Tullock, as I understand you, you did not sign this paper; you signed no paper?—A. No, sir; except those three orders on the treasurer.

Q. I mean no paper approving the organization?—A. No, sir.

Q. And all you have ever had to do with the matter was that Mr. Wall asked you to act, in connection with others, as a member of the board of audit, and you consented. That is the way your name comes to stand authorized here. Then, in pursuance of your duties, you signed upon the treasurer three warrants, amounting in all to about \$400, to relieve these colored people that were stranded here for want of money some six weeks ago.—A. That is the way, sir.

Q. Is this the first time you ever heard this paper read?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had no knowledge of its contents before this?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you know of its being circulated?—A. I had no knowledge whatever concerning it.

Q. Then this is your first knowledge of this paper, and of your name being appended to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All you did was to sign these orders on the treasurer, amounting in all to some \$400?—A. Yes, sir; as to the amount, the orders will show for themselves; I only approximate.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. I do not understand you to disclaim sympathy with the movement, but only to disclaim any practical connection with it?—A. No, sir; I have attended none of its meetings and know nothing concerning its organization or its management; I only permitted my name to be used as one of the auditors of the society.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You do not affirm any knowledge of the facts stated in this paper—of the facts on which it is based?—A. No, sir; as I have said, I had nothing to do with the organization, and I have never discussed the subject.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. RANKIN.

J. W. RANKIN sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State where you reside.—Answer. In this city.

Q. How long have you lived here?—A. A little over ten years.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am pastor of the First Congregational Church.

Q. Have you been pastor of it for that length of time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you looked at this paper?—A. I have heard it read for the first time this morning.

Q. State how your name comes to be attached to that paper.—A. I was requested to act as auditor, and consented.

Q. Upon whose application?—A. Upon the application of Mr. Wall.

Q. How long ago?—A. I cannot tell exactly; it was some time in the fall—early last fall; a number of months ago, at least.

Q. Have you acted in the capacity of auditor?—A. I have signed probably four or five orders, as Mr. Tullock has.

Q. Orders upon whom?—A. Upon Mr. Clapp, as treasurer.

Q. Have you familiarized your mind with this subject of the Emigrant Aid Society?—A. No further than it has been a matter of discussion in the papers. I have also seen some written letters from the South and some from the North.

Q. I am speaking of the Emigrant Aid Society of this city; are you acquainted with its operations?—A. I am not.

Q. Have you never read or heard this paper before?—A. I have not; I knew what the general drift and import of it was.

Q. Do you know how widely circulated this was, or any circular like this?—A. I do not; I know nothing about it; I should presume it was printed for circulation, but I have never seen it in circulation.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. CROMWELL.

J. W. CROMWELL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. State your name and residence.—Answer. My name is J. W. Cromwell, and I reside in the city of Washington.

Q. How long have you lived here?—A. About nine years.

Q. In what business are you engaged?—A. I am a clerk in the Treasury Department.

Q. In what branch?—A. In the Sixth Auditor's Office.

Q. How long have you been there?—A. Since November 2, 1872.

Q. I find your name appended to this paper; please state to the committee how it comes to be there—whether by your authority or not.—A. It is there by my consent.

Q. To whom did you give that consent?—A. To Mr. Adams, the secretary of the society; he requested me to act as one of the board of audit.

Q. Have you acted in that capacity?—A. I have.

Q. In what way?—A. In the way of signing drafts on the treasurer of the society.

Q. Is that all you have done in this matter?—A. That is all I have done in that capacity.

Q. Are you familiar with this paper?—A. I have had a copy of it.

Q. You have read it?—A. A portion of it; I have not read it from beginning to end.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Virginia.

Q. How old were you when you left Virginia?—A. I was five years old when I left it in the first instance.

Q. Where did you go from there?—A. To the city of Philadelphia.

Q. Have you lived in the North ever since?—A. No, sir; I lived in the North up to 1865, when I returned to Virginia.

Q. Were you appointed to the Treasury from Virginia?—A. I was.

Q. From what part of Virginia?—A. From the second Congressional district—on competitive examination.

Q. Have you ever been in Indiana?—A. I have not.

Q. Have you ever been in North Carolina?—A. I have been there; four or five years ago I went on an excursion to Weldon; that is all I have ever been in North Carolina.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You say you returned to Virginia in 1865?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And returned to Washington, in 1872 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what part of Virginia did you reside ?—A. In Portsmouth.

Q. Were you engaged in business there ?—A. I was engaged in teaching in the public schools, and under some charitable associations from the North.

Q. You say you became a clerk in the Treasury as the result of a competitive examination ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many competitors did you have ?—A. Well, that day there were forty-five.

Q. To what position were you assigned ?—A. To a first class clerkship.

Q. Do you hold the same position now ?—A. No, sir ; I hold a third-class clerkship now.

Q. You say you authorized your name to be affixed to this paper, and consented to act in the capacity of auditor ?—A. I did.

Q. Do you know anything more of the reasons for the organization of this society than appear there in the paper itself ? What do you know, anyway, about this exodus ?—A. The first I knew about the exodus was by the telegraphic dispatches in the newspapers last spring. In May a national conference of colored men was held in Nashville, Tenn., which I attended, and of which I was secretary. There were men present there from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and in fact all the Southwestern States. I was surprised to find such a unanimity of feeling on the part of the conference in favor of emigration from the Southwest. There was a positive furore about it ; so much so that some of the other business for which the conference was called could not be attended to.

Q. What were the leading objects of that conference ?—A. To discuss the status of the colored people of the South, and the oppressions to which they were subjected, and to devise remedies for the evils under which they labored.

Q. Was it a convention of colored delegates exclusively ?—A. It was a conference of colored men exclusively.

Q. Well, go on and state what was done at that convention.—A. A committee was appointed on the exodus, or on emigration, as it was then termed. They considered the matter, and adopted a report which counseled moderation on the part of the people. But from letters which I have received from different portions of the South since then, and from newspapers published in various parts of the South, I see that the feeling has not abated at all, but merely held in abeyance.

Q. You say there was a furore in that convention, or conference, on the subject of emigration ; what was the origin or cause of that furore ?—A. Well, it had its origin in the complaints of the colored people.

Q. What complaints ?—A. Principally that they did not have an opportunity to get the results of their labor as they thought they should have ; they had been struggling there ever since emancipation, and found themselves at the close of every year as far behind, as deeply in debt, as at the beginning of the year ; they thought it necessary to make some sort of a change, and they thought they might find some change in emigration. They then seemed to be bound for Kansas.

Q. Was any other cause of complaint mentioned ?—A. Yes, sir ; bull-doing.

Q. What do you mean by "bull-doing" ; what specific things ?—A. In the first place, they complained of high land-rent, the exactions of the country storekeepers, the unfairness of the merchants to whom they

sent their crops, and the political persecution to which they were subjected. These were their principal complaints.

Q. How general were these complaints; over how large an extent of territory did these causes of complaint exist, according to the statements of the gentlemen present at the convention?—A. There were complaints there from Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. There were some few men present who spoke against the exodus, but that seemed to get for them considerable unpopularity at the time.

Q. The point to which I wish to direct your attention is this: Was there any difference of opinion as to the question of fact, or was the difference of opinion only with regard to the remedies; were these causes universally conceded to be true, or were they denied by some?—A. They were universally conceded to be true; but there was a difference of opinion as to the remedy.

Q. How large a convention was that?—A. It had a membership of about one hundred and forty, I should say, in round numbers.

Q. Was there anything said at that convention, or developed there, calculated to show any connection between this feeling at the South and any political party at the North?—A. There was not. I can state in regard to that very positively, for it was stated in the first instance that it was not to be considered in any respect a political conference. I recollect that one of the members present from Alabama offered a resolution in regard to General Grant, and it was immediately tabled; it was referred to a committee, and no report ever made upon it.

Q. Was there manifested there any effort, open or secret, from any Northern agency, to influence the action of the convention, either Republican or Democratic?—A. Not that I ever discovered.

Q. Do you know of anything tending to show that this exodus movement originated in political motives on the part of any Northern people?—A. I do not.

Q. You understand the only cause to be the complaints of the colored people themselves?—A. Yes, sir; and because they failed to receive that recognition to which they think they are entitled.

Q. About what was the numerical proportion of those in that convention who favored the exodus, as compared with those who did not?—A. At least two-thirds of the whole number were in favor of the exodus.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What remedy did the other one-third propose, if any?—A. Some thought that the colored people ought to wait a little longer, and appeal to the local sentiment for more consideration; they thought that something might be secured in that way.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You say that this was the first you knew of the exodus movement?—A. The first I knew of the movement was from what I read in the newspapers last spring.

Q. You attended that convention?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you given in substance the proceedings of the convention?—A. I think so. A report of the proceedings was made out and printed. I can send a copy to every member of the committee, if they desire.

Q. You have known something of the progress of the exodus movement since that time?—A. Yes, sir; something.

Q. Go on and state what you know about it, as if you were telling a friend; for that is what you are doing. Nobody here is disposed to take any technical advantage of anything you may say.—A. Since the adjournment of the conference, there have, I understand, been organiza-

tions effected in some portions of the South. In Texas an organization has been effected with what they call emigration commissioners. To my surprise, I got a letter from one of them on Saturday, stating what he was doing.

Q. Is there anything private in that letter?—A. Nothing whatever.

Q. Can we have it?—A. Yes, sir. (See appendix, Exhibit B.) I might state in this connection that I am publishing a paper here, and that there have been communications in it from time to time from different portions of the South in regard to the exodus.

Q. Go on and state what further you know about the exodus movement.—A. Well, there has been an organized effort in Texas, of which I have spoken. A good many have left Louisiana and Mississippi; and I have seen it stated that quite a number more are likely to leave in the spring.

Q. What do you mean by "quite a number"? That is quite indefinite.—A. I could not state definitely. I would not be surprised if twice as many left there next spring as left last spring.

Q. How many left last spring?—A. I should say that there went from that section to Kansas about 8,000.

Q. And you understand that double that number intend going next spring?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, from Mississippi and Louisiana?—A. From contiguous portions of those two States—from the counties along the Mississippi River.

Q. Have you any knowledge or information as to the probable migration from Texas?—A. None whatever.

Q. They are already migrating from there?—A. Yes, sir; I have seen it stated in the newspapers that they are leaving there at the rate of thousands a week.

Q. To what point do these Mississippi and Louisiana emigrants go?—A. Mostly to Kansas.

Q. You do not understand that any portion of them go to Indiana?—A. No, sir. When Perry and Williams, the two men at the head of the North Carolina exodus, first came here last fall, they were contemplating going to Kansas too.

Q. Do you know anything further with reference to this exodus movement in other States where there are organizations, or anything is being done?—A. In Tennessee they have an organization.

Q. How extensive an organization?—A. I do not know how extensive. There are two papers published there in the interest of this movement. One of them advocates migration to Texas. I believe I have one of these papers with me—yes, here it is. This paper, called the Co-operative Emigrant, was started, I understand, for that express purpose; it is published at Clarksville, Tenn.

Q. Is that a portion of the State where the colored population is numerous?—A. I should presume so; I am not thoroughly informed on that point. Here is another paper which advocates emigration, published at Nashville, Tenn.; it is called the Emigration Herald and Pilot.

Q. Are the persons managing these papers colored gentlemen?—A. Yes, sir; they are.

Q. Do you know of anybody's money being invested in them except that of colored people?—A. I do not; I suppose, however, that the Co-operative Emigrant is influenced and possibly pecuniarily sustained to some extent—I do not know to what extent—by an association in Boston called the National Farmers' Association.

Q. Is that association devoted to the interests of the colored espe-

cially, or of farming interests generally?—A. It is devoted to encouraging the exodus, I understand—not to Kansas, but to certain portions of Texas.

Q. Does this Boston company own lands down there?—A. I think they have an interest in some lands lying in that portion of Texas which is nearest the Indian Territory and Kansas, or between them and Mexico.

Q. In that portion known as the "pan-handle"?—A. I do not know as to that.

Q. Do you know of any migration, on any general or extensive scale, from Tennessee to any Northern State?—A. I do not.

Q. Has that Boston organization been started recently?—A. It has been in existence for over a year.

Q. Has it been in any sense a political organization?—A. Not at all, as I understand it.

Q. It is entirely an industrial and business organization?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there anything else in the way of emigration being done in Tennessee?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. In regard to these emigration organizations, what is the method or plan upon which they are organized?—A. You will find the plan set forth in the proceedings of the national congress or conference at Nashville that I first spoke of.

Q. Are these secret societies in any sense?—A. O, no. I have seen in some of the newspapers that there are secret societies in North Carolina, but they have nothing to do with these organizations. I know nothing about them.

Q. Are you connected with any society for the promotion of the exodus movement?—A. No, sir, except this association here.

Q. Is that a secret society?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any secret society organized for the promotion of the exodus movement?—A. I do not.

Q. Can you tell us any more in regard to the probable emigration from Tennessee?—A. I do not know that I can.

Q. As I understand you, the emigration from Tennessee is directed, in part at least, to Texas?—A. No, I mean to say that that paper which is published in Tennessee—the Co-operative Emigrant—is devoted to the encouragement of migration to Texas. To what extent that paper is exerting an influence I do not know.

Q. Do you know how large its circulation is?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you know anything about the circulation of the other paper?—A. do not.

Q. Do you know anything regarding the migration from Alabama?—A. I know that quite a number have gone from Alabama to Southern Illinois.

Q. About how many?—A. I have seen a statement in a paper published in Louisiana that at least 500 had secured homes in Southern Illinois through the influence of a young man by the name of Gladden.

Q. Where does he live?—A. At Cairo, Ill.

Q. Is he a white man or colored?—A. He is a colored man.

Q. What is his employment?—A. Securing homes for these people.

Q. How old is he?—A. I do not know his age.

Q. Is he an educated man?—A. I presume he is.

Q. Before he went to securing homes for the colored people what was his employment?—A. When he was at Mobile he was agent for a paper published in New Orleans by the name of the New Orleans Observer; afterward he left and asked to be an agent for my paper.

Q. You have seen him, then?—A. No, sir; he asked by letter. I wrote to him in answer to his letter, and it was quite a time before I got a reply; then he wrote to me that he had moved to Illinois, and I saw afterward in the Observer the statement that he had settled about 500 colored people in Southern Illinois.

Q. From what part of the South did they come?—A. From Alabama, I understood.

Q. From the southern portion of the State?—A. I presume from the southern portion; he was from Mobile.

Q. Do you know over what route they came?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor whose means carried them there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about emigration from Georgia?—A. No; I don't know anything about Georgia.

Q. Were there any delegates from Georgia in that convention?—A. There were.

Q. Did they make the same general complaint as to facts that the others did?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you know nothing of any exodus from Georgia?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor any contemplated exodus?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor methods or plans to secure one?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any papers published in Georgia devoted to the advocacy of emigration from that State?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of any such movement in Florida?—A. Yes, sir; to my surprise I received information of such a movement on Saturday; I know it because of an appeal published in a paper called the Key West Dispatch, from Leon County I think.

Q. Have you a copy of that paper?—A. I have not.

Q. What was the character of that appeal?—A. It recited the same general facts that have been stated with regard to those other States, and expressed the opinion that the only way to secure relief was by emigration to some part of the North.

Q. Was anybody from Florida present at that national convention?—A. There was not.

Q. Do you know anything more about the matter in Florida?—A. I do not. I know one of the men whose names are attached to the appeal.

Q. What is his name?—A. Pierce; the Rev. Charles Pierce.

Q. Where does he reside?—A. I do not know.

Q. Will you ascertain his address, and furnish it to the chairman?—A. I will.

Q. Do you know of any other prominent colored men in Florida who are engaged in this movement?—A. I do not.

Q. Can you tell us any more about the movement in Florida?—A. I cannot.

Q. What about South Carolina?—A. I do not know anything about South Carolina.

Q. What about Kentucky?—A. I do not know anything about any exodus from Kentucky.

Q. Do you understand that there is any probability of an exodus from that State; have you heard any complaints from there?—A. I know of no general complaint from there.

Q. Do you know anything about Arkansas?—A. I do not.

Q. What about Virginia, your own State; do you know anything about an exodus movement from that State?—A. I do not think it very likely.

Q. What about North Carolina?—A. I know nothing more than I

have said. I saw those two men from North Carolina, Williams and Perry, when they first came here.

Q. You came in contact, I take it, more or less, with those people who passed through Washington?—A. Only to a very slight extent. I saw Williams and Perry. When the emigrants were here I went to the church where they were staying only twice.

Q. How many passed through here?—A. I have no accurate idea. I should suppose, perhaps, 800.

Q. Who were those people—families or usually only men?—A. The first batch, the one that passed through here on the 19th of November (I think that was the date, because that was the day when the Thomas statue was unveiled), consisted almost exclusively of men.

Q. How many were there in that company?—A. I think there were 51.

Q. How many of these were men?—A. Thirty-four, if I remember rightly.

Q. And the rest were women?—A. Women and children.

Q. Then that first company of emigrants consisted of 51 persons, of whom 34 were men and the rest women and children?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were these men middle-aged, or young men mostly?—A. My impression is that they were, in the main, middle-aged men. I think their average age would be below forty.

Q. Where did they come from?—A. They came from the neighborhood of Kingston, N. C.

Q. Were they from various portions of the State, or from a single locality?—A. My understanding was that they did not come from various portions of the State, but from the vicinity of Kingston.

Q. Where were they going?—A. To Indiana.

Q. Did they state to you why they left North Carolina, and why they were going to Indiana?—A. They said an agent of theirs had been out to Indiana, and had returned; and they were going out in pursuance of arrangements made by him.

Q. But why had they send out this agent? Why did they desire to leave North Carolina?—A. On account of the disadvantages under which they labored there.

Q. Of what disadvantages did they complain?—A. They said they could not get a sufficient amount of money for their work; that was the burden of their complaint.

Q. The trouble was not in getting work, but in getting pay for it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What pay did they get?—A. I am not certain as to that.

Q. Did they complain of any lack of political privileges, or of industrial necessities chiefly?—A. That was the chief motive, as I understood it.

Q. Did any of them state, or did you learn in any way, that any political party was endeavoring to induce them to leave for the purpose of influencing the election in Indiana?—A. I did not.

Q. Was there no suggestion or secret hint of any such thing?—A. Not that I heard of.

Q. That was the first company, of 51; how many companies have gone through?—A. I cannot state the exact number; I should say four at least.

Q. When did the next one arrive here?—A. I cannot state exactly; I should say in the early part of December.

Q. How many were there in that company?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did you see them?—A. I did not.

Q. Did they make any stop in Washington?—A. I do not know; one

of the batches made no stop; but whether it was this one or not I am not certain.

Q. Where were these from—this second company?—A. From the same general locality as the other, I understood.

Q. How many of them were there?—A. I do not know the exact number; between one and two hundred, I understood; I did not make any note of it.

Q. How was the party made up—of about the same proportion of men, women, and children as the former?—A. I do not know; I did not see them, and I never heard anything about that.

Q. When did the next company come?—A. About a week later a large number of them came, and reported here about the same time.

Q. How many were there in that lot?—A. I heard many different reports; I should conclude about 300, including the children.

Q. They were men with their families?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were they going?—A. To Indiana.

Q. Did you hear any of them say that they were going there to help carry the State for the Republicans?—A. O, no; they said they were going there to get work, and to get money in pay for their work, and not orders on the stores.

Q. Where did the money come from that carried them there?—A. Much of it came from collections made in the colored churches.

Q. Where did the money come from that brought them here?—A. I do not know.

Q. When they got here they were stranded, were they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not have to help the first lot?—A. We did help them some.

Q. The large lot was out of money, and you helped them on?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you raise enough money to send them clear through to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you buy their tickets clear through?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was anything done to help take care of them after they got there?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did they receive any help except from these churches of which you have spoken?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. You have now spoken of three companies, I think; when did the next lot come through here, and how many were there of them?—A. I heard of some—one lot—that came and went right on through. They paid their own way; I do not know how many there were of them.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say that when those two men, Perry and Williams, first came here last fall in connection with this matter, it was their purpose to lead this emigration right through to Kansas?—A. It was.

Q. But they changed their purpose, and decided to settle their emigrants in Indiana?—A. They did.

Q. What was the reason of that change?—A. So far as I understood, it was this: Kansas is a new State—

Q. Are you giving now your own reasons, or the reasons you got from Perry and Williams?—A. I am giving what was told them.

Q. Told them by whom?—A. By different members of the aid society.

Q. Who were they that told Perry and Williams and the rest to go to Indiana instead of Kansas?—A. I think the secretary of the association.

Q. Who is he?—A. I think Mr. Adams.

Q. Who else?—A. Well, I told them myself.

Q. Who else?—A. I do not know of any other person who told them.

Q. You think their original purpose was changed by this emigrant aid society, of which you are a member?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What reason did Mr. Adams give for changing the tide of emigration to Indiana instead of Kansas?—A. That they could get work in Indiana, and not in Kansas.

Q. Why could they get work in Indiana and not in Kansas?—A. Because Kansas is a new State; the people there are making their first struggles, and are not in a condition to employ as largely as in an old State like Indiana.

Q. Were you ever in Indiana?—A. I was not.

Q. Then you did not know whether they want any laborers in Indiana in the winter-time or not?—A. I will give you my reason for telling them to go to Indiana instead of Kansas.

Q. You have already given one reason.—A. Well, there was another reason; I had received a circular from Indiana.

Q. By whom was that circular issued?—A. By J. H. Walker, of Terre Haute, Ind.

Q. What did Mr. Walker say in that circular?—A. He stated that there was a great demand in Indiana for laborers; he said he was born in Virginia; he said it had been said that the climate of Indiana was too cold for colored men, but that it was not too cold for him; and that as many people as would come there could find good homes, and be paid for their work, and their children would have an opportunity to go to school.

Q. Had you this circular when you talked with Perry and Williams?—A. I had.

Q. Did you show it to them?—A. I did.

Q. Had Mr. Adams received any circular from anybody in Indiana?—A. I do not know.

Q. That is all the information you had from Indiana?—A. Yes, sir. Q. And in consequence of the representations of this circular issued by J. H. Walker, of Terre Haute, Ind., the tide of emigration was stopped in Indiana, instead of going on to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did this circular state that there was any call for colored laborers in Vigo County?—A. I do not think it named any counties.

Q. Do you know how much money was raised for each passenger from Washington to Indiana?—A. I think the railroad company charged \$9 each.

Q. What railroad did they go on?—A. The Baltimore and Ohio.

Q. That company took them at reduced rates?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was managing the matter for the road?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you know Mr. Dukehart, passenger agent for that road?—A. I have seen him.

Q. Did you see him in connection with this matter?—A. I did, once.

Q. Was he then making this arrangement to carry these negroes to Indiana?—A. I do not know whether he was or not.

Q. You understand that the road made reduced rates, and took them at \$9 a head?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that the money raised here was enough to comply with that arrangement?—A. Yes, sir; that was it.

Q. You have shown us a paper, called the Co-operative Emigrant, published at Clarksville, Tenn.; I see that a Dr. A. Aray, is the editor; do you know him personally?—A. I do not.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. He is.

Q. I wish to read to you an article, copied into this paper, with the manifest approval of the editor, from the Dallas (Tex.) Herald. (See appendix, Exhibit C.) Had you read that article?—A. I had not; I had but just received the paper.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Are articles like this commonly published by colored men in their papers, to encourage migration to the north?

Another member of the committee suggested that the Co-operative Emigrant was published for the purpose of encouraging emigration from Tennessee to Texas, and that is south. Some discussion arose as to the limitations of the investigation; resulting in a conclusion to give it the widest latitude consistent with a fair and not a technical rendering of the resolution directing the investigation, in order to get at the whole truth.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. About this Nashville convention or conference, how was it called? Who called it? From whom did you get invitations or notices to attend?

—A. The matter of calling a national conference of colored people had been discussed for a year or more.

Q. You mean in the colored newspapers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So there was nobody in authority as an organization that called it?—A. O, no; they came together voluntarily at a time agreed upon; about a hundred and fifty men were present at the time and place which had been previously appointed by some one.

Q. You don't know who that "some one" was?—A. O, yes, sir; I know who that some one was. Ex-Governor Pinchback and myself drew up a circular letter, some time in January—just about a year ago now—requesting a few men to meet us at a certain house in this city, and there the plan of calling a national conference was discussed and decided. That was before the colored people had begun to leave any of the Southern States to any considerable extent.

Q. And when you got there you found about two-thirds of those present in favor of emigration as a remedy for the evils under which they suffered, and about one-third opposed to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was no division on the question of fact, as to whether these evils existed?—A. None, whatever.

Q. This paper, published at Clarksville, Tenn., is published in the interests of a land association in Boston, which owns land in Texas, and wants to get laborers to go there and open it up?—A. That is the conclusion I have reached.

Q. And this paper is opposed to the northern exodus—to emigration northward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Cromwell, you are an intelligent man of your race, and have mingled considerably with others of your race; now please state to the committee what is the scope and purpose of this emigration movement; does it embrace the entire colored population of the South, with a design to transport them elsewhere, or does it embrace only a part, and, if so, how large a part?—A. There is no movement, except in so far as it is entered into by persons, independently of each other, in their respective localities. No colored man and no number of colored men could ever have originated this movement. It was spontaneous, so far as its origin was concerned.

Q. But it seems to have been easy to change it from Kansas to Indiana?—A. I hope you would not call a movement of seven or eight

hundred persons, from one or two counties in North Carolina, a change in the emigration movement in general, when others are going to Kansas, and others to Illinois.

Q. What counties in North Carolina is this movement from, do you understand?—A. I don't know that I can name the counties; I think the most of them are from the neighborhood of Kingston, Lenoir County.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. An article has been read from this paper, representing the suffering, the destitution, in some cases the starvation, to which emigrants are subjected in going to Kansas; is this sort of thing pretty generally reported throughout the South? Is it well and widely known, through those who have gone back, and through the papers of the South, that there is a great deal of suffering and hardship attending this emigration?—A. I do not know that I understand your question.

Q. Are the reports that the emigrants suffer from hunger and cold and bad treatment from the whites at the North—are these reports carried back to the colored people of the South, or not?—A. Yes, sir; they know of it, through the papers.

Q. You have no doubt that the colored people of Tennessee have access to this information?—A. Certainly they have.

Q. And the colored people of Mississippi and of Louisiana, also?—A. I presume so.

Q. And yet, notwithstanding that, I understand you to say that 16,000 colored people are intending to leave Louisiana and Mississippi, in place of the 8,000 who left last year?—A. They discount those statements somewhat; they believe some portions of them.

Q. You have no doubt that the colored people of the South generally understand that they must undergo some hardship and some ill-treatment in making the change?—A. Certainly they do.

Q. And notwithstanding that, this emigration is on the increase?—A. It is largely on the increase.

Q. These people understand this, that they are coming north to get a better living, to secure civil rights, and to educate their children?—A. That is it.

Q. What else are they coming north for?—A. I do not know of anything else.

Q. I understood you to say that you have never heard that any political party of any section of the North was at the bottom of the movement?—A. I never have.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You mentioned, a while ago, that at the Nashville convention one of the complaints that were made was in regard to political persecution or proscription; what was the character of that political persecution or proscription? From what party did it come?—A. From the Democratic party.

Q. What was the character of that persecution or proscription; in what did it consist?—A. In "intimidating" them, as it was generally expressed; in preventing them from expressing their will at the election.

Q. By what means—was anything said as to that; or was it not stated specifically?—A. It was stated in general terms; the term "bulldozing" was quite generally used.

Q. The chairman has read an extract from this paper, the Co-operative Emigrant, which you say represents the interests of the "National

Farmers' Association," having its headquarters in Boston. Now I wish to read an extract from this paper. The extract is copied from the Philadelphia Times, and is as follows. (See appendix, Exhibit D.) The chairman has also suggested that the article read by him from this paper is indicative of the sentiments of the colored people. I wish to read another article, quoted by this paper from the Indianapolis Leader, a paper in Indiana, edited, I understand, by a colored gentleman, and giving the cause of the exodus. I wish to see whether you agree with him. (See appendix, Exhibit E.)

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Does that, leaving out the unfortunate and rather harsh expressions, convey the general idea that the southern colored people have?—
A. I think it does.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. In that convention at Nashville, where colored men were complaining of their treatment, one complaint that you mentioned was high rent of land; did you hear any allegation that colored people were charged any higher rent than white people were?—A. O, no, sir; they complained of relatively high rent, as compared with production.

Q. Did you hear any charge of discrimination against black men and in favor of white men? or were their complaints simply that the general market value of land-rents was too high, and the general habit of store-keepers was to charge too much?—A. I do not know of any special expression upon that point.

Q. Do you know Williams and Perry?—A. When I see them.

Q. Do you know where Williams came from?—A. He came from North Carolina, I understand.

Q. Do you know what organization he is the agent of?—A. I do not.
Q. He is some kind of an agent, is he not?—A. I understand that he is some kind of an agent.

Q. When he came here did he not represent himself to be the agent of a number of colored people in North Carolina who were desirous of emigrating?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How is he supported while engaged in this work?—A. I do not know.

Q. Who pays his expenses?—A. I do not know.

Q. Do you not know that he gets so much per head for every emigrant he secures?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you not know that he gets a commission from the railroad for every colored passenger he puts on the train?—A. I do not.

Q. He must be supported in some way.—A. I suppose so.

Q. I am glad to hear you say that none of the colored people from North Carolina, at that Nashville convention, complained of political wrongs.—A. I said that was not the burden of their complaint. They complained also of the laws relating to landlord and tenant, which prevented them from selling anything they had raised before their rent was paid; if they raise anything for themselves, they are prohibited from selling it without the consent of the owner of the land.

Q. Do you know anything, from your association with colored men from North Carolina, or from anything published in the papers, as to what has been the general condition of the colored people in that State for the past four or five years?—A. I should conclude, from what I can learn, that their condition is improving in the larger towns and cities.

Q. Do you know Bishop Hood, the bishop of the Colored Methodist

Church in that State ?—A. I do not know him personally ; I know his reputation.

Q. Did you ever read the proceedings of the conference of colored men at Salisbury, in 1878 ?—A. I might have done so ; I do not now remember anything particularly in reference to it.

Q. Do you not know that a Democratic legislature appointed colored justices of the peace in various parts of the State ?—A. I think I have so understood.

Q. Do you know that recently asylums have been built for the insane and the blind and the deaf and dumb among the colored people, and normal schools for the education of colored teachers ?—A. I understand that to be the case.

Q. Do you not know that we have military companies, armed and equipped, composed of colored men ?—A. I understand so in towns and cities.

Q. Do you not know that the colored people recently held a State Industrial Exhibition at Raleigh—the first ever held in the United States by colored people ?—A. O, no, sir ; there were several held in the United States before that ; one in Tennessee, at Nashville ; one at Lexington, Ky. ; and one at Wilmington, N. C.

Q. Those were not State fairs ?—A. No, sir ; not *State* fairs.

Q. Then you judge that the condition of the colored people in North Carolina is improving ?—A. In the towns and cities, yes.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. I notice that you are careful to qualify your answer by saying, "in the towns and cities." How is it with regard to the rest of the State ?—A. There has been less proper payment of labor in the country districts than in the towns and cities ; that is why I make the qualification.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. What do you mean by "proper payment of labor" ? Do you mean prices ?—A. I refer to both prices and manner. I understand that it is the general custom (at least those men who came here from North Carolina said so) to pay them in orders on the stores, and not in money. The same thing is sometimes done, to a certain extent, in my own State of Virginia.

Q. Wherein does that work any hardship ?—A. When a laborer is paid in orders on the stores he cannot divide his fund and say, "so much I will use for this purpose" and "so much for that" and "so much for another." All has to be taken up at once, in such goods as are in the store, whether he wants them or not, and at such prices as the storekeeper chooses to fix : and this practice affords a storekeeper an opportunity to charge a high price for his goods.

Q. Is it to be understood that he embraces the opportunity ?—A. That is the impression prevalent ; it is very natural that he should do so.

Q. You say the laborers are paid by orders ; the owner or the lessor of the land, for whom the colored man works, gives him an order on the store ; the man goes there with his order, and takes up the necessities of life, which he is obliged to have. Does he take them up in advance of the sale of his crops ?—A. I do not know whether in advance or not ; I have simply been told by them that that is the method of payment.

Q. The gist of the complaint is, that there is very little ready money paid them ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say they are not allowed to sell anything until the main crop is harvested ; what do you mean by that ?—A. I am told that such is the case.

Q. What are the principal crops they raise there ?—A. Cotton and corn, and in certain portions of the State, peanuts ; and in some sections—in the northern part, about Hendersonville, and Danville, and Greensborough—tobacco.

Q. Do you understand that they are prohibited from raising and using vegetables and the ordinary necessities of life that may be appropriated by the family during the season ?—A. I mean that they are prohibited from selling, not from using.

Q. They have the right to use whatever they can appropriate ?—A. I understand so ; but cannot sell anything, so as to get any income from it.

Q. You say that when the year ends, and the colored man comes to settle up, there is nothing left ; how did you understand the colored man supported his family during the season, while the crop was growing ?—A. That has always been a mystery to me.

Q. Do you know how they get such support as they have ?—A. I suppose that they get an advance from the lessor.

Q. That is, an order on the storekeeper is advanced to them ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that leaves them at the mercy of the storekeeper ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say that you heard no complaints of any discrimination in the matter of rents as between the white population and the colored population ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you understand that the white laborer lived on orders given him in advance, upon his work, the same as the colored laborer ?—A. In the Southwestern States there is no white laboring population, as a class, like the colored population.

Q. How is it in North Carolina ?—A. It is different in different parts of the State ; in the western section of North Carolina it is quite different from the east.

Q. Is this emigration from the eastern or the western section ?—A. I should call it the eastern.

Q. Do you understand that there is a white laboring population in that section of North Carolina in competition with the negroes ?—A. I think not.

Q. You understand that there is no discrimination between the white and the colored population as regards the manner in which they are paid for their labor ?—A. It is not easy to see how there could be, when there is no white laboring population to discriminate in favor of or against. Is it anything very extraordinary that there should be no discrimination where there is only one kind of people ?

(Mr. Vance objected to witness inserting an argument into his testimony.)

Mr. BLAIR. You asked a question, and he has answered it, that is all.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Was there anything in his circular to indicate whether that man Walker, of Terre Haute, was a white man or a colored man ?—A. He was a colored man.

TESTIMONY OF A. B. CARLETON.

A. B. CARLETON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside ?—Answer. At Terre Haute, Ind.

Q. What is your profession ?—A. I am a lawyer.

Q. Are you acquainted with J. H. Walker ?—A. I am, very well.

Q. Do you know what official capacity he holds under the general government ?—A. I do not know what is the name of it ; it is connected with the postal service ; he carries the mail between the depot and the post office ; he is an employé of the general government.

Q. State what the negro population is in Vigo County, of the old settlers, who have been there as long as anybody else.—A. It is 1,500 or 2,000—upwards of 1,500 anyway.

Q. How many votes do they cast at the election in our county election ?—A. Between 300 and 400.

Q. Are you tolerably well acquainted with the colored people there ?—A. Pretty well.

Q. Have you, since this immigration movement into Vigo County commenced, had any conversation with any of the colored men themselves, the old settlers, on this subject ?—A. I have, to some extent.

Q. State their opinions of favor or disfavor toward the movement.—A. I have heard old colored residents express themselves in about this way : they said there were enough poor negroes here now, without the immigration of any more from North Carolina.

Q. Is there any sentiment so far as you know in favor of this immigration to our State, either in Vigo County, or any place else ?—A. I know of nobody who favors it, except J. H. Walker.

Q. In regard to farm labor, have you any knowledge of any demand for farm laborers at this time of the year, in that part of our State ?—A. I have no knowledge of it ; and I am satisfied that there is no demand ; I have conversed with old residents there, and they do not know of any demand for them.

Q. Are Walker's opportunities and position such as to enable him to judge of such a demand, or to be the instrument of communicating the wishes of the farm community ?—A. There is nothing in his calling to indicate that, further than that he is a busy kind of a man—he is an active Republican politician ; he might make inquiries.

Q. Your acquaintance in that vicinity is pretty general ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If there is any such demand, you are not aware of it ?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Have you talked much with farmers on this subject ?—A. To some extent. The fact is, ever since 1874 we have had hard times in Indiana ; there is very little amelioration even now, when there is said to be a "boom" in business. I have known, from people coming to make inquiry where they could get employment, that there is an oversupply of labor. Of late, since there has been to some extent a revival in the iron business, there has been some inquiry for foundry-men ; but for farm labor there is no demand in Indiana.

Q. Do you know whether these men who have recently migrated out there have found employment ?—A. I am unable to say. I know of one colored man who got employment ; I had a little conversation with him on the train.

Q. Do you know whether the colored people already residing there have exerted themselves to find employment for the new comers, and to take care of them?—A. Yes, sir; their efforts have been taxed to the utmost to find employment for them.

Q. About how many colored men have you heard express opposition to their coming?—A. I do not know; perhaps four or five.

Q. They all put it on the ground you have mentioned, that there was not employment for them?—A. Yes, sir; they said there were too many negroes here already.

Q. This Mr. Walker, you say, was employed in carrying the mail from the depot to the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is not that work done under contract with the department?—A. My understanding is that it is an appointment; he has had the place, I think, some six years or more.

Q. Do you know of any demonstrations of opposition on the part of the white people of Indiana to the colored emigrants stopping there?—

A. None to my knowledge.

Q. Do you know anything about the demonstration at Shelbyville?—A. Nothing, only what I saw about it in the newspapers.

Q. Do you know anything about their being refused to speak in a court-house at any place in Indiana?—A. I do not.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. There has been some white migration to Indiana from the North and other points, has there not?—A. Not very largely.

Q. But there has been something of it—German, and Irish, and Scandinavian, &c.?—A. We have no Scandinavian population at all in Indiana. I am not aware of any immigration into Indiana that amounts to anything, except colored.

Q. Then the growth of Indiana, the increase of the population, seems to have come to a stop, except as to the colored population?—A. There is no general migration to Indiana from any State.

Q. There is some emigration from the State, I presume?—A. I suppose there is some, to the Southwest, Texas, &c.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Is it the general wish of the people of Indiana, as you understand it, not to have any more people come there?—A. I think not.

Q. Is it the general wish not to have any more laborers there?—A. I do not think there is any such wish as that.

Q. Only they do not want any more colored people to come there?—A. They do not desire to have an exodus of people of any color come there, unprovided for, in competition with the people already there. Where large numbers of colored people come into a State, in a destitute condition, it is not very agreeable in my judgment, to the people there, especially when it is generally believed, and it is the pretty common belief, that they are brought there for the purpose of voting a particular ticket.

Q. Is not that, then, the only objection, the impression on the part of the Democratic party that these colored people have come there to vote?—A. That is it in part; but, besides that, there is a general feeling I think, without distinction of party, that it is not a good thing for a large number of people to come into a community at once, and unprovided for.

Q. There has been no violent opposition to their coming that you are aware of?—A. They have been treated kindly, so far as I know.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Has there been any violent opposition anywhere, except at Shelbyville ?—A. None that I am aware of.

Q. You say you talked with one of these men from North Carolina ; did you talk with any more than one ?—A. There was only one that I had any lengthy conversation with.

Q. What employment did he get ?—A. He was at Indianapolis. I asked him where he was from, and he said from North Carolina ; he named the county ; it was Monroe or Marion, I think. I learned from him that he had been employed by a certain doctor, whose name he gave, who lived in Amo, Hendricks County, Indiana. He told me that there were twenty-five families in the party that came from North Carolina with him. They were at once quartered at Indianapolis, and this doctor had employed him. After this conversation with the colored man, I went back and took my seat. Then this doctor, whose name I cannot give, came and sat down by me and began to talk. He is a doctor who lives at Amo, and has a farm about two miles out of town. He wanted to know if I belonged to the Voorhees investigating committee, and I told him no. I learned from him that he had employed this colored man at Indianapolis, and was taking him home to give him employment during the winter.

Q. Did this colored man assign any reason for coming to Indiana, or why Indiana was such an enticing place for colored people ?—A. Yes. He said he had been told that in Indiana he could get work, and get paid a dollar and a half a day. He said he was a Republican. I asked him if he was coming out to Indiana to vote. By that time several persons had gathered around and he had become more on his guard, and his reply was, "The Democrats say so."

Q. Is farm labor in Indiana worth a dollar and a half a day now ?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. Is it worth the half of that ?—A. No, sir. That same day I saw a Mr. Baird, who is running a wood-sawing machine on the railroad and employs several hands. He said that more than twenty white men had sought employment of him recently and were willing to work for fifty cents a day, but he could not give them employment.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Have you any information as to the number of colored men that have come into Indiana during this exodus ?—A. It would be a very rough guess that I could make.

On motion the committee adjourned to meet at 10 a. m., January 21, 1880.

SECOND DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Wednesday, January 21, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment. Present, the chairman and all the members. The taking of testimony was resumed as follows :

O. S. B. WALL, recalled, sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State your name, age, and residence.—Answer. My name is O. S. B. Wall ; my residence is on the corner of Seventh and Boundary streets, near the Howard University grounds. Did you ask me my age ?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I am about fifty-two years old now.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Richmond County, North Carolina, near the Peedee.

Q. How long have you lived here in Washington City?—A. I came here in the fall of 1864; staid here till the spring of 1865; then I was commissioned by President Lincoln to be a colonel, and went away and staid on duty among the freedmen in South Carolina, in Charleston, until early in 1866, when my regiment was mustered out and I was mustered out also. Then I went back to Ohio, my home before coming to Washington, and staid there awhile; in 1867 I was sent as a delegate to represent Northern Ohio in the national colored convention in that State.

Q. When did you come from North Carolina to Ohio?—A. In 1839; I was sent there by my father to a Quaker school in Warren County, about fifty miles above Cincinnati.

Q. Then you were appointed from Ohio, by President Lincoln, to what position?—A. I was appointed to a captaincy by Secretary Stanton on the 3d of March, 1865.

Q. Just about the termination of the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long were you in the Army?—A. I was in the Army a year, because the organization to which I was attached was not disbanded.

Q. Did you hold any position under the government after that?—A. Yes, sir; as I said, when I came back here in 1867, General Howard sought me and asked me to become an employé in the Freedmen's Bureau.

Q. And you accepted the position?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long were you in the employment of the Freedmen's Bureau?—A. Without the data at my hands, I could not say.

Q. You can state approximately?—A. I should say some three or four years.

Q. After you went out of that service, what other service were you engaged in?—A. I think that then Mr. Bowen and others petitioned the Attorney-General to commission me justice of the peace. I suppose they thought they would try the novelty of having a negro in the judiciary service, and I was the first black fellow appointed to be a justice of the peace in the District. After that the board of police commissioners made me a police magistrate.

Q. How long did you serve as justice of the peace?—A. About nine years altogether.

Q. Have you occupied any other official position since you were justice of the peace?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are now engaged in the practice of the law?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you engaged in any other business?—A. None, except that I collect and do everything that pertains to that sort of business.

Q. When did you become president of the Emigrant Aid Society?—A. I could not state exactly; a year or a year and a half ago.

Q. Where was this Emigrant Aid Society organized of which you are the president?—A. At the house of Mr. Adams, the secretary.

Q. Where was that?—A. On the corner of Fourteenth and V streets.

Q. In this city?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this the parent society, or are there branches of this Emigrant Aid Society?—A. This is the parent society and the only one.

Q. You mean there are no branches?—A. None that I know of; there are no auxiliaries that I know of, excepting in this sense, that we were organized first, and that others, which were organized afterward, showed a deference to us, being the first organized, and being located at the national capital; we have never given any authority to any other society in any other State.

Q. Are there any other similar societies, to your knowledge, in the United States?—A. I learn by the papers and by hearsay that there are a number of them.

Q. State where they are, so far as you know.—A. There are one or two in Kansas, I have heard.

Q. Whereabouts in Kansas?—A. I said—what I am telling you now is only what I have heard said or have read in papers. I know I have heard it said that there were two or three in Kansas, I think near the Missouri line. Then I have heard or have read, I do not know which, that there were some in Indiana, and some in Pennsylvania, New York, and other places, which I cannot now recall. I have heard this in a sort of general way.

Q. There are several in Indiana, you say?—A. I have heard so or read so, or both.

Q. Where are those located that are in Indiana?—A. I think I have heard that there is an organization at Greencastle. I understand there is one at Indianapolis. I think I have read of another at some other place in Indiana, but as to that I will not undertake to be explicit.

Q. Have you corresponded with these other similar societies of which you have spoken?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you had no correspondence with them either by letter or otherwise?—A. Do you mean as president of our organization?

Q. I mean in any way—you or your society.—A. I have not; our secretary has attended to the correspondence.

Q. My question was intended to embrace your society; has your society had any such correspondence?—A. I think we have, but I will not be positive as to that. I think Mr. Adams has spoken to me a number of times about receiving communications from other societies and answering them. I have not read the communications, though.

Q. Where is Mr. Adams now?—A. He is away out West somewhere; I do not know exactly where; the last I heard of him he was near Vancouver's Island, I think; at least, way up in Washington Territory.

Q. How long do you expect him to stay there?—A. I cannot say. I have understood that he means to make a permanent home somewhere out there.

Q. Has your society filled his place as secretary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is your secretary now?—A. A young man by the name of Fearing, a clerk in the Treasury Department.

Q. Is he white or colored?—A. He is a very handsome mulatto.

Q. Has he the records of your society?—A. Yes, sir; so far as we have any. The fact is, we have not much records about it.

Q. So far as you have any, are they in his custody or yours?—A. In his, sir, as secretary of the society. I would state, as I said before, that we have very little in the way of records. We have been going on very much as the English Government does, without any written constitution.

Q. Such letters as you have received, have you been in the habit of keeping them or destroying them?—A. I have quite a number, mostly, I should say, not official but personal.

Q. Have you any from the society at Greencastle, Ind.?—A. I have not.

Q. Have you any knowledge of the names of any parties belonging to that organization?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of a man there by the name of Langsdale?—A. have heard of him.

Q. Did you ever have any correspondence with him?—A. I never did.

Q. Have any copies of his paper been sent to you?—A. Mr. Adams may have shown me some; I will not be positive.

Q. Are you acquainted with the parties composing the organization at Indianapolis?—A. No, sir. The Leader is sent me, a colored paper; and from my recollection, about the time the society was organized, the name of a man called Bagby or Bagley occurred among the officers. That is about all the name I remember.

Q. Were you ever in Indiana?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. At what point in Indiana?—A. In the northern portion mostly. I was raised only sixty miles east from Richmond County.

Q. Are you acquainted in Indianapolis?—A. No, sir; but I know persons there with whom I was raised; we were boys in the academy together.

Q. Who are they?—A. Dr. Harvey's sons.

Q. Were there any others?—A. I cannot think of any others.

Q. How long since you were at Indianapolis?—A. I never was at Indianapolis; my acquaintance was mostly in Northern Indiana.

Q. How long since you were in Indiana at all?—A. Not for several years.

Q. You say you have no written constitution?—A. Well, sir, that is partly correct and partly not. We have a sort of a constitution, but we have not the regular machinery, such as people usually have to govern literary or other organizations.

Q. What sort of machinery have you?—A. We simply have so much of a constitution, without any preamble to it, as sets forth that we are to have a president and vice-president, and secretary, and a treasurer, I think; but we do not go on with a number of different articles defining just in what way the objects of our society shall be carried out.

Q. Is there a record of that constitution?—A. I cannot say; I have never seen anything of it since the evening when we adopted it, over a year ago.

Q. What are the provisions regarding membership, or didn't you have any?—A. I doubt whether we ever had any.

Q. Is there a fee for joining?—A. I think not; I am not positive as to that, but I think not. We simply wanted to work and get along with as little organization to govern us as we could.

Q. Did the officers of this organization receive any pay for their services?—A. Not any.

Q. On what source do you rely for money to put into your treasury?—A. On voluntary contributions from good people of the country who sympathize with us.

Q. You simply solicit charity on this subject?—A. That is all; but I do not call it charity exactly; it is a contribution.

Q. You have said that there are no branches; but is there any organization of this kind in North Carolina?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Have you had any communication with anybody in North Carolina on the subject?—A. I have had no communication with anybody in the sense that there has been any correspondence between our society and any society there. I have received letters from North Carolina.

Q. From what point were they written?—A. Mostly, I think, from Goldsborough.

Q. Do you remember the name of the party writing them?—A. I do—Mr. Evans and Mr. Scott. I think those two have written me from there.

Q. Where are they now?—A. I do not know.

Q. How long since you saw them in town here ?—A. I saw them in town here four or five days ago.

Q. In what employment are they engaged ?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. Do you not know that they are engaged in giving their entire time and attention to this migration ?—A. I do not know that ; no, sir.

Q. Have you not met them in charge of companies of colored men on their way from North Carolina to the West ?—A. Yes, sir ; I believe they were.

Q. Did they not tell you they were ?—A. Yes, sir ; they told me that they were accompanying these people from North Carolina.

Q. What information have you of the demand for labor in Indiana ?—A. Well, sir, now I don't want to go beyond the bounds of the exact truth. I want to come to an understanding whether the Senator wishes me to give my own knowledge personally, or simply my general knowledge derived from various sources.

Q. I want this either from your own knowledge or from information that you may have derived from others in Indiana ; and if from information derived from Indiana, give us the names of those who informed you.—A. My general knowledge is this : I was raised in a farming section in Southern Ohio, in the same latitude as the interior portion of Ohio and Indiana ; and I know there are many thrifty farmers in Ohio and Indiana, and that there is a demand for labor, in winter almost the same as in summer, for such work as chopping wood, cutting logs, and so forth. Knowing this to be the case in Southern Ohio, I have every reason to believe it to be the same in Southern Indiana ; it is the same sort of a country, and there must be a demand for the same sort of labor. I know that the negro, from his docility, from his adaptiveness and teachableness, will make a better laborer and give better satisfaction than the tramp regency, or the Irish and the Germans ; that they are more desirable, especially with the Quakers of the country. Besides that general information, I have had a number of communications from gentlemen who desire labor, and mention that they want "one good colored man," or "or two good colored men," as the case may be, or that they "can locate fifty colored men."

Q. Have you with you the names of persons who have written you such letters ?—A. I have not with me.

Q. Will you bring them here ?—A. I will. They are from good, responsible people.

Q. Do you know them personally ?—A. I know of them, as I know of Senator Voorhees, or as I know of other men of whom I have frequently heard and whose character and reliability are perfectly well known.

Q. Where do they live ?—A. In Indiana ; I could not say exactly in what part.

Q. What county do they live in ?—A. I could not state.

Q. Do you remember their post-office address ?—A. I do not. I get letters from New York, from Ohio, from Pennsylvania, and from other States.

Q. Are you willing to give us the benefit of them ?—A. Certainly, sir. A great many of them are turned over to Mr. Adams, the secretary of our society, because the secretary was the proper person to have them ; but whatever I have you can have.

Q. Will you bring them with you to our next meeting ?—A. I will.

Q. You say the demand for farm labor is about the same in Southern Ohio as in Southern Indiana ; are you sending any of these people to Ohio ?—A. Yes, sir ; the last lot I sent out—there were eleven of them—I sent to Ohio.

Q. To what part of Ohio ?—A. To Bellaire.

Q. Was there a demand for these men there ?—A. I do not know, excepting this: We have been informed heretofore that it was a good location there for them ; then we have been written to by some colored men there that it was a good location.

Q. Who has written to you to that effect ?—A. Well, one of them is Milton M. Hollaud, a good engineering man in the last campaign. He told us the state of things there, and that good colored men and women could get employment there ; and at his instance these persons were directed there, not having money enough to take them to Kansas.

Q. You say he was "a good engineering man in the last campaign" ; do you mean by that the last political campaign ?—A. I do not know, except that he is an active man in the interests of the colored men.

Q. To what other points in Ohio have you sent colored men ?—A. Mostly to the river counties. The fact is, I have not had much to do with forwarding men to any other point except Bellaire. I think some were sent to Gallia County, and perhaps to two or three other points.

Q. Have you the means of telling how many colored laborers you have sent to Indiana ?—A. No, sir ; I could only approximate it in a way that would be quite indefinite ; we have sent a good many women and children out there ; in all, I should not be surprised if we had sent from 2,500 to 3,000 persons to Indiana.

Q. How many to Ohio ?—A. It would be a sheer guess that I could make ; only a few, as compared with the number sent to Indiana.

Q. Half as many ?—A. No, sir, I think not ; perhaps four or five hundred ; perhaps not that many ; they were sent out in little squads as wanted and called for.

Q. Who has been in the habit of going to Indiana to make arrangements for these people ?—A. I do not know, except by hearsay.

Q. What do you know by hearsay ?—A. I have understood that Williams and Perry have done the most of the going out with them and locating them.

Q. Do you want this committee to understand that 2,500 to 3,000 men, women, and children have been sent from here to Indiana through the instrumentality of your organization, and yet you have no more knowledge of what has been going on at the other end of the line, in Indiana, and of the people engaged in this business out there, than you have given us here ? Can you furnish us no names of persons connected with this Emigrant Aid Society in Indianapolis, and no names of persons at Greencastle, who are managing this matter ?—A. With all deference to the Senator and the committee, and meaning no offense, allow me to say that I want the committee to understand just what they choose from the evidence I give ; I have nothing to do except to give it to you as accurately and definitely as I can. I mean to say again that I have no connection with any organization in Indiana, nor in any other State ; that I have no further interest in the matter in the world than that I, as a humanitarian, meet these people here, desire very much to do all I can to help them go west, and get good homes there. I have no connection with any organization or anybody, and hope and believe that the people there are imbued with the same spirit that I am, and will welcome them and take care of them, which I hear they do ; but when it comes to particulars, I cannot tell you definitely ; I do not know the number that have been sent to Indiana with any exactness ; it would be the merest guess-work for me to say how many I have sent or been instrumental in sending.

Q. You say that you are responsible for this paper here ; for its state-

ments of fact and its sentiment?—A. I did not mean to put it in just that shape. I had something to do with the composition of the paper; Mr. Adams, our secretary, a young man of more or less literary ability, got the thing up; but I was in sympathy with it, and agreed with it, and approved it in the main; there might be some words or sentences that I would have had different if I had had the entire getting up of it. What I meant to say was, that in the main I am in sympathy with its sentiments.

Q. In this paper I find it stated that "It is well known that ever since the adoption by the people of the United States of those constitutional measures which conferred upon the late slave the rights of citizenship and suffrage, there has existed throughout some of the Southern States an incessant political and social strife." I wish to ask you, as a man of intelligence belonging to your race, and of information regarding their condition, whether there is "an incessant political and social strife," or *any* political and social strife, between the white and the colored population in North Carolina?—A. I do not know that there is.

Q. On the other hand, do you not know that North Carolina has been more friendly toward the colored race; has been more kind in its treatment of them; more liberal in its legislation in their behalf; and has actually done more for their benefit than any other State, North or South?—A. Now, Mr. Senator, that is a very nice little eulogy on North Carolina. Governor Vance, there, himself could not have done it up any better. It is almost equal to Daniel Webster's famous eulogy on Massachusetts, when he exclaimed, "There she stands." And, seriously, Mr. Senator, I will agree with you that North Carolina has been one of the mildest and most considerate slave States in the Union. She has gone beyond even Maryland in that respect; she has had more free negroes and has treated them better and with more consideration, even in the old times when slavery was still in existence, than any other Southern State; and since emancipation she has treated her colored population as fairly as could be expected of a master class toward their ex-slaves. It is not so much on account of the treatment the colored people have received from the whites as from a poverty of the principal material elements which constitute wealth and contribute to comfort that makes North Carolina a grand good State to emigrate from. I do not mean any reflection on the character of the people; the trouble is in the soil. I would not think of living there. If I were a white man and were able to do so; that is, if I had the wealth so that I could, and the privilege of doing so, I would go down to North Carolina and would educate and instruct those negroes, not with reference to politics or religion or social systems, but I would say to them, if you want to educate your children to be men, to imitate the white race, to own property, to become successful in life in any respect, you must leave this poor, wretched, God-forsaken country, where the soil does not seem able to sprout black-eyed peas, and go out into the broad, rich, fertile West, where they can buy farms on those alluvial prairies at a less price per acre than the rent that they pay every year down there. It is not from any hostility to the white people, but for the good of the black people, that I urge them to get up and get out from that State.

Q. Mr. Wall, have you ever looked at the census returns of North Carolina and noticed the productiveness of that State? If you have, I am sure you would not make any such sweeping assertions as you have, that the soil is not capable of raising "black-eyed peas." Did you ever examine the census returns of North Carolina as regards its productiveness?—A. O, yes, sir; I certainly have; I love the State—

Q. Have you looked at the census returns because you love the State?
—A. I judge mainly from my own general knowledge of the State and the condition of the people there.

Q. Aside from the barrenness of the soil of North Carolina, point out some other evils that you think the people will be relieved of by going to Indiana.—A. The next thing, and the most important thing to me, is the education and schooling of the children. I am told, notwithstanding the statements that the State has been very liberal in the establishment of schools, including normal schools, and did for a time seem to make an effort in the direction of popular education, that, either because they have not the disposition or because they have not the ability, they have ceased to take that sort of interest in furnishing school privileges that they started out with. At all events, I am satisfied, from statements received from reliable sources, that they do not, in the rural districts, give the children more than about three month's schooling in the year; and I guess few of them have that. And from the fact that the school privileges there are not so good as they are in the North generally, I would urge them to leave there and seek some place where their children can find better opportunities for education.

Q. What is your understanding of the school laws of Indiana, in regard to colored people?—A. I understand that they have schools for the colored children the same as for the white, except that where the distance would be too great for colored children to go to their own schools they and the white children can go to school together. In other words, they have separate schools where it is convenient and they can afford it; and otherwise the children all go to school together. At all events, I understand that in some way the colored children can get schooling for at least six or eight months in the year.

Q. Are you not aware that practically it is not true in Indiana that the two races go to school together? (Here the chairman entered into a somewhat detailed explanation of the law, the facts, and the decision of the supreme court, in Indiana, and then continued):

Q. Now, I want to ask you whether you are aware that there is a law in Indiana making a landlord's lien on half a man's crop, so that he can not move it or sell it until he has paid his rent? Are you and your folks aware of that?—A. No, sir; and it would not make any difference to my purpose if it were so, if white and colored men were treated alike.

Q. I would like to have you point out the advantages of Indiana over North Carolina as regards the treatment of your people.—A. I am not particularly conversant with the laws of either State; but I know something of the disposition of the people of Indiana, and their ability and willingness to help and aid; their friendliness is about all the matter I have considered.

Q. Then Indiana is regarded as friendly in tone and temper toward the settlement of negroes there?—A. No, not entirely; The southern part of your state, your "Egypt," is to be more dreaded, I would say, than even Kentucky. But in the interior there seems to be a very different sentiment.

Q. What do you mean by "Egypt"? Do you mean Evansville, and the parts around there, where they cast about 1,500 negro votes, by colored men brought over from Kentucky?—A. No, sir; I mean the portions where the Democrats have been in the habit of bringing white Kentuckians over by the thousand to help carry the State for the Democratic ticket.

Q. Please be explicit, and state the counties where they have been

in the habit of bringing Kentuckians over to vote the Democratic ticket.—A. As I said, Mr. Senator, you must not confine me to specific details in these matters. I have read statements in the papers, and have received information from gentlemen in whom I have every confidence, as to your “Egypt,” and the method of carrying elections there.

Q. Are you aware that “Egypt” is not in Indiana—that the term is never applied to any portion of Indiana, but is applied exclusively to the southern portion of Illinois?—A. I have heard it applied to the southern portion of Indiana and Illinois both.

Q. Are you aware that Mr. Heilman, the Republican member of Congress from the first district of Indiana, was elected from the most southern Congressional district in the State, embracing half a dozen counties lying next to Kentucky? Are you aware that more of the counties along the river are Republican than Democratic?—A. I have given no testimony on that point, for I have no knowledge regarding it.

Q. I wanted to see, Mr. Wall, whether you could give an intelligent account of the difference between the legislation in favor of your race in Indiana and in North Carolina; you say, however, that you do not know of any political or social strife in North Carolina since suffrage was bestowed on the negro?—A. I did not want to be understood as saying that all the difficulties there were social or political, but that I knew of no particular, exciting, special war or strife between the two races.

Q. You say in this paper, “The disposition to escape beyond the reach of oppression has of course been greatest among the colored people residing in those sections of the South wherein their opponents have displayed the least regard for their rights to ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’” What part of North Carolina is this emigration from?—A. I think it is from the northeastern part.

Q. Do you know what counties?—A. I think I have heard them mentioned, maybe, but I cannot name them now. The emigrants have been mainly, I have understood, from the neighborhood of Goldsborough.

Q. You have been among these people as they passed through?—A. Considerably.

Q. Did they not tell you what counties they were from?—A. Some of them may have done so, but if they did I do not remember now.

Q. You are a North Carolinian yourself?—A. Yes, sir; but I have been away from there a long time. They did not come from any counties where I am acquainted. I think the name of one of the counties I heard mentioned was Lenoir County.

Q. Do you understand that this tide of emigration is started in North Carolina from those points where the white people oppress the colored people the most?—A. Do you mean more than in other parts of the South?

Q. No; more than in other parts of North Carolina. Does this emigration come from parts of that State where the white people treat the colored people more unjustly than in other parts of the State?—A. Well, now, I think they treat them quite unjustly there—

Q. Quite unjustly in what way?—A. I think they treat them unjustly in the way they take advantage of them in paying them for their labor.

Q. How do you know they take advantage of them?—A. I know it, because I have it directly from the mouths of many intelligent, honest-appearing men who have come from there.

Q. How do they say the white people take advantage of them?—A. Well, quite a number of them have told me that when they work out they can get but about thirty cents a day for their labor. And when they

rent little patches or portions of ground, on shares, or when they rent and pay so much a year for the land, though they have worked there now for twelve or fifteen years, ever since emancipation, they stand just where they did before; they haven't anything. Then they have told me about the process of dealing with them—their being paid for their work in the orders that were spoken of by Mr. Cromwell the other day. After they have made four or five bags of cotton, and so much corn, or whatever else they may be raising, at the end of the year their orders have accumulated and aggregated in amount so that their landlord or employer, the man from whom they rent, who has the measuring and weighing of the crop, and the handling and calculating of these orders, makes it out, somehow, so that they not only have nothing, but are in debt, with a mortgage on them, as one might say, for the future.

Q. Have you sufficient knowledge of the world to know whether the same thing is or is not true of large numbers of persons in other places, everywhere, white as well as black; or does everybody get rich outside of North Carolina?—A. O, no, sir, not everybody; but in most places, anybody that is hardworking and economical can manage to save up something.

Q. Is it not true of the laboring class in all portions of the country, to a large extent, that at the end of the year they are still behind; is not that a very common complaint everywhere?—A. Mr. Senator, I will frankly give you my reasons for concluding that there is something wrong about this matter. I understand a little about human nature. The master class, who have for two or three hundred years held these colored people in abject slavery, have not so soon lost all their feeling of superiority and ownership and their determination to get and to keep the upper hand of them. Human nature does not change so suddenly but that, if this class to a man remain right there, in the same localities, and in the same relation as servants, as abject hewers of wood and drawers of water, the upper class, with their dislike of labor and their contempt of laborers, are not likely to be so pure, so immaculate as to treat these people fairly and as their fellow-men. This is not to be expected; and when I hear these statements of unfair and unjust and oppressive treatment from dozens and hundreds of people, bearing upon their countenances the seal of wretchedness and the impress of despair, I hold myself justified in believing it to be true. If it be a fact that the white population of the South cannot do any better by the colored people than they do—if, on account of the poverty of the soil, they cannot do any better—that does not make it any the less their right to leave such a country, nor any less their duty to move to some better one, which will afford them greater advantages in life for themselves and their children.

Q. In regard to this matter of a change of sentiment toward the colored people, are you aware that within the past twenty-five or thirty years the people of Indiana have voted, by a majority of seventy-five or eighty thousand, against permitting colored persons to come into the State?—A. I was not aware of it; I am very sorry if they ever did such a thing.

Q. I find you stating, in this circular of yours, that "he desires to escape from the South in time to avoid the unpleasant experiences of a Presidential campaign, and even before the census-taker shall have used his name to swell the Congressional representation of that section"; is it your purpose in that to advance the idea that this migration would cut down the Congressional representation of the South generally?—A. That was not my primary understanding at all.

Q. Why was it inserted there, then?—A. Because, while that was not the primary object in view, still I think it would be right to do that very thing.

Q. I am not asking you whether you think it would be right or not; I am asking in regard to the fact. This movement, then, would have some connection, would it not, with the basis of representation, North or South?—A. I think that would be an incidental result, following in the lead of this greatest of all considerations—that of getting them away for their own good, for humanity's sake.

Q. Speaking of this transfer to the North you say: "There, too, his right of suffrage will not be contested or abridged; and if the 'solid North' is in reality to be arrayed in political contest against a 'solid South,' his vote, freely cast, may one day prove a potent force in saving the nation from the evil designs of his former persecutors." You say this in your circular; and yet you say that this migration, so far as your society is concerned, has no political end in view—that there is nothing political about it?—A. Nothing whatever.

Q. This statement, too, is here in this paper incidentally?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the allusion to his casting his vote against a "solid South" is also here incidentally, or accidentally—which?—A. I don't know whether it is incidental or accidental; what I meant to say was this: that in the North the colored man will not have to pass through those scenes that he has to pass through in the South; there is no use in denying these things, for these colored people have lived there and know about these things; in the North nothing occurs of this intimidating, and white liners, and night-riders, and ku-klux.

Q. Do you mean that there are white-liners, and night-riders, and ku-klux in North Carolina?—A. I do not know particularly about North Carolina.

Q. You speak of going North, where the right of suffrage is not abridged; is the right of suffrage abridged in North Carolina any more than in Indiana?—A. I think so.

Q. Do not misunderstand me, Mr. Wall; in my examination of you I am not trying to catch you in any way, or to get you to agree with me; I simply want to get your explanation of things; I want to find out what you know with regard to this emigration movement. You say, here in this appeal of yours, "Judging from the numerous petitions for aid, and from other intelligence received from various sections of the South, this migration movement is as yet in its incipency"; that is, only in the beginning; is that your idea in regard to this movement?—A. That is what I think, sir.

Q. Now, I want to know from you, one of the leading men in this matter, and one of the most intelligent, your idea of the scope, of the future, of this migration; to how great an extent you contemplate or anticipate a removal of the negro from the South to the North; whether you expect all the colored population to leave, or but a part of them; and if a part, what part; and where from, and where to; and within what time; give us any facts that you may have bearing upon these points.—A. Well, I have two or three theories. One is this: the colored people have now got a knowledge of their right and privilege to remove themselves from one part of this country to another; they have learned that there is a vast domain in this country as yet unpeopled and unsettled; as they become more intelligent, the same laws which govern any migration, which for the past century has governed the migration of people from the oppressed countries of the old world to this country,

will control this migration of the colored population from the South. They will escape from that section, where they must bear a menial relation, it seems to me, so long as they remain there, to the Northern and Western States, where at least a portion of the people are kindly disposed toward them, and where they will possess the great advantage of taking up the soil and becoming owners of land; and encouraged by the progress of these, and the improvement in their condition—which will advance all the time—and the increased friendliness which will result from their proving themselves to be honest, industrious, and worthy people, others will follow them, in greater or less numbers, as they find their conditions more or less unpleasant and unsatisfactory in the South. In that great agricultural portion of the country, where they need the labor of the negro, finding him docile and diligent and trustworthy, they will become attached to him, and will prefer him, as the old master class of the South does, to the foreign class of white labor. And as he finds himself well received and well treated, as he finds work to do and pay for his work, and as these facts are learned by those of his race whom he has left behind in the South, the migration will increase in double ratio. In regard to this matter of climate, I had a talk with Senator Lamar the other day; he said he had no fears of the negro not doing well in the North; he opposed the exodus on other grounds, but not upon that; for the other advantages he would have in the North would more than counterbalance any disadvantages that might arise from the rigors of the climate.

Q. If I understand your explanation, you expect this transfer of population to become, in the course of time, quite general and extensive?—

A. Yes, sir; I would say that; but I do not expect the South to be depopulated. I think, if a great many of them were removed, it would be better, both for those who leave, and for those who remain in the South.

Q. Of course it would not depopulate the South?—A. I meant, of course, so far as colored people are concerned.

Q. Your view is, then, that there is to be an extensive movement, to continue for a good while in the future?—A. Maybe I can make myself clearer to the Senator by an illustration like this: There has for many years been an influx of immigration from Ireland; a certain percentage every year—increasing when they have hard times in Ireland, and diminishing when there is less distress there. In about the same way, this exodus having now commenced, will be apt to continue, serving as a sort of outlet, where the colored people will go to benefit themselves, as people come from other countries.

Q. Do you know to what extent this emigration is to go to Indiana?—A. No, sir; nothing definite.

Q. Do the negroes that are now going to Indiana intend to make that State their permanent home?—A. I think so.

Q. Have you not heard it stated, or suggested, that they would remain in Indiana until next fall, and then go on farther west, where there were government lands—possibly to Kansas?—A. I have never heard anything of that sort. I have said to them, go to Indiana, where you can find good homes, and a hospitable people; and it may be that after a few years, when you have accumulated something, if you want to you can go farther west, where you can buy lands cheaper; but this has never been a doctrine of mine.

Q. Have you ever seen any circulars stating to the colored people that they must get to Indiana by the first of May next?—A. Never.

Q. Have you ever talked with Perry, or Williams, or Scott, upon that

subject—that they ought to get there by that time, or ought to get there next spring?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no particular reason, then, for hurrying them through during this cold season of the year?—A. Yes, sir; to get where the people are friendly to them, and to find good places to work.

Q. What arrangements have you made with the railroads for transporting these people to Indiana?—A. I have made no arrangements at all.

Q. Did you ever talk with the officers of the railroads on the subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see Mr. Foreman?—A. He was the principal man I saw.

Q. What position did he occupy?—A. He was the agent.

Q. Of what road?—A. Of the Baltimore and Ohio.

Q. Do you know Mr. Dukehart?—A. Not especially.

Q. Mr. Foreman is the passenger agent?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you go to see Mr. Foreman, or did he come to see you?—A. He has been to see me several times, and I have been to see him several times.

Q. What has he been to see you about?—A. To see if I would send these people by his road.

Q. Did you receive a proposition from Mr. Foreman for carrying those people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you receive a proposition from the Baltimore and Potomac Road?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Through whom?—A. Through their agent, Mr. Janowitz.

Q. You mean a proposition for the transportation of these people to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which made the best bid?—A. I can tell the Senator something better than all this, for I went to see the grand moguls of the railroads themselves.

Q. Who were they?—A. Mr. Cole, of the Baltimore and Ohio Road, and Mr. Young, of the Baltimore and Potomac Road.

Q. What arrangement could you make with Cole, of the Baltimore and Ohio?—A. I went up in the interests of this organization of ours, feeling that every penny we could save these poor people it was our duty to do it. I went up to see the very best that could be done. The Baltimore and Ohio people received me nicely, and said they would carry the emigrants from Washington to Indianapolis for \$9 a head. I said, "Could you do it for no less?" They said, "No, but we will tell you what we will do; we will give you a drawback of one dollar a head." I said, "Is that your very best?" They said, "Yes, it is." Then I went to see what the other road would do. I went to see Young and he treated us outrageously, because some days before fifty colored men, with whom our society had nothing whatever to do, had been sent by the Baltimore and Ohio Road, which they were trying to get; he swore and cursed, and said he did not care about carrying any of them anyhow; he said that he had written to his subordinate here his best terms, and that we could go to him and learn them. He said we had had the other road carry the other lot, when they had been partly promised to his road, and they might as well carry these too. I saw he was feeling a little dyspeptic and not nice, and we came away. I had said to Cole before that unless we could do better by the other road we would send these men by his; that is, such men as we had on our hands to send. Some came and went right through, without our having anything to do with them. We were only managing our own little matter here. When I got back I said to the agent of the Baltimore and Potomac that I sup-

posed he had stated his best terms to me. He said, "Yes, sir; I could not do any better." So the terms of both roads were precisely the same. So we went down and concluded the arrangement with the Baltimore and Ohio Road, so far as our little organization was concerned; that is, whenever we raised the money ourselves to send a lot out. When the emigrants paid their own way, we never had anything to do with it in any shape. Then they questioned us, the railroad men did, as to what should be done with the drawback money—the dollar apiece on each passenger. We said, "You must not pay a cent of this money to any of our men, but make a contribution of it to our organization." So this drawback money was paid back into our treasury, to be used in the purchase of tickets for other emigrants. And we have our books and tickets, with oaths, to show the same.

Q. Have you ever offered anybody a dollar a head for getting emigrants?—A. Never.

Q. Or 75 cents a head?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. W. C. Chase?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever have any such conversation with him?—A. No, sir; Never in my life.

Q. Where did you get the money which you pay out for the transportation of these colored people from here to Indiana, over the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—the \$8 dollars a head, and the drawback; do you get that entirely by contribution?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those contributions are from Washington?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have any been receiving any from outside of Washington?—A. We did get, through Mr. Douglass, \$250 from Miss Elizabeth Thompson, a philanthropic lady of New York.

Q. Can you tell who your principal subscribers to this fund are in this city?—A. I do not know that I could. One reason why I do not know is that from the very inception of our organization I have particularly insisted that nobody, neither myself nor anybody else, should touch a cent of those contributions.

Q. Have you canvassed for money yourself, or have others done that for you?—A. I do not know whether others have or not; I think nothing of the sort has been done except at public meetings which have been held.

Q. Do you know Mr. Dukehart, passenger agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad?—A. I have met him.

Q. Where is he now?—A. I do not know; I suppose he is at work in the interests of the road.

Q. Where is he at work?—A. He seems to go from this city down south.

Q. Are you not aware that he goes from this city down to North Carolina to stir up this emigration business?—A. He goes down south, but not, I think, to stir it up; I asked him particularly not to stir it up, but to let it all be spontaneous.

Q. Your understanding is that he goes down into North Carolina to look after this business?—A. Yes, sir; he said to me that he staid at that end of the route attending to passengers and emigration; I asked if he had ever urged or encouraged the colored people to come north; he said no, he had strict orders not to do that; then I told him that so far as our society was concerned, we wished nothing of the kind; we wished the movement to be entirely voluntary.

Q. He attends to passengers and emigration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not know that he passed through here with a lot of colored passengers three or four days since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know where he is now?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether he is in North Carolina or Indiana?—A. No, sir; I only know that he is engaged in this business, and generally at that end of the route, down there.

Q. Mr. Cromwell said in his testimony day before yesterday, that when these colored people first came here they intended to go on to Kansas, but that after they got here they changed their plans, and concluded to go to Indiana; do you know anything about that?—A. A little; what Mr. Cromwell said did not have any effect on me, because he was not very clear about some things. In the beginning of the matter, two agents, or men who claimed to be agents, came here with long petitions, stating where they had held meetings down there, and had concluded to go somewhere. Up to that time, we had not had the slightest knowledge or least idea of people coming here from North Carolina. Well, these two young men came here and staid a few days, and while they were stopping here and trying to get acquainted with our little organization, our society, their attention was directed to somebody, and that somebody directed their attention to Indiana, stating that there were opportunities and places there for labor, and very kind people, especially among the Quakers; but I did not see these young men then, nor for a month or six weeks after they had come here, and had left here, and made arrangements to have their people go to Indiana, till they had gone out there and canvassed the State, and been all over it investigating the condition of things, and the feelings of the people, and had concluded to locate a number of emigrants there. I did not see these persons myself till this emigration from North Carolina was fully inaugurated, and the people from there were already going to Indiana.

Q. Did you show them any of those Indiana papers, encouraging immigration to that State?—A. No, sir; I had no such relation with them.

Q. You made a remark in relation to Mr. Cromwell's testimony. Did you not regard his statement as reliable?—A. Yes, sir; but there were some matters that I thought he did not make very clear. There was one thing in particular that I thought he did not make very clear, although I was sure that he knew all about it.

Q. State what it was.—A. It was this: When he was asked in regard to paying off the colored people in orders, how they were affected unfairly by that mode of payment, he did not explain the matter as clearly as I thought he might. He has been present when these poor people explained this, and I thought he might have made the injustice of it appear a great deal clearer.

Q. Will you explain that matter to us on Friday, when you come here to bring us those records?—A. Yes, sir; I cannot promise you a great deal in the way of records; but I will look up what I have. As I have said before, I turned over the most of them to Mr. Adams.

TESTIMONY OF A. M. CLAPP.

A. M. CLAPP sworn and examined.

Question. Please state your name and residence.—Answer. My name is A. M. Clapp; I reside in the city of Washington.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am connected with the Daily National Republican.

Q. In what capacity?—A. As editor.

Q. I find your name on this paper as treasurer of this organization—the Emigrant Aid Society; state how long you have occupied that position in that society.—A. I think that some time last April I was called upon by Mr. Wall, and asked if I would serve as their treasurer. At first I declined, and said “No”; that I did not care to have anything to do with it. But he said that he had been requested by a great many to ask me to consent, and finally I consented, and have since acted as treasurer of the society.

Q. What have been your duties in your capacity of treasurer of this society?—A. To receive contributions or money from whatever source derived.

Q. What moneys have you received?—A. It was, I think, on the 6th of May that the first contribution to the funds of the society came into my hands; it was the proceeds of a public meeting held in behalf of the emigrant aid project.

Q. What was the amount?—A. Thirty-nine dollars.

Q. What have you received since that time?—A. I have received, at different times since, in contributions from individuals or churches and societies, I could not tell precisely how much, but I think sixteen hundred and odd dollars, all of which has been paid out, and ninety-eight cents more, on orders drawn by the president and secretary of the society, up to the time that they resorted to an auditing committee. Since then no money has been expended except on orders signed by that auditing committee. The money was paid out on those, and delivered to the persons bringing me the orders.

Q. Please state the objects of those expenditures for that amount.—

A. Some of the money has been expended to defray the expense of halls for meetings; some of it ostensibly for printing; a small portion of it for taking care of the emigrants while they were here in indigent circumstances; some of it for transportation; all as set forth in the orders.

Q. The largest amount was to pay for their transportation?—A. Yes, sir; the greatest amount was for transportation.

Q. Can you give the committee, from the amount of money you have expended, about the number of people that have been transported by this fund from here to Indiana?—A. Well, I would not like to make any statement without reference, and I have no data with me just now, because I did not know what the scope of your inquiries would be. I will furnish the committee, if they desire it, a particular statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would do so, stating especially the amount expended for transportation.

WITNESS. Do you want a full and detailed report regarding the fund?

The CHAIRMAN. No; simply a statement that so much has been received, and that it has been expended as follows, so that we can see for what it has been expended. And now please state whether you have taken no other duties upon you in connection with this emigration matter, besides acting as treasurer of this society, and disbursing its funds.—A. Not at all; I have not had anything to do with it, beyond that.

Q. I suppose, from your acting as an officer of this society, that you in the main approve of its purpose?—A. I approve of affording every facility to every American citizen to go anywhere that he chooses to go within this country; and if he is not satisfied where he is, and the public thinks it is for its good to aid him, or any society thinks it is for his good to aid him in his purpose to go elsewhere, I would not interfere with their doing so.

Q. In this instance, I conceive that you deem it to be for the public interest that this transfer should take place, or you would not be connected with it?—A. I do not know that it is for the public interest so much as for the interest of the persons who are engaged in the migration.

Q. You were a citizen of New York before you came here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever been in Indiana, to remain for any length of time?—A. I have passed through there; I have never spent any time there.

This witness, at the next meeting of the committee, sent in the following statement :

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1880.

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES,
Chairman of Exodus Investigation Committee :

SIR: In pursuance of your request I present the following abstract of my account, as treasurer of the Emigrant Aid Society, and to correct my statement of yesterday, made from recollection :

Received from all sources, from May 6, 1879, to January 10, 1880. \$2,021 08

Expended as follows :

Nov. 20. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	\$170 00
Nov. 23. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	63 00
Dec. 9. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	540 00
Dec. 10. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	270 00
Dec. 16. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	468 00
Dec. 19. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	170 00
Dec. 26. For transportation of emigrants, as per vouchers.	20 00
On sundry vouchers for other expenses.	315 06
	<hr/> 2,023 71
Excess of receipts.	2 63

Very respectfully,

A. M. CLAPP, *Treasurer.*

On motion the committee adjourned to January 23, 1880.

THIRD DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday, January 23, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment. Present, the chairman and all the members. The taking of testimony was resumed as follows

O. S. B. WALL recalled and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Mr. Wall, you stated the other day that, in your judgment, some twenty-five hundred, perhaps more, colored persons had emigrated from North Carolina to Indiana up to this time?—Answer. Yes, sir; but I do not wish to be understood as pretending to be accurate in that; I have not kept any account of numbers.

Q. We do not expect that; you say that is your approximate estimate.—A. I think so; those that have passed through this way and in other ways from North Carolina to Indiana.

Q. What proportion of them were able to and did pay their own way from North Carolina to Indiana?—A. I should say one-half at least; more likely two-thirds.

Q. That would leave one-third to be provided for?—A. Yes, sir; I would qualify that in this way: We have never paid anybody's way

from North Carolina here, to my knowledge; our assistance has been from this city west.

Q. Now, repeat your answer.—A. I mean to say this: To my own knowledge I think I can state positively there never has gone a dollar from us out of the city, or to help anybody to come to this city—to this District; but that our assistance has been to persons passing through.

Q. To Indiana?—A. No; not to Indiana specially, but to persons stopped here and unable to go further.

Q. Where did you help them to?—A. To Kansas, some of them.

Q. Did you help anybody to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many?—A. I cannot say now.

Q. A dozen?—A. I cannot say; perhaps more.

Q. Did you help as many as fifty?—A. I cannot say, and I do not care to be put on record as to the number. I have not attended so much to the details of this matter as to having its general supervision.

Q. Very well; that is an answer. You think there were more than a dozen?—A. Yes, sir; more.

Q. You stated to the committee that you had made a certain arrangement with the railroad officials, namely, "to Indiana \$9 a head and \$1 drawback"; did you make a similar arrangement to Kansas?—A. No, sir; I think before I interposed with the railroads those going to Kansas had gone on.

Q. Do you know on what terms the railroads took them to Kansas?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you know what the fare of a colored emigrant to Kansas is from here over any line of road?—A. I think that to any prominent place there, such as Topeka or Lawrence, it is \$19 or \$20 for emigrant fare.

Q. Did you ascertain that by talking with the railroad officials?—A. No, sir; but by looking at a chart I got from them with the emigrant rates printed on it.

Q. Did you go and make these arrangements yourself?—A. No, sir; not specially. I was at the office talking to Mr. Coleman, and I asked him about it; not particularly as to Kansas, but what the contract would be to all important points.

Q. But you state that the assistance, the pecuniary assistance, given to these emigrants by your society has consisted in helping the people to go to Indiana?—A. No, sir; to Indiana and elsewhere.

Q. Where else?—A. We have assisted them to several places. I do not understand all the places.

Q. We will get along faster, Mr. Wall, if you will give direct answers to my questions.—A. I want to be explicit, Senator.

Q. Now where did you help them to?—A. I think in several cases to Kansas, and I know in several cases to Ohio, and I know principally to Indiana.

Q. Did you not state a while ago that you did not assist any of these emigrants to Kansas, and that most of them who had gone through here to that point went with individual assistance?—A. I did not, and if I did, I wish to correct it.

Q. Then you state that you assisted, or the members of your society did, emigrants on their way to Kansas?—A. No, sir; I wish to be correct. That was before I made the arrangement with the railroads. I mean now what the society has done. We had several cases, more than a dozen perhaps, in which we assisted people to Kansas.

Q. I asked you in that connection how much it cost to take them to Kansas, and you answered \$19 or \$20.

Senator VANCE. I think it is \$19 or \$21.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I think it is \$21 now.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say about two-thirds of these people transported themselves to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; that is my idea.

Q. That would leave you some eight hundred to be provided for?—A. Yes, sir; about one-third, at \$9.

Q. Now, how much did that call for?—A. The eight hundred, do you mean?

Q. Yes, sir; eight hundred, at \$9 a head.—A. I could not state, and, if you will permit me, I will tell you, Senator—

Q. No, no, Mr. Wall, just tell me how much eight hundred, at \$9 a head, would amount to. Cannot you do that?—A. Yes, sir; when I was a very small boy I could do that.

Q. That is what I ask, and I want you to answer.—A. Yes, sir; but we did not pay that amount.

Q. I want you to give me the figures.—A. Yes, sir; but we did not pay but \$8 a head.

Q. Then how much would that be? I will give you a chance to explain afterwards.—A. That would be about \$6,400.

Q. Now, if you want to explain that you did not pay that amount you can do so.—A. Well, sir, we did not pay that amount from the fact that a great proportion of those would go upon half-fare tickets, and others were children who did not pay a cent.

Q. Did the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad carry a number of people to Indiana for nothing?—A. Yes, sir; a great many of them.

Q. By whose authority?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Did you see Mr. Garrett about it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you see Mr. Cole, the general passenger agent?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he tell you they would take them for nothing?—A. No, sir; he certainly did not.

Q. Why, then, did they do it?—A. Because on all railroads babies are not charged for, and between five and twelve years of age they go on half fare, and I think that is the general rule not alone to negro emigrants.

Q. Of those eight hundred can you tell how many were women and children?—A. No, sir; I cannot.

Q. Can you tell us anything more than Mr. Clapp has as to how much money was paid for the transportation of women and children?—A. No, sir, I cannot.

Q. Now, Mr. Wall, at a former meeting I asked you if you would be good enough to bring the reports of the society and what letters and correspondence you had relating to this exodus movement; have you them with you this morning?—A. I have not this morning, Senator. There was a small sort of mishap by which I do not have them. I asked the secretary to let me have them, Mr. Adams not being here. I asked his brother-in-law, who is in the Treasury, to let me have what Mr. Adams had; but by some mishap I did not get them until I started up to the committee, and I did not have time to assort them. I will bring them as soon as they are assorted over, and I find out what has to do with the emigration society and what has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vance you may ask Mr. Wall any questions you desire.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Just a few. Mr. Wall how long is it since you have been in North

Carolina ?—A. I do not believe I have been in the State—I guess it has been sixteen years ; it might have been more than that.

Q. You have not been there for some time then ?—A. Not for a good while.

Q. Then you do not know anything, of your own knowledge, about the condition of the colored people down there of course, not having been in the State ?—A. I do not know, governor, of course, from being in the State, but I know as to the condition of the colored people there.

Q. You do not know it from personal observation from seeing it yourself ?—A. No, sir, except from seeing people from there.

Q. From whom did you derive your information ?—A. From perhaps a dozen of those emigrants, who were very intelligent men—candid, sober men.

Q. That is from those emigrants passing through here leaving the State ?—A. A portion of it ; yes, sir.

Q. Have you derived any of your information from intelligent white men of the State ?—A. I do not call to mind any time where I talked to a white man from the State ; but I have read the papers and talked with intelligent colored men other than emigrants.

Q. In reply to a question of Senator Voorhees, in relation to the landlord and tenant act of Indiana, you stated that you did not care anything about it, that it applied to all colors ?—A. I said, if it did.

Q. Do you know anything to the contrary, that the laws of North Carolina do not apply to all colors ?—A. No, sir ; but I know of no law passed that would benefit many white people that would benefit but very few of the colored people. There are many laws passed in those States where it is the meaning and intention of the legislature to apply them to the colored people.

Q. You place that on a supposition ; and in speaking of the landlord and tenant act, you suppose that very few tenants are whites ?—A. I do not know, sir, that I think that ; but there are a great many circumstances that go to make up the facts of a man's opinions. I know that my father was a great slaveholder, and on his plantations there were many poor whites. The number of poor whites was small compared with the slaves, and I have thought that since the war there would not be many poor whites without some land.

Q. You mean compared with the negroes ?—A. Yes, sir ; it all remained there as they were during the slave time.

Q. You also stated, Mr. Wall, that North Carolina did, for a while, seem to take an interest in the emigration of the negro, and that that interest had sort of died away ?—A. I think I did say something to convey that impression ; that last year, 1879, they were not dispensing so much education to blacks as when the education law was passed.

Q. Have you seen the last report of the superintendent of education ?—A. No, sir ; I wish I could see it.

Q. Do you know, as a fact, that the number of colored children attending the schools has been increasing from year to year ?—A. No, sir ; but I should not be surprised if it were so.

Q. Do you know the amount of taxation authorized by the State for common schools this year ?—A. No, sir ; I have seen no report of it.

Q. Then you have no report from which to say that education in the State is not increasing ?—A. I respectfully beg to differ from the Senator. I think I had information.

Q. Was it from documents, official reports, and things of that sort ?—A. I think that would be the best evidence, but I do not consider there is no other way of knowing the fact.

Q. Well, you have no information, I believe you said, that the colored people had been subjected to any political persecution in North Carolina?—A. No, sir; not as we understand it to be in Mississippi and Louisiana, where they are treated very badly. There is not that sort of treatment in North Carolina; but I have heard a number of these emigrants say that in various ways they have had intimidation and things of that sort. I have never made that question in the society giving aid to emigrants.

Q. Did you ever hear of colored people bulldozing each other?—A. No, sir; I have not; but I should not be surprised if they did do it.

Q. You should not be surprised if they did; do you know if a colored man voted the Democratic ticket if his own people bulldozed him and subjected his life to danger?—A. No, sir; I do not know as I ever heard of an instance.

Q. Do you know that the laws in North Carolina make any difference between colored people and others?—A. No, sir; I know of no law that does that.

Q. Do you know that in Kansas, to which you have been helping these people, that the word "white" is in the constitution, and that they do not prevent colored people from voting?—A. No, sir; I know of no differences there.

Q. Do you know that the word "white" is in the constitution?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you know that in 1866 the word "white" was in the constitution, and the people objected to striking it out by a constitutional amendment?—A. No, sir; I know that it was when Kansas was a Territorial State, but I do not think there are any distinctions made there now; but if you tell me that it is there I shall believe it.

Q. I said it because I was asking you if you were sending people to a State with the guaranty of all their rights where the word "white" is in the constitution?—A. I do not know, sir, as to that.

Q. And all this that you have testified about the wages of laborers and the paying of them in store-orders and their coming out at the end of the year without money, you got all that from the colored emigrants?—A. Principally; yes, sir.

Q. Do you know from farm operations generally that a farm is sometimes from fifteen to twenty miles from town and that the colored people frequently cannot go to town to make their purchases, and these colored stores are established for the mutual convenience of the landlord and tenants, and these advances are made to them for their own accommodation? That is not an unusual thing, is it, in such places where farming is carried on?—A. No, sir; I believe not.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Of what class is your society composed, white or colored?—A. Colored people, sir.

Q. In what proportion?—A. I do not know as we have a white member, except Mr. Adams, and he is not here, and has not been here for some time. I do not know whether Mr. Mendenhall considers himself a member. If he does, he is a white man.

Q. What was the motive and purpose of organizing this society?—A. In the first place we thought of the condition of the colored people in the District of Columbia; that there was a great many of them here, far more than had enough to do, and that Congress was making appropriations for their support from year to year, and they were the recipients of government charity. I think I sent a communication to Con-

gress at one time that the colored people could not be made a good people so long as they were the recipients of charity, and inasmuch as they themselves would not like to raise their children in this way, in that spirit of self-supporting independence I asked Congress to make an appropriation to help us get them West and settle them, and bridge them over for a year or so, taking a mortgage on their lands. I thought it would be best for the country to do that instead of feeding them with soup here in the city from year to year.

Q. Was this society organized before there was any movement of the colored people from the States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And principally to get these people—colored people—away from the District?—A. Yes, sir; it was organized long before the exodus began.

Q. Do you recollect when you first made this move?—A. I believe it was two and a half or may be three months before the movement. I could see the exact date.

Q. When was this circular issued; after the movement from the States?—A. Yes, sir; a long time after we organized.

Q. Senator Vance asked you as to North Carolina.—A. We had no reference to North Carolina in that circular. We had our eyes directed to this great movement west of the Mississippi river, and to Illinois and other States.

Q. Then the incessant strife to which you refer in this circular had no reference to North Carolina?—A. We should not have thought of that State if the people down there had not come and told us and excited our sympathy. We then thought the operations of our society might as well apply to them as to any other people, for it was only giving aid to human beings in distress. At the time of issuing the circular we had no knowledge of any other movement, and no reference to North Carolina.

Q. I do not believe you stated where the contributions to your society came from. Please state it.—A. They came from churches and individuals. I believe Colonel Ingersoll gave us a hundred dollars.

Q. Was that in a public hall?—A. Yes, sir; in a public meeting. Then Mr. Douglass got for us \$250 from Miss Elizabeth Thompson.

Q. Mr. Douglass is opposed to the exodus, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he get it solely as a charitable contribution?—A. Yes, sir; I told him when I went to his office, and said to him that the people were here, and that they needed it, and that I heard he had \$250 to help them. He said that, yes; as the people were here he would assist them.

Q. Do you remember at whose suggestion you made the arrangement with the railroad authorities for the transportation of these people to Indiana, and whether you knew of people sent out there by the suggestion of their agents or otherwise?—A. They had been sending people by the railroads for some time, sending them in little lots, as I was told by Mr. Adams and others. It was quite a while before I went to see them, but I heard a great deal about their talk, but as it was vague rumor I got over in the cars to see them. I knew there were many kind people contributing funds to the society, and I thought it due to them to see the condition of these people and get the best rates that I could for them, so that I could speak to the society and tell them what we had done. Still, we never had any regular meeting about it, but I went for that reason to Baltimore to see their general agents. Some persons said we could get better rates over the Baltimore and Ohio, and some said the Baltimore and Potomac, but I went to see them for myself.

Q. What rate did you get; eight dollars with a dollar drawback to go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And nineteen to twenty-one to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then it was cheaper to go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; and we were glad when they went there on that account.

Q. What reports did you get as to their getting employment out there?—A. We had good reports. We said we did not want to send them where they would not be provided for. Our object was to aid them in securing good homes and employment and not to benefit any particular person. We sent them out there, and I have letters that I can bring to you showing that they are satisfied. It was our object, as I say, to provide for them in that way.

Q. State again on what you base your estimate of 2,500 who have gone to Indiana, and whether all of them were from North Carolina?—A. I think not all, but I think they are mostly from there. I may have missed the figures one-half, for I made no note of it as they passed through. I did no clerical duty about the organization, but from the numbers who have passed through at the depot and information I got in one way and another it just seemed so.

Q. If you have been mistaken in the figure, which way do you think the mistake has been made?—A. I overestimated it, for I have been thinking of it overnight.

Q. Does anybody here know the number?—A. I think Mr. Dukehart would know. He was summoned as a witness here.

Q. You do not pretend to know the number yourself?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. You say that you might have heard of colored people bulldozing each other? What is the extent of your information on that point?—A. As the Senator has inquired, the great mass of them are opposed to a colored man voting the Democratic ticket, and where one is inclined that way they have been apt to think he was a renegade and to threaten violence to him. I spoke of their bulldozing in that sense.

Q. Do you think they would be likely to do that to one another?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So far as you know the sentiments of the colored people in North Carolina, what are they, Democrats or Republicans?—A. They are Republicans.

Q. Then how do you account for a Democrat carrying a certain district in North Carolina, Kitchen's district; how do you account for its going Democratic when there is a large majority of colored voters in that district?

Senator VANCE. There were two Republican candidates, Senator. The aggregate vote showed a large Republican majority, and Mr. O'Hara got a large majority over his Republican opponents in the contest.

Senator BLAIR. He claims that he was counted out.

Senator VANCE. Yes, sir; counted out by the county returning boards.

Q. (By Senator WINDOM.) I will ask you as to your information about the treatment of the colored people in North Carolina several years ago, during the time of the Ku-Klux?—A. That I understood only, but I understood it to be the same as in other States farther southwest where my attention was called.

Q. How do you account for the exodus from the States of Louisiana and Mississippi?—A. I think it is on account of the abuses the colored people have received.

Q. What character of abuses?—A. Almost every kind. They were not only maltreated by those in whose employ they were, but greatly

outraged as to their rights to vote, and intimidation ruled almost broadcast.

Q. State as to the effect this treatment in those localities has had on the colored race.—A. It has had the effect to demoralize them and make them discontented throughout the whole South.

Q. State if they have not a general apprehension of danger and maltreatment all through that section.—A. Yes, sir; I think where they are even treated best their treatment is such as to demoralize them and frighten them.

Q. Would that have a tendency to make them wish to leave and go somewhere else?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. You do not understand that the second district of North Carolina was carried for the Democrats by any violence, intimidation, or threats on the part of the white people?—A. No, sir; I understood that Mr. O'Hara carried it fairly, but on account of the manipulations of those in control, the Democrats, he was cheated out of it.

Q. Do you understand it was the Democrats who did that?—A. Yes, sir; that some of the votes cast for him were thrown out unfairly, and if he had had the benefit of them he would now have his seat.

Q. Do you understand that those large Republican counties, where they have three thousand Republican majority, that they are in the hands of Democratic county officers?—A. They are.

Q. How did they get in?—A. I think the same way as they get to Congress.

Q. Well, they would have to have a start before they could get in to do these things. How did they get in?—A. Well, sir, in this same way, I suppose.

Q. Take the counties of Edgecombe, Halifax, and Warren. Do you understand that they were actually in the hands of the Democratic county officers?—A. No, sir; but I take the aggregated number of votes in all the counties; those votes have to be aggregated, and my information, I think, is reliable, though I may be mistaken, that in the aggregate there was this deficiency; that if there had been a proper aggregate made of the votes Mr. O'Hara would have been elected.

Q. I know that is true, that the aggregates are made up in that manner; but I want to know whether you say the blame is on the Democratic officers?—A. I say that as far as I know the blame is on the Democratic party and people.

Q. In that district?—A. I do not want to particularize specially. The county officials in all those counties I named to you are all Republicans.

Q. You say you do not know that as a fact?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have all the men who have come here from North Carolina come from that district?—A. I think so, mostly; but I could not state positively, and I do not claim that their greatest trouble is interference with their political rights.

Q. Now, the districts adjoining, the one to the southeast and the one to the west, are close districts, are they not?—A. I understand so.

Q. And there has been no emigration from the close districts, but all of it has been from those large Republican districts, where the votes could be spared?—A. I have had no particulars except as those people landed here, and no particular data as to where they came from.

Q. Didn't it strike you as a little more than an accident that the emigration nearly all came from that large Republican district and went

to this large Democratic State; didn't it look a little more like design than accident?—A. Governor, from your standpoint it may, but I know I have no knowledge of any preconcerted plan or arrangement with anybody in North Carolina to forward this movement; but our only connection with these people has been when they came here and told their own simple story. There has been no arrangement made by us with these people in North Carolina.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Mr. Wall, I wish you to state, from your entire knowledge of the subject-matter derived as a member of the society or from public persons or connection with colored men, and from all sources or any source of knowledge whatever, whether this exodus originated in or is promoted by any political arrangement outside of the States where these people reside.—A. That is from the Northern States, you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I have no knowledge of the originating of this movement by, through, or with the assistance of any political influence.

Q. My question is also whether it is being promoted by any influence whatever?—A. No, sir; none whatever. I know of no money that has been used to assist it that came from any political sources whatever.

Q. From your relation to and connection with the colored race of the country, and your residence and opportunities for getting knowledge, if there was any such influence promoting the exodus, do you think you would know it?—A. I think I should.

Q. Is there any colored man in the United States, you think, who would know better than yourself?—A. No, sir; I think I should be as likely to know as anybody.

Q. Do you know of any business arrangement in the North that is employing and stimulating this movement?—A. No, sir; none.

Q. It has been suggested that some railroad companies have been stimulating it for the purpose of increasing their railroad patronage.—A. No, sir; I was asked that, and I would like to be allowed to correct myself. I see in this miserable Post here it makes me say that Mr. Dukerhart had been down there stirring them up; but I wish to say that he has been down there the same as any other agent for a railroad seeking patronage. I stated expressly that he was not stirring them up, to my knowledge, and I suppose I was reported correctly.

Senator VANCE. It is in the record, and I have no doubt you are correctly reported.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. You state you know nothing of any political or business influence which is at the bottom of this movement. I would like for you, in a few words, to explain to the committee what you think is the philosophy of the movement; what you think is the relative importance of the movement in North Carolina, and whether it has any particular significance or whether it is but an incident of a general movement.—A. I will say to the latter part of your inquiry, that it may not be an extensive movement in North Carolina, but as soon as the masses in North Carolina and the people there generally learn of the success of their friends, I think they will be influenced just as other people are, and that in time it will become a general movement.

Q. Perhaps you do not understand me. I am not speaking of the laboring classes, or asking about them; but I ask you, judging from all causes and influences which you know to be operating upon this movement, is it likely to be as great from North Carolina as it is from other

parts of the South ?—A. Yes, sir; as I stated, I think it will be general, growing greater as those who go before have succeeded.

Q. You have stated some of the causes to be in the nature of abuses put upon the colored people; do you think those abuses are as great in North Carolina as they are in other Southern States ?—A. I do not.

Q. Then why will the movement assume such proportions in North Carolina as it has in other States ?—A. Because I think this excitement and disturbances about the time of elections will come on once in a while. While these people are a laboring class of people, and live in rural districts, they will not suffer so much from them in North Carolina as they have elsewhere; but the advantages of the Northwest are so much greater that they will become acquainted with them, and move right along. I think, because of the many advantages of the Northwest that cannot be had in North Carolina, there will be a movement from the one State to the others. For instance, the soil is not so good in North Carolina as it is in the Northwest; and another great matter of importance to them is their school advantages.

Q. Do you mean to say the school advantages in North Carolina are less than they are in Mississippi and Louisiana, or where this great persecution is of which we hear ?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Many of the questions here seem to be particularly directed to North Carolina, as though this is a North Carolina movement specially. Do you so understand it ?—A. No, sir; not at all. I did not have North Carolina in my mind when I interested myself about the exodus.

Q. I do not understand that your organization had anything to do with the exodus ?—A. No, sir; not at first.

Q. Now, as to the North Carolina exodus, do you look on it as the principal movement, or is the exodus from other States to be regarded as the principal portion of the movement ?—A. Yes, sir; I think the exodus in the Southwestern States is the principal part of the movement.

Q. And the North Carolina movement you regard as an incident of it ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You state that the soil in the Northwest is better than in the Southern States ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But I understand you that political proscription is less in North Carolina than in those other Southern States ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And yet you think that other advantages in the Northwest and persecutions in the South are the cause of this movement ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, then, will you please state your philosophy of the exodus ?—A. This would be my theory: Just after the war our people were in good condition. From the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds that passed over us our people emerged into a condition where there seemed to be a little sunlight, and into what was for a while a better state of things, and, to use the language that Senator Vance used, our stars seemed to be rising. We got along for several years very well until there were several failures in the law or failure to support the enforcement act properly, when the men who had been in the rebellion came into power in those States, and they, as seemed to be natural with them, took control of their State governments which they had not had under the carpet-bag governments, and then the things relapsed into pretty much their old condition; and since then the pressure goes on as all other oppressions do until we have got into a state of things so dark and oppressive that there must be some ventilation. There must be something to make us free again. In order to do this and get into a better condition I believe the exodus began. I believe it was a spontaneous movement, and

if anybody had any agency in it it was our Heavenly Father, the great Creator of us all.

Q. Do you think it is possible for the controlling element in the Southern States—that is, for the Democratic party, by any change in its policy towards the colored people, to gradually put an end to the exodus?—A. I do think that.

Q. Do you think the negro wants to go away from there if he is treated well?—A. No, sir; I think it is his nature to be religious and contented if he is treated well at home.

Q. Do you think any white population would be willing to reside long at the North or at the South under the same conditions that the blacks have been subjected to, and would the exodus have taken place?—A. From my knowledge of the East and observation of the white race, I know they would not have remained.

Q. Is there any change of treatment possible from the dominant people in the South, do you think?—A. I think the exodus will not cease until these people get a change from that treatment which prevails there. I think it would then, and that the colored people had better stay there than in the North.

Q. Why?—A. Because just after the war, and after this millennium there was going on in the South, my father sent me to the South. I did gravitate in that direction; but the matter got to be so luminous pretty soon that I stopped right here.

Q. Ominous you mean, instead of luminous?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you say that such was the fact, and that such was the condition at the South that the negro began to gravitate towards the South?—A. Yes, sir; I think his old and familiar associations led him towards the land of his home. His parents would like taking him there. I do not think so much of this idea of a hot climate for the negro as others do. But this land gave them a good climate, but a poor soil; but I thought they might overcome that.

Q. According to your explanation, I think, under the good teachings of Senator Vance this State can be made the Indiana of the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. You say you have got reports from these people in Indiana. Who have made them to you?—A. The principal reports that I have were made by a young man who seemed to have been employed by these people to get them a place to settle in.

Q. Who were they?—A. They were Perry and Williams; but I have letters from others.

Q. The principal reports as to employment of these people here are from Perry and Williams?—A. Yes, sir: so far as I know.

Q. Perry and Williams don't live in Indiana, do they?—A. No, sir; not permanently.

Q. Did they ever live there at all?—A. No, sir; except to go there on this business.

Q. Did they ever have a residence there?—A. I don't know, sir; they are strangers to me.

Q. Where do they live?—A. I don't know where Mr. Williams lives, but Mr. Perry lives here.

Q. What is he doing?—A. He is temporarily remaining here, meeting the people coming from his State.

Q. What do you mean by that?—A. He is temporarily here, but I think, from what he said to me, that he is going West.

Q. Where is he now ?—A. He is here with his family, living in a house.

Q. Where at ? I have been looking for him, and should like very much to know his whereabouts.—A. He is here with his wife and children, I think in a house on University street.

Q. How long ?—A. I think he has been there two months.

Q. Where did he come from ?—A. I think he came from North Carolina.

Q. How often has he been to Indiana ?—A. I think three or four times.

Q. When ?—A. Within the past two or three months.

Q. How old a man is he ?—A. I should think about thirty years old.

Q. Then he reports to you that there is a demand out there for these people ?—A. No, sir.

Q. I understood you to say so a little while ago ?—A. I understood you to make a remark as to ready employment. He says there is ready employment there for those he has carried out.

Q. How many has he carried out ?—A. I do not know, sir ; I cannot answer.

Q. Who can ?—A. Mr. Williams.

Q. Where did he carry them ?—A. I said the other day I thought to Greencastle, and I thought about Indianapolis.

Q. I am just examining you, Mr. Wall, about as to what he says. You are not responsible, understand, for what he says.—A. I am not saying anything about the means he employed, but simply what he told me.

Q. You have answered when you said that he took them in and about Greencastle ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he say anything about Terre Haute or Rockvale ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think so.

Q. That they could get ready employment on farms out there ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And get homes to move into on these farms at this time of the year ?—A. Yes, sir ; I got that impression somewhere. I don't know that I heard it from him ; but I got the impression that they were settled on these places and conveniently situated.

Q. Where does Williams live ?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. Where did you see him ?—A. I saw him in Washington City.

Q. When ?—A. I should think six weeks or two months ago. The poor fellow was shivering and I gave him one of my overcoats.

Q. Did he say there was ready employment to do there for these people ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did it suggest itself to you to tell him to go out there and get some of it when he was shivering and you had to give him one of your overcoats ?—A. I don't think it did. I thought he had been badly treated by some people here, and thought I ought to obey the Bible injunction, when I had two coats, to give my brother one.

Q. You did not think that Governor Vance's constituents had stolen his coat, did you ?—A. No, sir ; I did not. No, sir ; but I thought the poor fellow had been badly treated.

Q. He was connected with this exodus matter, was he not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he come accredited to you in any way ?—A. No, sir.

Q. I was asking you whether he was accredited to you by anybody you knew, so that you would as a matter of business trust him ?—A. No, sir ; I do not know whether it was Williams or Perry who, when

they came, showed me a certificate of good character signed by the mayor or sheriff of Goldsborough.

Q. You do not know which it was?—A. No, sir; I do not know whether it was Williams or Perry; perhaps it was Perry, who said that he was a preacher, and I got the impression that he was a good, honest, upright man.

Q. You have not seen Williams since?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no trace of him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he tell you there was ready employment in Indiana for these emigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where?—A. I do not remember the counties; I think one was Elkhart.

Q. What other county do you remember?—A. I think Wayne County; perhaps at Richmond, Wayne County.

Q. Did you hear of any negroes who had gone in there?—A. I think some have gone in there.

Q. I wish you would ascertain if any have, as you have better means of information on that point than I. See whether any single car-load has ever been left there. Do you know what the politics of that county are?—A. Yes, sir; it is a large Republican county; I think it is Republican.

Q. And these conversations, you say, with Perry and Williams were your principal sources of information, but you said that you had letters from there. Now, from whom have you letters; give me a single instance of a letter assuring you of ready employment for colored people in that State?—A. I cannot state the name just now.

Q. Where are those letters?—A. They are on my desk, as I stated to the Senator, but I cannot remember whom they are from.

Q. You do not remember the names of the writers?—A. No, sir; they are all strangers to me.

Q. Certainly, but do you remember what post-offices they came from?—A. No, sir; I cannot remember.

Q. Can you remember the points contained in those letters?—A. No, sir; they will show for themselves.

Q. How many have you received assuring you of ready employment for colored laborers in Indiana?—A. A few.

Q. Give their number as far as you can.—A. I cannot say.

Q. How many, a half dozen?—A. Yes, sir; but I told you that I gave the matter of the letters over to the secretary.

Q. Wasn't it evolved more from an inner consciousness of your own than any information you have?—A. No, sir; no, indeed.

Q. We want the facts, Mr. Wall, and I mean to treat you with the utmost courtesy.—A. You have, Senator.

Q. Of course I do; and I say to you that if it is not a belief evolved from your inner consciousness and you have facts about this matter upon which to base your opinion, I would be obliged for you to give them to us.—A. I will hand you such statements from honorable, fair men. I will be able to give the names of veritable men, and also statements made in newspapers of the facts out there, all of which will show how I make up my opinion.

Q. Now, you say you have veritable letters from fair and honorable men. Now, I say give me the name of one man such as you have described.—A. Well, I say—

Q. No, no, give me the name of one such man.—A. Well, sir, there Mr. Mendenhall.

Q. Does he live in Indiana?—A. No, sir; he lives in Washington, and he is in this room here now.

Q. That is all right. I will ask him about it.—A. I think I have a letter by Mr. Walker, of Terre Haute.

Q. J. H. Walker, of Terre Haute?—A. Yes, sir. I was accredited with bringing his name up the other day in the matter.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES E. O'HARA, COLORED.

JAMES E. O'HARA sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Near Enfield, Halifax County, North Carolina.

Q. State what positions you have held in North Carolina.—A. I have been five years chairman of the board of county commissioners of Halifax County, engrossing clerk of the constitutional convention in 1868, and member of the constitutional convention in 1875, and I was in the last election nominated as elector on the Presidential ticket, and nominated for Congress from the second district.

Q. You were nominated as a member of Congress from the second district, and you claim to have been elected?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are here now contesting for your seat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. O'Hara, will you give us, first, your opinion as to the general condition of the colored people of your country, and then I will ask you some questions?—A. The general condition of the people would not be considered flourishing when compared with that of the people in more prosperous States. In fact, the general condition of all the people, white and black, in the cotton-fields is not very prosperous. That, I may say, is owing to our mode of farming in that region; for instance, all the farmers generally require advances from the commission merchants in Baltimore and New York to make their crops. The result is that the credit system, going on from the start, keeps up from year to year, and keeps our people poor. If we have a short crop we get very hard-up in the fall, and there is a general complaint of a want of money among the people; but, regardless of that, I think the condition of the people is pretty well in that section of country, but it will not compare well with the condition of the same class of people in more prosperous States.

Q. Well, now, considering the black people as a general rule as laborers without land, what is their condition as a class, and what proportion of freedom do they enjoy with the white laborers?—A. They are in equally as good a condition. If the committee will allow me, I will show how that thing is. A great deal of this talk about the negro is erroneous, because his condition is largely a local matter. Not long ago we had a State fair in North Carolina held by the colored people, and in speaking I followed Governor Jarvis, who made the opening address, and I stated in that address that the prosperity of the colored people could not be very well seen at that fair, while it was one of the most creditable that had ever been held, and was acknowledged to be such by the press of the country. I mentioned one fact in my own county, where the colored people have acquired 13,000 acres of land. That statement was doubted. One of our papers, the Roanoke News, doubted this statement of mine, and in order to be more certain I went to the records of the county, and

referred back a year. I took the records for 1878 instead of 1879, and the record showed that the colored people of that county had 16,601 acres in fee-simple title, and in proportion that is equally true for the counties of Warren, Nash, and Lenoir.

Q. You mean they have lands in the same proportion in each county ?—A. Yes, sir; in each county. I suppose it would be no exaggeration to say that in my county, which is the next largest negro county in the State—Edgecombe is the largest—the colored people own there in fee-simple title 20,000 acres of land.

Q. Which is your county; Edgecombe ?—A. No, sir; Halifax.

Q. And you found 16,601 acres of land owned by negroes ?—A. Yes, sir; on the tax book of 1878.

Q. What do you suppose is the amount owned in Edgecombe County ?—A. Not so much, but probably there are 6,000 acres in that county owned by negroes, for the reason that the people there hold their lands more intact, and there are larger farms in that county than in ours.

Q. Then I suppose the white people are better off in your opinion in that county than in yours ?—A. Yes, sir; but I will say that the colored people over there do not seem to want to get up and acquire real estate like they do in our county. The people over there like fine horses, and I have known some colored men to pay \$300 and \$500 for a horse and buggy in the fall, but in our county I have always advised them to get a small home and pay for it, no matter how small it was.

Q. What is the condition of the land in your county ?—A. Our land is just as good as any other in the State. It is what we call swamp lands and river-bottom.

Q. What could an industrious colored man down there with a mule and so forth make in a year ?—A. I do not know as I could answer that question definitely. I will say this, that they make as much there as their white neighbors do, and I have been more surprised to notice this fall where white men who own land have been compelled to sell every lock of cotton to pay their debts, when I knew several instances where colored men have taken their cotton to market and brought it back home before they would sell it.

Q. They were not compelled to sell their cotton ?—A. No, sir; they were not compelled to sell it.

Q. And they refused to sell it at the prices offered ?—A. Yes, sir; because they did not need the money.

Q. Will you explain what you know of the renting system, and whether there is any disadvantage to the colored people in renting land over the same disadvantages experienced by the whites ?—A. There can be no disadvantage to the colored people that will not apply to the whites of the same class.

Q. Are there any distinctions made by the landlords in renting ?—A. None; except that in some places the lands are held high, and I attribute much of that to the eagerness of parties to make contracts. There is no difference made by the law between white and colored people; but I will say that we have one law in North Carolina which I think bears badly, both to the landlord and to the tenant.

Q. What law is that ?—A. The landlord and tenant act.

Q. I wish you would explain that act.—A. It gives the landlord a lien not only for advances made to the tenant to help him make the crops and so forth, but all debts that the cropper makes with him whether made before the crop or by mortgage or not.

Q. That is to him ?—A. Yes, sir; but it is not necessary that this should be in writing.

By Mr. VOORHEES :

Q. Does it allow the landlord all debts due from the cropper, or only such as is assigned to him in person ?—A. I have never seen that question brought up. In all the cases that I have seen it has been in contract matters. The law operates as bad on the white man as on the colored man. In fact I have been consulted by white men as to this same law as an attorney, and I think as to all its operations it bears alike on white and colored.

Q. It has been suggested here that the law operates more harshly on the black people than on the white.—A. I do not think that that can be true, for the land-holders are in the minority and not the majority among the whites.

Q. Then I understand you that the laws in North Carolina are indiscriminate in their operations ?—A. Yes, sir; all of them.

Q. Much has been said here before this committee about paying them up in orders on stores. Will you please tell the committee something about that ?—A. That is explained by the system I spoke of when I began. A has land which he rents to a tenant; the tenant desires to run his crop; he comes to town and must make a mortgage, either directly with the merchant or indirectly through his landlord, to have his supplies furnished. Of course, under the operation of the law, he must have the word of his landlord in order to get his supplies. If the landlord gives him an order to the merchant, that gives him credit, and that is all there is in that matter. I do not believe in any of this talk about a percentage between the merchant and the landlord. What I mean is that A in renting his land to you and giving you an order on his merchant, does not divide with him. I have investigated that subject, and I did not find that to be the case at all.

Q. I will ask you if you have been in the legislature of North Carolina ?—A. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. Do not you know that the reason for that law, the landlord and tenant act, was on account of the homestead exemption laws ?—A. Yes, sir; I was going to state that. It was thought that a man would take his crop and sell it, and the landlord would not get his rent, and in trying to get out of that extreme we got over into the other.

Mr. VANCE. That is so.

The WITNESS. The matter is being talked over very generally, and I think the white people are complaining the most about the operation of that act, and that the next legislature will modify it.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. It was an act of the last legislature ?—A. No, sir; I think it was three legislatures ago. I think it has been in operation from four to six years.

Q. And you think there is a sentiment among both the whites and blacks to secure its repeal or a proper modification of it ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Your home is in the second district ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From which this emigration mostly takes place ?—A. From which it is said to take place principally.

Q. Will you please give to the committee your opinion of the causes of this emigration ?—A. As to the causes, I do not know only from report. There is hardly a day since this matter has been mooted, or these circulars sent out —

Q. What circular ?—A. This one referred to in the committee. I read it

only this morning. I mean these pamphlets and circulars by the Kansas Pacific road. Since then a number of people came to me from adjoining counties and asked me what I thought of it. To answer them, I would always take the inducements offered to white emigrants and contrast the two. I said, here they give you different inducements. This pamphlet shows a difference. Here is what they offer white people to come there and settle, and you can do that well in North Carolina, and it is not necessary to go out there to better yourself. They tell me they have been offered—I have never been able to locate who offered it, but they tell me some colored men have done it—that they would get a dollar a day in Indiana, and get a suit of clothes in Washington. They have often told me that was the inducement held out to them, as coming from the government, and when I told them the government had no hand in the matter it would drop, and I would hear no more about it. We have in our immediate section had none of it, unless it has taken place since I left, and during the last two or three days. I will state that, until recently, emigration meetings were advertised, in which it was stated that I would be present to make speeches. I knew nothing of it, and parties would say to me, "I went to so and so to hear you speak. Notice was brought that you were going to speak, and why were you not there?" and I would tell them that I knew nothing about it. This movement in my State has nothing spontaneous about it, but is induced by a class of persons who come and tell the people they will get better wages by going to Indiana, and that when they get there they will be well taken care of. So far as there is a political phase to it, I know nothing. When I reached Washington I was informed that there was an emigration aid society here, and they said that it was formed to aid these colored people who had been sent from Mississippi and Louisiana to Saint Louis. There was one gentleman connected with it when it was organized, who was a vice-president, who stated that Mr. Mendenhall, who is a clerk in one of the departments, stated at the meeting that it would be a good idea to take the negroes from North Carolina and send them to Indiana, as North Carolina was an accessible State from this point. He knowing this, and being a North Carolinian himself, severed his connection with the society, and that was at the first or second meeting.

Q. You mean to say that since you came here you learned that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I wish you to state if drawing out of their intercourse with the Army of the Union and their subsequent connection and education in the Republican party, the negroes of the South are not more ready to listen to people coming among them with philanthropic pretenses from the North than to their own people at home?—A. I judge so, as the negro is of a very sympathetic nature, and will give credence to those who profess friendship before he will to others. He is very credulous, and, even though deceived from time to time, will still take to a man who tells him a good story. That is the reason why I have taken particular pains to look after these people in the counties where I practice.

Q. State in your own way to the committee if in your opinion this exodus is caused by any principles of persecution, political or otherwise.—A. It could not be, as we have known all that sort of thing in that section of the country. I did think, at one time, in the counties bordering on South Carolina, and not colored but white counties, that there was a little bulldozing done there, but I thought it was principally by people from South Carolina. But in the negro belt I think there is nothing of the kind. In our counties, I think, as a rule, we

have had all our own officers until recently the election of county commissioners was taken away from us.

Q. You mean under the recent amended constitution ?—A. Yes, sir ; and I will state for Governor Vance that in his message, for which he received the condemnation of some hot-headed men of his party, he asked the legislature not to interfere with the suffrage of the people in any way, and for that some of them said they would go back on him in the Senatorial contest, and in consequence of it he was a little unpopular for a time.

Q. I will ask you if the asperities and harsh feelings between the two races have not been disappearing notably since 1876, and gradually giving away to a better feeling ?—A. I do not know of any State in the American Union where there is a better feeling between the white and the colored people than in North Carolina. It is a very usual thing to see on the day of election the landlord and the tenant, the employer and the employé, going to town in the same buggy and voting different ways. I have even wondered why it was that the employer could influence his tenant or employé on every other subject except voting. I think I ought to say with regard to Captain Wall's testimony, as it will all come before the House in due time, that in my defeat, or rather my being counted out, the Republicans had more to do with it than the Democrats, and I say that the colored Republicans of the South have more to fear from the white Republicans than from the Democrats. And there is always a combination between the white Republicans against any intelligent colored Republican who seeks to aspire to office.

Q. You mean that they want to keep all the offices ?—A. Yes, sir ; and when we say to them that they must divide, they say, hold on ; and when we fight them they count us out. Now, in my own county the Republicans had the appointment of commissioners, and because I opposed a certain white man who ran for sheriff his friends made a combination and counted me out. That was the reason why Mr. Kitchen went on his bond, and the result was to give us a Democratic sheriff on the Republican ticket and to count me out in consequence of this combination.

Q. You are a man of intelligence and reading and have information outside of your own locality, and I wish you to state what is the condition of the colored man as a laborer and with reference to some classes of laborers that are not, that is to say, unskilled laborers in the United States ?—A. It is a good condition ; in fact they are in a better condition in North Carolina than in any other State in the Union, from the fact for the next ten years at least they will not be thrown into contact with the Irish and German laborers, and will not have competition with that character of labor. A tendency with the white people generally is, when they require money to live and farm, to go to the towns and cities, not that there is no contest or antagonism between the white and colored people, but because the white man prefers to live off of the farm.

Q. Then you think there will be no trouble and ought not to be with the negro laborers in the South until that class of white labor comes ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I think it will not come, at least to that section, as that land is affected with miasma, and the white people are subject to it while the negro is not.

Q. What kind of land is it ?—A. It is our very best land in North Carolina, that properly drained, and it is desirable for them to own that land and cultivate it, because of the impoverished condition generally of the colored men of the State, and I know men there who have land which cost them \$10 an acre, and yet colored men have taken it out at

\$5 an acre. The way the colored man treats his land is this: he will buy it, and the first year he will cut down a few trees and make a small crop; the next year he will cut down more trees, dig a little ditch, and go on this way for four or five years; afterwards, when you would know how the property is which he has taken, he cannot tell you himself how he happens to bring the land up, but at any rate he has done so, and it cost him nothing except his labor, and so they prosper notwithstanding that wages are frequently low; they were last year, because the cotton crop was bad and short.

Q. And we had very destructive floods?—A. Yes, sir, very; and last year we had droughts also, so that the crops were very short, and that caused labor to be very low; and, because of the feeling that exists between the people in that State, I will relate this, that a few Saturdays ago the people living in that section of the county called Scotland Neck held an agricultural meeting. White people and black people met together and had a talk about this subject. Richard H. Smith, a white man and leader there, spoke, and I spoke too, and the result of the meeting was that they thought on account of the increase of the price of cotton they ought to increase the wages of the hands, and they did so. As another remarkable fact connected with this, I will state that there are some colored people who hire laborers in that section and are interested in the price of labor. These whites they have property, and have to have labor to assist them in cultivating it, and naturally they want the labor cheap.

Q. State the condition of the education for children in North Carolina?—A. The condition of the children in North Carolina according to our system at present is poor. I mean poor as to all classes; in our law there can be no discrimination. Eight and one-third per cent. of the property-tax and seventy-five per cent. of the poll-tax, I think, is used for school purposes, each class getting its *pro rata* share, and if it had not been for some oversight in the last legislation, an omission to sign the bill, I think we would have had a very good system of public schools in the State. Of course education is not there for the poor classes as it is in the District of Columbia, where you have large taxes and have a Federal Government to supply it, and in large cities like New York, but I think it will compare favorable with that in any rural district in any section of the country. I read the report of the Commissioner of Education and see that the schools in the interior of nearly all the States in the rural districts are as nothing compared with the schools in the towns and cities, and I think ours will compare about as favorably as any. We need, however, a great deal of improvement yet, and I think it will come gradually.

Q. Have you seen the last report of the superintendent of education?—A. I have not.

Q. Do you know that the number of children attending school in North Carolina is increasing from year to year?—A. Yes, sir; I know they are increasing from year to year. I think, however, we have made one mistake. I think we have made a sad mistake in the employing of cheap teachers. Our people seem to have got the idea into their heads that \$20 a month is paying enough for a teacher, and the result is you cannot get first-class teachers. First-class teachers will not work for such a price as that; but wherever they offer \$20 for teachers, they pay the same to white teachers and black teachers alike. I know a case in point: My wife holds a first-class certificate; she receives \$20 a month, and teaches a colored school. The daughter of Col. David C. Clark, one of the leading white gentlemen of the city, also holds a first-class certificate; and she teaches a white school at \$20 a month.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. This is done in order to make the money spread over as much time as possible?—A. Yes, sir; but there is another result. The best teachers will not remain in such places, but will go where they can be better paid. Only the poorer class of teachers and persons living there, who are not compelled to rely on their teaching for a support—only persons so situated will teach.

Q. Has not your State appropriated money for the establishment of a normal school for the education of teachers?—A. We had a normal school at one time. It was at first only temporary, but I think our legislature has made it permanent. As we advance and get a little more money we will have more schools of all kinds.

Q. Has not the State also provided asylums for the unfortunate of your race?—A. Yes, sir; the same facilities are offered the black and white alike in that respect. We have a deaf and dumb school for the colored people, under the same rules and government as that for white people; they are taught, fed, and clothed under the same system as the whites. In fact, it is not very long ago since I went through both institutions—the one on one side of our city, the other on the other. They have the same kind of provision, meats, vegetables, and fruits; the same bedding and furniture, carpets, pianos, &c., all the same in both institutions, without any discrimination at all.

Q. What provision has been made for the insane?—A. Owing to the crowded condition of our present insane asylum, it has been found necessary to build two others; one for the whites at Morgantown, and one at Greensboro', in what is called the "negro belt," exclusively for colored people—an institution that will compare favorably with institutions of the same kind in any part of that country; as good as the one they are building for the whites at Morgantown.

Q. It is not as large?—A. No, it is not as large; it is not necessary that it should be as large, because our percentage of insane is not as large as it is among whites; and the negro population is only one-third that of the whites.

Q. State, if you know, what is the character, as a general rule, of the men who are leaving your State?—A. As I said before, I cannot find that any of the colored men who have any great desire to acquire a home are leaving.

Q. Are your most industrious colored men leaving there?—A. Not that I can discover; so far as I can learn, it is just the floating population that are leaving. In the interior, in the county of Greene, I do not know how it is about this class of people; but I think that in the other counties it is just the floating class who are leaving.

Q. Do you think they are leaving from a voluntary desire to leave, or because efforts are being made and inducements held out for them to leave?—A. I think that if they were let alone they would remain there; I do not think that they are leaving for the same cause that people leave Germany, Ireland, Scotland, England, &c.; I do not think they would leave but for the agents that are going around through the country making glowing representations and distributing highly-wrought descriptive circulars, telling how easily houses and lands can be obtained in the North. Of course the laborers, after reading these pamphlets showing what can be done, and how cheaply they can get to these places, and what provision will be made for them after they reach there, will go; but they do not leave from a voluntary desire to leave at all.

Q. Do you know of any migration of colored people at all outside of your district?—A. I do not know of my own knowledge; I have heard,

however, that some were leaving the county of Nash—that is outside of my district; it is the adjoining county to me; only the railroad divides it from the county of Edgecombe. A person not knowing just how our districts are divided might think it was in my district, but it is in the Raleigh district—the fourth district. I hear that along the line of the railway a few have left from Duplin and Sampson Counties; they are in the third district. The bulk of the migration has been from the counties of Lenoir, Jones, Craven, and Greene, which are in my district. There has also been some from the county of Wayne.

Q. Do you know of any migration from that region to Florida?—A. I have seen something about that in the newspapers, and I think I can explain to you how that is. It has been for years—for ten years to my own knowledge—the fact that in the spring of the year three or four hundred colored men would go down to what is called the turpentine country; they go down every spring and return every fall. They go down there to work, leaving their families in North Carolina. They have gone again this year, as has been a yearly occurrence for eight or ten years past. I do not know of any emigration from North Carolina to Florida outside of that. Before I left home I saw two car-loads of these colored people passing through my place going to the turpentine country.

Q. You said a while ago that there were 20,000 acres of land in your county owned by colored people; please state among how many or about how many persons this land is divided; is it distributed among a pretty large number of small holders, or in what way?—A. I avoided taking into consideration the small lots—half-acre lots, &c. The farms will run from 20 or 25 acres up to 300 or 400. There is one thing peculiar about this matter; when a colored man possesses land you cannot get him after he has paid for it to mortgage it; he will mortgage anything else in the world; he will cling to it under all circumstances.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. They are anxious to retain the advantage of the homestead?—A. A Great many of them are beyond the homestead law. Just a few days before I left home a couple of fellows came to me, who were trying to protect their homesteads. I told them that they would have to pay up, for they had more than the homestead law allowed them.

Q. You have spoken mostly of your district or section of country; what knowledge have you of the condition of the colored men in other parts of the State, relative to holding property?—A. I have pretty much the same knowledge; I have traveled through the State considerably, and have had communication with white and colored people in all parts of the State; I have conversed as freely with Republicans as with Democrats, and have had the same facilities as anybody, regardless of any race prejudice; I find that they make no distinction at all. I have the same information from all over the State as from that particular locality; I know that what I have said about my own district will hold good pretty much the whole State over.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Where were you born?—A. In New York.

Q. How long have you lived in the South?—A. Since about 1862; I went to North Carolina in the fall of 1862, when I was about eighteen years old.

Q. Did you come there in the service?—A. No, sir, merely on a pleasure trip, with some "missionaries" that came from New York. After

reaching North Carolina I engaged in teaching school; I liked the place very well, and so remained there, and have been there ever since. All I have got, and all the associations I have, are there. I now consider it my home, and have for seventeen years.

Q. Do you feel that you have suffered in your association with the white people, on account of any race prejudice?—A. Well, no more than the prejudice growing out of the peculiar institution of the government as to the two classes of people; no more than I probably would have suffered anywhere else. There is, of course, a feeling of prejudice, such as one would naturally feel and expect.

Q. Would you not encounter that in New York?—A. I would encounter it in New York more than in North Carolina.

Q. Are the colored people in North Carolina excluded from places of public amusement, for instance?—A. I do not know, because we have very few places of public amusement in North Carolina; we have no theaters in my vicinity; I know this, that colored people do go to theaters; I have gone to theaters in Raleigh, frequently; and I have seen no exclusion on account of color. I suppose if a colored man should attempt to take a principal seat in a theater in North Carolina he would have the same difficulty as in New York.

Q. The reason I speak of it is because I see by the papers that a colored man in New York has brought suit for being excluded from a theater?—A. So far as my experience and observation goes, a colored man suffers from such things no more in North Carolina than anywhere else. These are matters that are, and must be, regulated purely by prejudice and feeling, and that the law cannot regulate; I think it is not the province of the law to interfere.

Q. Are you a planter yourself?—A. No, sir; I practice law.

Q. The two things go together in the South sometimes?—A. My experience is that when a lawyer attempts to farm, it take his law practice to run his farm.

Q. You are a practicing lawyer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You gain your living by that profession?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you find the question of race any obstacle to your receiving fair treatment in the courts?—A. No, sir, none whatever; I would not tolerate any, and I see no disposition to show any; the law gives me the same privileges as it does any member of the bar.

Q. And that is freely accorded?—A. Yes, sir; I could give an illustration; once I had the misfortune to fly off the handle with a brother practitioner, and both of us were placed in contempt; and every member of the bar said as much in my favor as in favor of the other party.

Q. I think it may be just to state in this connection that one of the things which some of the people complain of, one of the reasons which causes your colored people to leave, is that they are not placed on juries?—A. That may be so in a few counties; but as a rule it is not so. No such distinction can be made under the law, because our law requires that the commissioners shall, at certain times, draw from the jury box the names of persons of good moral character, without distinction of color, to serve as jurors.

Q. Is it not the rule, in all States and countries, so far as you know, that it is the better class of persons who are selected to go on juries?—A. Generally so. As a rule, persons who have the most at stake in a community, the most responsible persons, are selected as jurors.

Q. I understood you to say that that class of people are not emigrating from your State?—A. No, sir; they are not emigrating at all. I

will not go so far as that; there may be some such, but they have not fallen under my observation.

Q. Have you any observation of the facility with which a colored man would get on to a jury in Indiana?—A. I do not know anything at all about that; but I can tell you what I have found—I am not speaking of the practical part of the thing, whatever the theory may be—but in nine cases out of ten, if a colored man is put on trial, he don't care about having negroes on the jury if he can get rid of it. I do not know what theories these gentlemen may draw from it, but I find this to be the fact.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What objection have the colored men to having other colored men on the jury?—A. They feel that they are more easily swayed; if they can get a white man on the jury who is friendly to them, they know that it will take a great deal more evidence to sway him than it would a colored man. They think that a colored man is not tenacious enough in holding on to a previous opinion. When arguments are presented, or appeals to his feelings, or in case of a tie, he is more easy to give over.

Q. Then they are rather prejudiced against their own race for jurors?—A. As a rule, I should say they are, in the circuit in which I practice.

Q. Is it to accommodate that prejudice that they are not allowed on juries so frequently as white men?—A. You misunderstand me, Senator; I did not say they were not "allowed" on juries so frequently as white men; under the law there is no distinction.

Q. Well, then, in practice how is it?—A. In practice a distinction is made.

Q. You have a majority of colored men in your county?—A. We have.

Q. Do you have a majority of colored men on your juries there?—A. I do not know that we have; that comes a good deal as it may happen. I have seen, in a case where all the litigants were white, nine colored men on the jury.

Q. Do whites like to have colored men on the jury when their cases are on trial?—A. Well, as to that I really do not know; if he can get one of his own employes on a jury, he would rather have him than a white man.

Q. What proportion of colored men are generally on the juries there?—A. I do not know.

Q. What would be your judgment?—A. Generally, I should say, about one-third or one-half; somewhere along there. I know this, the law is, so far as the grand jury is concerned, no true bill can be found without the consent of a colored man; that is, there must be at least one colored man on the grand jury who consents to the finding of the bill. I have never known a grand jury in my own county, or Edgecombe, or Warren, to consist of twelve white men—no grand jury of eighteen.

Q. What is the proportion of colored men to white men in your county?—A. About two and a half to one.

Q. And they constitute from one-third to one-half the jury?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are they appointed?—A. By drawing out of a jury-box; in making out the jury list they place in the box only the names of such persons as have paid their taxes the preceding year.

Q. Then there is a tax-law that serves to reduce the proportion of colored men on the jury?—A. I don't know that it affects them any more than it does the whites.

Q. Then why do you give that as a reason why, in a county where there are two and a half colored men to one white man, there are but from one-third to one-half colored men on the jury?—A. I did not give that as a reason; I merely mentioned it as a fact.

Q. You are giving it as one of the reasons, are you not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then what is the reason?—A. I will say this: If I had no prejudice, and if I should draw the jury out of all the names in the box in precisely the same way, the jury would be apt to consist of more white men than colored men. Take a child, and let him draw from the box; A's name is drawn, for instance; the question is now asked, not whether he is a white man or a black man, but is he competent for a jurymen? Is he a man of good moral character? There is this fact to be taken into consideration: owing to the ignorance of the colored men generally, you will have to pick over a larger number of names of colored men than you will of white men to find persons with the requisite moral character for jurors.

Q. Then the tax-law has nothing to do with it?—A. It can not have, for it applies to black and white alike.

Q. Is not a larger proportion of the whites than of the blacks able to pay taxes?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do not the whites own more property than the blacks?—A. That may be. I think they do.

Q. Then are not the whites better able to pay taxes than the colored people are?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not? I should like to have you explain that.—A. Because, owing to our peculiar system of agriculture, we are all pretty poor; so when the tax-gatherer comes along one is about as able to pay as the other.

Mr. VANCE. In proportion to the amount of the tax in each case?—A. Yes, sir; I thought that was taken into consideration.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. How is it in the other counties of the State?—A. I speak only of the counties I have been over.

Q. You say there is a poll-tax, of which 75 per cent. goes to the support of the schools?—A. Yes, sir; and the rest to the poor.

Q. Is there any other tax for schools?—A. Yes, sir; 8½ per cent. on all property. Under our constitution, our taxes are limited, for all purposes, to an amount not exceeding 66⅔ cents on \$100.

Q. You have separate schools for white and black?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any schools for both?—A. No, sir.

Q. During what proportion of time in each year are the schools now kept?—A. About four months in the year; sometimes longer. The law provides also that when there is not money enough to support the schools for four months in the year, a tax shall be levied to support them; but it requires that first the levying of such tax shall be put to a vote of the voters of the township; so if there is not four months school in any township it is because the voters do not tax themselves.

Q. Is that tax on property?—A. Yes, sir; it is purely a property tax.

Q. You said that the colored men had more to fear from white Republicans than from white Democrats; what did you mean by that?—A. I said, "intelligent colored men"; men who desire to hold office and to become popular, have more to fear from white Republicans than from

white Democrats. For if you attempt to interfere and get ahead, these white Republicans will say: "Hold on! you will prejudice us; that won't do!" It is the same way, I presume here in Washington; if you want a negro appointed to any position there is a great deal of difficulty; if it is a white man you want appointed, you can get him without any great opposition.

Q. What is the proportion of colored and white population in the State of North Carolina?—A. I should say, about one-third black to two-thirds white; we reason it out in that way, on general principles.

Q. What proportion of the Republicans there are white?—A. About one-third.

Q. You mean the white Republicans cast about one-third the party vote?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I mean; that would be the maximum.

Q. And what you mean by the colored men having more to fear from the white Republicans than from the Democrats is, that the white one-third of the Republican party will demand too many of the offices, and give trouble, and split the party?—A. Yes, sir; they will form any kind of combination that may be necessary.

Q. You mean with Democrats?—A. Yes, sir, or with Republicans.

Q. You have nothing to fear in the way of persecution from the white Republicans?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. You refer only to the internal management of the party?—A. Yes, sir; we have no fear of any persecution.

Q. Was your competitor—your Republican competitor, I mean—white or black?—A. There were two of them; one was colored and one was white.

Q. How was the vote divided between you and the other Republican candidates?—A. I don't know how much Mr. Thorne's vote was; Mr. Harris's was only about 3,000.

Q. What was the Democratic vote?—A. Captain Hitchin's majority over me was 1,022, I believe, as counted.

Q. Do you know anything about the colored people "bulldozing" each other in North Carolina?—A. No, sir; I do not know anything of that kind.

Q. You say that the laws of that State do not discriminate, as between the colored and the white?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any discrimination in the execution of those laws?—A. None that I know of. There is this, however: the same discrimination is used there that is used everywhere; for instance, in the courts, it is well known that a poor man, or an ignorant man, in any community, is at a disadvantage. For instance, if he brings a suit he may be unable to give bonds or to employ the best legal talent; he is under some disadvantages—necessarily so—from these peculiar circumstances. That is about the only inconvenience that colored men suffer from in North Carolina; and that is applicable to poor men and ignorant men the country over.

Q. There is no discrimination in the execution of the laws, either in regard to serving on juries or in the securing of rights in the courts?—A. None whatever.

Q. Are white men punished for crimes against colored men the same as colored men are for crimes against white men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I am trying to find the paradise for the negro, and I think I have found it at last. There is no race prejudice at all down there?—A. There is the same race prejudice that there is between white men and colored men everywhere, but to a less extent than in some Northern States.

Q. How is it shown to a less extent than in the Northern States?—
A. In a social point of view. For instance, in the North you will seldom see a white man and a colored man eating together; in the South it is nothing unusual to see that. It is nothing unusual in the South to see a white man driving in a buggy and his servant sitting beside him; it is unusual to see that in the North. That is owing to the peculiar circumstances of the two races. The Southern man knows the negro, the Northern man does not.

Q. Have you been in the North within the last six or eight years?—
Yes, sir.

Q. Have you met with any trouble in the North?—A. I have not; I have avoided that. A colored man when traveling will avoid placing himself in positions where there is any likelihood of his getting into trouble. A colored man traveling with his wife will go by a good many places.

Q. Have you ever suffered any political persecution in the North?—
A. O, no, sir.

Q. Colored men vote freely wherever they want to?—A. Yes, sir; they vote freely in my State.

Q. Did you ever hear of any political persecution in your State?—A. I said, I think, in my direct examination this morning, that at one time during the reign of the ku-klux on the border of South Carolina we had some bulldozing, but that was not in colored counties; we have had no ku-klux in the negro portion of North Carolina at all.

Mr. VANCE. I will say of the ku-klux and their operations—which is a matter that has all gone by—that they were not directed against the blacks particularly, but against blacks and whites indiscriminately.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Did you ever hear of any ku-klux anywhere else than in North Carolina?—A. I have read of them in the papers.

Q. Did you ever hear of them in South Carolina?—A. I do not propose to speak of South Carolina.

Q. You will speak of whatever we ask you, sir.—A. Pardon me, I meant of my own knowledge.

Q. You have heard of them in South Carolina?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Did they not extend into North Carolina?—A. No, sir; only into the border of the State, next to North Carolina, as I said.

Q. In what part of the State are these counties of which you speak—the county in which you live and those adjacent?—A. In the northeast portion, in what we call Eastern North Carolina.

Q. If there has been no political proscription in North Carolina, what do you suppose Governor Vance meant by advising the ku-klux to interfere as little as possible with the franchise; was it necessary to interfere just a little?

In answer the witness explained, and afterward Governor Vance explained more fully, that this advice had no reference to ku-klux outrages against Republicans or to any interference with the ballot-box or with voters. Under the constitution of 1868 townships elected their magistrates. In 1875 the constitution was amended. In this amended constitution the clause bearing upon this subject was not changed, but a section was added, that the legislature might change the mode of electing magistrates and return to the old mode in practice prior to the war of having them appointed by the clerk of the supreme court. Governor Vance, in his message on the 1st of January, 1877, referring to this, urged the legislature to allow the people of the townships to elect their own magistrates—to interfere with the franchise as little as possible.

Q. If that was all that Governor Vance meant, why did the hotheads of the Democratic party feel offended with him, as you said?—A. There was quite an excitement in the Senatorial contest as between him and Judge Merrimon; and the Merrimon men thought it was a good chance to get up a point against Governor Vance, and published through the State that he was catering to the negro element, and said a few words against him. The only cause of it was simply the fight between him and Judge Merrimon.

Q. Must not a considerable portion of the white people of North Carolina have believed in interfering, or they could not have made capital against Governor Vance by representing that he was opposed to interfering with the franchise?—A. I don't see how that could affect the black people particularly, because it operated equally on every man in the State.

Q. You say Governor Vance's enemies made capital against him, charging that he urged as little interference as possible with the colored vote?—A. You mistake, Senator. He did not say, with "the colored vote," but with "the right of suffrage."

Q. Do you not think there must have been a sentiment in the State, somewhere or other, to which they could appeal, else they would not have quoted it against him?—A. They were unsuccessful, I am happy to say, as you see by the fact that he is here.

Q. They were mistaken?—A. Yes, sir; they were entirely mistaken.

Q. It is true that they did not succeed in beating Governor Vance; but those people who used this expression for the purpose of making political capital against him must have thought that there was such a sentiment in existence or they would not have used it?—A. We had been agitating for a long time the question of going back to the county government that we had prior to the war, and they thought that a good chance to make prejudice against Governor Vance and at the same time get back to the old system of county government.

Mr. VANCE. The proposition to amend the constitution allowed the legislature to permit a county form of government if they thought proper, and embraced the power to give the legislature the appointment of the magistracy, and the election by the magistracy of all the county officers so as to take the right of voting away from the people if they thought proper, and the allusion in my message was to advise them to interfere with the election of county officers as little as possible. What I said was equally applicable to all without regard to politics or color. The county government, in old times, was fixed; now it is entirely in the discretion of the legislature.

By Mr. WINDOM;

Q. Were these hotheads, who you say took advantage of this expression in Governor Vance's message to make political capital against him, or to attempt to do so, were they opposed to white people voting?—A. As much so as they were to colored people voting.

Q. On what grounds?—A. I cannot say on what grounds; but it must have been so, because it applied just as much to white people as to colored people; as much to the western part of the State, inhabited almost entirely by white people, as to the central portion, what is called the Piedmont section, where there are a very few white people.

Q. The poor whites are largely Republican, are they not?—A. I never found that to be true.

A. Is it not true of the white farmers in the mountain districts?—A. I have always regarded the politics of the white farmers in Western North Carolina, in the mountain districts, as floating capital; whichever party will give the greatest advantages they will generally vote for; whichever offers them the most inducements will get their votes.

Q. They were men of strong Union sentiments during the war?—A. Generally so.

Q. You say you think the farmers of North Carolina are as prosperous as those of any part of the country, or more so?—A. I said equally so.

Q. How do those farmers get along who have no law practice to support them?—A. About the same as farmers generally.

Q. Did you not say that experience had shown that a man could not carry on a farm in North Carolina unless he had a law practice to support it?—A. No; I said that when a lawyer attempted to carry on a farm, his experience was that it took his practice to support his farm. I meant by that, that if he had any practice at all, he would have to attend to it, and must, therefore, neglect his farm, when he ought to be at work upon his farm; he would be called away to the courts, and to his office, just at the time, perhaps, when farm work was most pressing, but it would have to be left undone, and farming cannot be made a success in that way.

Q. About how many emigrants have left North Carolina, do you estimate, during the past year?—A. I should say, without pretending to be exact, that there have been probably 2,500 or 3,000, including men, women, and children.

Q. Within what time has that migration taken place?—A. Mostly within the past six months.

Q. From what counties has this emigration principally been?—A. Mostly from Greene, Lenoir, Wayne, and Jones.

Q. What do the emigrants allege as the cause?—A. The cause they have told me is that they could have better wages in Indiana and Kansas, better chances of living, and better educational facilities than in North Carolina.

Q. Have you heard of any political reasons?—A. None until since I came here.

Q. By whom, since you came here, have you been told that there were political reasons for this migration?—A. By a man named Otey—C. M. Otey.

Q. What political reasons did he give you?—A. He did not give me any; he told me what reason he had heard given by another man.

Q. What other man?—A. A gentleman named Mendenhall.

Q. Where does Mr. Otey live?—A. At present in this city.

Q. How many men have you heard of inducing this emigration from North Carolina?—A. I have heard of several; perhaps half a dozen or more.

Q. Give their names, please.—A. I do not know that I can name them all.

Q. Give the names of some of them.—A. I have heard that Mr. Dukehart, for instance, was one of them.

Q. Who else?—A. Taylor Evans.

Q. Is Taylor Evans a white or a black man?—A. He is a black man.

Q. Can you name any other person that you know of?—A. I do not know of any other.

Q. Were there any others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why can you not name them?—A. Because in many cases the

names were not given to me. A colored man would come to me and say, "Mr. O'Hara, a man has been around through our section talking thus and so; what do you say about it?" Perhaps he might tell me the man's name, and I might forget it; perhaps he might not know the man's name himself.

Q. Were they your own people—colored people?—A. Generally so; the colored men would come to me and say, "I heard a colored man, a stranger to me, talking so and so"; or, "they had a little meeting at such a place the other night, and a man made a speech in which he said so and so."

Q. Were you ever at any of those meetings?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear a report of the speeches?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard them reported by many.

Q. But you never heard anything said down there about any political motives?—A. No, sir; the first person to assign a political motive is the one heard of here—Mr. Mendenhall.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. What wages will a colored laborer receive per month in North Carolina?—A. From \$6 to \$10 per month; sometimes \$12.

Q. And board himself?—A. No, not board himself; our rule is mostly payment with rations.

Q. A monthly payment of from \$6 to \$10, with rations?—A. Yes, sir; and a cabin, besides, generally, a small piece of land for a garden.

Q. What are the daily wages in cases where the colored laborer works and receives pay for his work at the close of the day in money; are there any such cases?—A. O, yes, sir; in the cotton chopping season, for instance.

Q. I mean the average—not when wages are especially high?—A. I was compelled, when I was burned out in April, to employ some labor, and I then paid from 35 to 50 cents a day.

Q. Would that be about the average of wages per day?—A. That is what was told me.

Q. What was the work you had for them to do?—A. I had them cut down some trees, and clear away the *débris* from the place where I had been burned out.

Q. Ordinary rough, heavy work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were going to speak of the employment of men at some other work, at which wages were a little better; when was that?—A. During the cotton chopping season wages are 75 and 80 cents a day.

Q. What do you mean by the "cotton chopping season"?—A. After cotton is planted and comes up, it always comes up too thickly, and it is necessary to go over it with a hoe and cut out the surplus plants, leaving only enough to thrive.

Q. Do you know what the wages of laborers are throughout the North?—A. No, sir; but I know this, that the same class of unskilled laborers would not have averaged more than \$10 or \$12 per month.

Q. Are you aware that negro labor, which gets 25 and 30 cents a day in North Carolina, gets twice as much there as in the North?—A. I do not know that it does.

Q. Do you know that that has been pretty generally stated to these colored people?—A. No, sir; I have heard of it.

Q. You do not know that it is a fact?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. I understand you to disclaim that there is any political influence at work in this exodus movement of North Carolina?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. Did you have any information to give your colored friends as to wages in the North ?—A. Only as I have heard and learned of them.

Q. What have you told them that a colored man, who could get 50 cents in North Carolina, could get in New York ?—A. I have given them no information on that subject.

Q. Was it not the first thing that one of these colored men, of the class you represent, would ask when he came to you for information ? Didn't they think they could get higher wages, and save money enough, in a short time, to buy them a farm ?—A. Yes, sir ; a great many did.

Q. You say a great many expected to get farms. Did they expect to get them without money ?—A. I think some of them did.

Q. You do not think that they are a race of fools, do you ? You are a pretty good illustration, yourself, that they are not ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You think they have a good deal of mother wit, do you not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, Mr. O'Hara, if you are a fair representative of their interests, you will get their votes ?—A. Yes, sir ; though sometimes their votes are bought from them.

Q. Don't you think that they can look out for number one about as well as average native Americans ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the main portion of them are pretty sharp ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say they expected to get a dollar and a dollar and a half a day in Kansas and Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, was this expectation of buying a farm—didn't they expect to get it by earning the money, the same as they would have to do in the South ?—A. Yes, sir ; that is correct. But you do not seem to get my idea about their situation.

Q. I think I do ; and you will pardon me if I examine you after my own fashion. You wanted to keep the colored voters at home, didn't you, where you need them yourself ?—A. I do not so desire for the purpose you refer to.

Q. You are a colored politician, are you not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are quite as smart as the white ones generally ?—A. Well, sir, I do not know as to that. I thought I was called here to answer questions, and not to argue them. But if you desire, Senator, to argue them with me, I shall try to accommodate you.

Q. You are a carpet-bagger, are you not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A colored carpet-bagger from New York to North Carolina ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you teach school down there ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are now a leading lawyer there ?—A. I don't know as to how far I am a leading lawyer.

Q. You came here to Washington as a contestant for a seat from North Carolina in the House ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the jury to pass upon the case is composed of white men ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And mostly Democrats ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think your testimony is in the line of the general feeling of the colored people of North Carolina ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think it is.

Q. I do not ask you now, Mr. O'Hara, if it is a fact ; but, I say, do you think you are talking the general views of the colored people of North Carolina ?—A. I think I do, Senator. I think, in fact, I do represent their views.

Q. I want to ask you for the state of mind of these people who go North. Do you think that this movement arises from a settled state of mind on their part ?—A. No, sir ; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You asked, Senator Blair, for a state of mind, and I desire to have the witness answer without you doubling questions on him.

The WITNESS. You may double the questions as much as you please, but I only ask you to allow me to answer them when you do.

Senator BLAIR. I do not think the witness needs protection.

The CHAIRMAN. It is an imputation which you have just cast in your previous questions upon the motives of this witness in testifying before this committee that he was a carpet-bagger and a negro from the North who was trying a contested election case against a white man before a white jury composed of Democrats.

The WITNESS. I understand fully the imputation, that I was bringing testimony here before this committee in order to affect my case in Congress.

Senator BLAIR. Then I say distinctly that I cast no such imputation upon your motives; I do not want to be so understood. And now let us resume this examination.

Q. (By Mr. BLAIR.) Do you not look at this matter from a different standpoint from those colored men who are emigrating to the North?—A. No, sir; I do not think so.

Q. Do you know the motive of these men who go to the North?—A. I think I do.

Q. Will you state what motive or those motives may be.—A. The principal motive, so far as I know, is that they will get larger wages when they get to Indiana; that they will receive a bonus from the government; and that they will get fuller protection in their property and rights when they get there. My reason for stating these grounds is, quite a number have been to me at my office to ask what the government was going to do for them. They stated that they had been informed that they were to receive new clothing when they got here to Washington, and were to receive \$1.50 a day for their labor in Indiana; and I have invariably stated to them that the government could do nothing for them. I have stated that Congress will not and ought not to give them anything. I am one of those who think the American negro ought to be left to work out his own destiny, and that he has been a foundling and a ward too long already. At the same time, I believe that no man ought to be made discontented in his condition simply in order that he may be cheated out of that which he has.

Q. And you claim, if I understand you, that false representations are made to these people?—A. So far as the government aiding them with lands and giving them clothes, they certainly have had false representations made to them.

Q. Now, what do you know of the influence of that statement upon these men?—A. I suppose it had an influence and a favorable one, because they acted upon it. Had they not given credence to the reports they would not have gone, I suppose.

Q. What man who went out in connection with the exodus to the West has ever told you why he had gone?—A. I saw several who said they were going there because of these statements.

Q. But you informed them properly at the time, did you not?—A. I do not remember, sir; I generally do. I have seen large numbers of these negroes *in transitu*.

Q. Have you known any of those that went out to come back?—A. Yes, sir; but I have not been down in that section of the country where they went from much of late; in fact it is not yet time for many of them to get back.

Q. That was about six months ago, wasn't it, Mr. O'Hara?—A. I believe about it.

Q. It was six months ago, was it not, Mr. O'Hara, when this exodus first begun?—A. I believe it was.

Q. You have known all the time that these things were true?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that these statements that you say were false and were misrepresentations had been circulated among these people?—A. I think I have.

Q. And you have contradicted them pretty generally?—A. Yes, sir, so far as the government provisions were concerned, and as to what they would receive when they got there, but not as to the wages, for I did not know much about them. I have done this, however, with reference to that: I have shown them from the published reports that laborers did not get a dollar and a half a day. The wages paid about the towns and cities and by corporations might sometimes be higher than that paid to the average laborer for day work, but in that case I suppose it is like it is everywhere else—the men are paid more than on the farms, and sometimes paid more for their political influence than for their labor.

Q. Do you know whether these contradictions have been as universally circulated as the statements themselves?—A. Not at all, sir.

Q. And the exodus is still going on?—A. I have heard of a number who are still going.

Q. Do not you know that it is increasing?—A. No, sir; my understanding is that it is decreasing. I think most of it is from the counties of Lenoir and Greene, where I have not been recently.

Q. Then your information is not sufficient for you to speak of those counties?—A. No, sir.

Q. You do not mean or claim to give to the committee information regarding the exodus outside of your own State?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Who was your competitor in your last race for Congress?—A. Judge William Throne.

Q. He was a white man, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And a rival candidate for the place?—A. Yes, sir; and a carpet-bagger from Pennsylvania.

Q. Well, he was a carpet-bagger just as you were, from the North?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I used the term as it has been used pretty much throughout the country, and only because I thought it remarkable to find a colored man in the South who was a carpet-bagger.—A. I take no offense at the application of it. I went there to live among my people. These are not alone the views I have expressed here, and I have not expressed them in view of my present contest in Congress, but I have expressed them everywhere in private and in meetings of the colored people in North Carolina.

Q. Judge Throne was a white Republican, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many did he poll in the election?—A. I do not know, sir, and I cannot remember.

Q. It was a very trivial number, was it not?—A. Yes, sir; but the reason of that was—

Q. I did not ask for the reason; I asked if it was not a very trivial number of votes that he received.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your other competitor was a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many votes did he have?—A. I think about 3,000.

Q. How many votes did you have as a fact and as you claim?—A. About 17,000.

Q. How many majority was there against you as counted?—A. thousand and some odd.

Q. Now, if the entire Republican vote for Throne and yourself and Harris had been cast for one man, he would have been elected by a very handsome majority?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Out of that large number of votes, how many do you suppose were white men?—A. I do not suppose there were a hundred. I see that a couple of Quakers voted for me.

Q. How man Democrats were colored?—A. I do not suppose there were more than 50 or 75. I have not learned of any colored men who voted that way in my section.

Q. How many Democratic votes were counted against you?—A. I believe Captain Kitchin's vote was 1,022 majority.

Q. Now, will you give us the number of colored votes cast in your district, and the way those votes were divided between the parties? Your vote was about 17,000?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your colored competitor 3,000?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Throne's how much?—A. Very few, sir.

Q. Less than a thousand?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will 500 do for him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A reasonable aggregate for him would be 500, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many Democratic votes were polled?—A. 10,500.

Q. The Republican votes, all but 200, are colored, and that leaves about 22,200 colored?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And all the Democratic votes were white, you think, except about 75?—A. Well, say give them 200 who are colored.

Q. So it comes to this, that in this district, where the right of suffrage is free, and the colored people are substantially united, and for the Republican party, a white Democrat is sent to Congress to represent the district?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any idea that the same thing is done in the other States as between the two parties?—A. I do not know, as I have not been there to see.

Q. If you have any opinion on the subject please give us that.—A. I have not one. I should only know about that from what I have read and heard, but as to our own State I know just how it stands.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. On this question of wages, Mr. O'Hara, I wish to ask you a few questions. Where the wages are 35 cts. or 50 cts. a day, do you mean that that is where the man boards himself or where his employer boards him?—A. I feed those whom I hire, and it is generally understood that they are fed when hired by the day.

Q. You feed your hands and give them rations?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have no understanding, you say, that the prices paid to laborers are better or very much better in Indiana than in North Carolina?—A. For that class of farm laborers I do not think so.

Q. In these circulars that you read to these people and that were used by you to show the inducements offered to white emigrants, what was the general rate set down there?—A. From \$10 to \$15 a month; ranging between that.

Q. And you say as an average the rate was about \$12?—A. About that.

Q. Well, that is not much different from what the colored laborer gets in North Carolina, is it?—A. No, sir; and then I took into considera-

tion this other fact that in North Carolina he would never have to compete with the German or other foreign labor, and besides, so far as I know, no matter what the compensation for their labor is, there are colored men who will not work. Then there are others who can always get work. Again, in the North white mechanics and skilled laborers will not work at the same bench or on the same house with the colored mechanic, but there in our State the colored mechanics, carpenters and brick masons, have pretty much the monopoly of the work, and hence it was that I stated to them to stay in North Carolina.

Q. The question was put to you by Mr. Blair as to whether you are singular and alone in your views with reference to this emigration. I ask you what is the fact as to the leading and the most intelligent men of the country in the Republican party of your section?—A. I think I express their views, and if you will allow me, I think I have a paper here giving an account of a meeting held in Raleigh, which I will show to the committee.

After searching for the paper the witness said :

I have not the paper here, but I will show it to the committee at some other time.

Q. Mr. O'Hara, as I understand, your people are publishing a good many newspapers. Will you please tell us some of them?—A. Well, sir; The Journal of Industry, at Raleigh, The Star of Zion, at Concord, The Concord Pilot, The Raleigh Standard; I think about six in all.

Q. What proportion of those papers are supporting this movement?—A. Not one of them.

Q. You state that the entire colored press of North Carolina is opposing it?—A. Yes, sir; every one so far as I can hear.

Q. All of them without a single exception are throwing obstacles in the way of this emigration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Take Mr. Frederick Douglass, I believe he is regarded as a representative man of your race?—A. I think he is.

Q. I have been informed that he is opposed to it?—A. I believe that he is, and in fact nearly all of our prominent colored people are opposed to it except these few men here about Washington. I am in communication with a number of intelligent colored men, all of whom are opposed to this emigration.

Q. You think the weight of influence of these intelligent colored men is all opposed to the movement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you think of the influence of these colored men in this city who are helping the movement?—A. I cannot say, sir; I have not conversed with any one of them upon it, and have been otherwise engaged.

Q. There, is however, a wide diversity of opinion between them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, so far as you know; and so far as you know, the press of your State is opposed to it?—A. Yes, sir; I may say the entire colored and white press of the State.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say the leading colored men are all opposed to the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. You spoke awhile ago of the intelligent colored men of the country. Do you mean to confine the word "country" to North Carolina?—A. No, sir; I did not mean to say that North Carolina was the entire country. I said the entire press of North Carolina, and a large proportion of the colored men whom I have conversed with are opposed to it.

Q. Well, I understood you to make the remark as applying to the country generally ?—A. I do not know, sir, as I did.

Q. Well, now, what is the truth, Mr. O'Hara, as to the intelligent colored people of the country generally ?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Do you know any of the intelligent colored people of the country who are opposed to it ?—A. I do not know, sir, that I could name any. I am not busying myself to keep in communication with them on the subject.

Q. Do you know anything of the action of the national colored convention last year at Nashville on this subject ?—A. I was invited, but as I thought I saw the finger of two or three men in there whose purposes I suspected, I did not go.

Q. You do not know, then, what its action was ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor the views of the colored men of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi and the other States, who were gathered together there ?—A. No, sir ; I do not. All I know relates to North Carolina, and I know a number of the prominent men of the State are opposed to the exodus from there.

Q. Who are they ?—A. I do not know that I can particularize them, but I know the fact from speaking with them in social gatherings and casually.

Q. I wish you would repeat that remark reported to you by the gentleman as having been made by Mr. Mendenhall.—A. Mr. Otey, of this city, stated that the object of the association at first was to aid those parties who had emigrated from Mississippi, Louisiana, and other places, and who were reported to be suffering in Saint Louis and depending upon their cold charities. Mr. Otey became a member of the society and thought that was the object of the society until Mr. Mendenhall suggested that Indiana was a doubtful State, and he thought it would be a good idea to take the negroes out of Virginia and North Carolina, as they were States of easy access, and remove them to Indiana to carry the State.

Q. Do you know the time when that was said or alleged to have occurred ?—A. I think I do ; it was at the first or second meeting of the association. He had been elected vice-president of the society, and on account of that he severed his connection with it.

Q. He is an editor, I believe ?—A. Yes, sir ; the editor of *The Argus*."

Q. Where is that paper published ?—A. Here in Washington City.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Do you know of any one having been to North Carolina, for of anything having been done about this exodus until Perry and Williams came from there last October with some of these people ?—A. I do not know anything about Williams, and I do not think that Perry was out of the State until some two months ago. I was down in La Grange at the place where he lived, and asked about him, and then it was they told me he was engaged in this emigration business.

Q. They resided there in North Carolina, did they not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did you know of any actual exodus until they came into it ?—A. Yes, sir. I knew it had been worked up and excursions had been given to various points and speeches made in the interest of the removal of the colored people.

Q. Of course it was worked up, or these men would not have left the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew nothing of it when it was being done ?—A. Yes,

sir; I knew it only in a general way, and did not pay much attention to it at first.

Q. And these men Perry and Williams you say were actual residents of the State?—A. Yes, sir; and I do not think that Perry left there voluntarily.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What were the compelling motives, Mr. O'Hara?—A. I do not state that. I think the records of the State will show.

Q. You can tell it yourself, if you know, as this investigation is very open and wants all the facts?

Senator BLAIR. I do not think, Mr. Chairman, we ought to allow this man to guess at it?

Senator VANCE. I would not like to guess at it myself.

On motion, the committee adjourned to Saturday, January 24, at 11 o'clock a. m.

FOURTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Saturday, January 24, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment. Present, the chairman and all the members of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. P. DUKEHART.

JOHN P. DUKEHART sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Dukehart, where do you reside?—Answer. Baltimore.

Q. What is your full name?—A. John P. Dukehart.

Q. How long have you resided in Baltimore?—A. Fifty-five years.

Q. I take it it is your native place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what your business is at this time.—A. I am Southern passenger agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Q. How long have you been passenger agent of that road?—A. Six years.

Q. What were you before?—A. I was conductor on the road.

Q. Between what points?—A. Baltimore and Washington; also Wheeling, and in fact over the entire road.

Q. How long have you been in the service of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad?—A. Next April will be thirty years.

Q. You may state whether your road is engaged in carrying the colored emigrants from North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; we are carrying all that I can sell tickets to.

Q. Have you the number of persons that you have been selling tickets to?—A. I cannot tell how many tickets we have sold. I never took any account of the children who went over the road. Of course we can tell by an examination of the books how many tickets have been sold, both wholes and halves, but I do not know the entire number of people who traveled over the road, men, women, and children.

Q. Above what age are children required to have tickets?—A. Five years.

Q. And all children above that age have tickets to show for?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did this movement commence?—A. The last Whitsuntide, which is the great holiday for negroes, I received orders from our department to go to Weldon and look to this movement of the exodus, which I did, and when I arrived there I found the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad already interested in it. The whole movement fell through at that time on account of a want of confidence in the negroes; but about the 25th of October I received a notice to go to a place called Le Grange, in North Carolina, and had my attention called to two negroes named Perry and Williams. I was to see them at once. I was engaged at that time in securing a number of emigrants from Midland, in Virginia.

Q. Were they white or colored?—A. White. You know, Senator, there is a great deal of competition in this business. I received a telegram from Baltimore saying that the Pennsylvania agents were there at Le Grange, and were trying to get this emigration. I went to see Perry, and gave him the established rates over our line of road and left him; and in ten days I received another order from our road to go to Le Grange, as the party were about to leave and had money to pay their way.

Q. What month was that?—A. That was in the month of November. I went there and found that there were forty ready to leave, and all of them were going to Indianapolis.

Q. To Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir. But I only got them to purchase eighteen tickets, on account of their being told that when they reached here they would receive their tickets here at Washington. Perry was at the train at the time. I took them to the train. They were to raise me \$270 to pay for their tickets, and they did not raise it for me at the time; in fact I had to hold the train.

Q. Where was that?—A. That was here in Washington that I am speaking of; after they got here.

Q. Who was to raise the money?—A. This committee of the emigrants' society.

Q. Who was that committee composed of?—A. Of Wall and Adams. Adams paid me the money himself.

Q. How much?—A. Two hundred and seventy dollars.

Q. Mr. Dukehart, was that the first lot that went over your road?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they engage for that lot before they left North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you brought them this far on their responsibility, or did they have the money raised for you?—A. It was raised for me. They paid their way from North Carolina all the way through here, and then they paid from Washington through to Indianapolis.

Q. And before you would let them go from here they were made to pay to Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that money, you say, was raised by this committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In a general way, let us know what plan you finally fell upon for carrying these people to Indiana—what the arrangements were in detail.—A. The first arrangement was made on the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, and they were to give a \$15 rate from Goldsborough to Indiana.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. That is, the Wilmington and Weldon was to prorate with the other roads?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has no road south of here?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you went, you say, as the Southern agent to get this business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you stated to them to make a rate of \$15, and prorated among themselves, that is, the roads between here and Goldsborough, and when they got here your prorate would be \$9 on to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was the first arrangement?—A. Yes, sir. After forty-four tickets had been sold the Wilmington and Weldon flew the track and went back on us and demanded their second-class rate of \$3.15 for each ticket, and we could then issue no more through tickets. That left us in the dark. We fished around there, however, bidding for rates. The whole town was filled with people, and we had a great deal of trouble telegraphing backwards and forwards, and finally we got a rate of \$16.60 to Indianapolis.

Q. There has been some testimony here, Mr. Dukehart, of an alleged drawback of one dollar. Tell us about that.—A. Well, sir, in working for this business there is a commission allowed to the leader of all parties. In that party at Midland I gave a dollar drawback. It is a thing established by all the lines, I believe, and in Wilmington I agreed to pay a dollar commission on every passenger that the agent got.

Q. Who was that agent?—A. Z. Taylor Evans. I paid him a dollar for every full ticket, and a half dollar for every half passenger.

Q. You say that was Z. Taylor Evans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a black man himself?—A. He is pretty black and has thick lips.

Q. Was that money paid by him for these tickets?—A. No, sir; he only got his own commission. I have always paid every cent in Goldsboro' to Taylor Evans.

Q. You say that Wall and Adams came to you and paid for forty of these negroes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you estimated that that came to \$270?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And on all moneys paid by this emigrant aid society, do I understand you they received back a dollar for each person?—A. Yes, sir. On every ticket paid for by money furnished by them I paid them back a dollar.

Q. Have you any means of stating to the committee how many passengers, half and whole, passed through this point?—A. Yes, sir; I can tell you all who passed from this Southern country through.

Q. Will you please give to us the figures as near as you can?—A. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company has sold to these emigrants 763 tickets, and out of that number there were 235 half tickets. That was all the tickets sold by us going west. I take a little pride in the fact that I sold to all that were sold to. I think that I was able to capture all who went to Indiana, and the other roads got nothing.

Q. Can you tell us what the proportion of the money that was paid for the transportation of these emigrants was furnished by this committee from this point on?—A. I cannot say, sir. All that I know about it was the \$270 paid me. There were a large number in North Carolina who raised the money to pay their fare to Washington. There were 164, I think, on the second trip. There were a very large number on board the train who had no tickets, and the conductors came to me and said, "What shall we do with them?" I said that I did not propose

to take charge of them and charge my company with the expense of bringing them here, and they put off about 500.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Where was that?—A. At Goldsboro'.

Q. But there were 164 who came through to Washington.—A. I took a sleeping-car and came through with them myself. On that train there were 65 who were ready to pay their fare, and I sent them through at \$16.60 a head. The others were taken to a church here and kept there.

Q. That is the second party that you speak of?—A. Yes, sir; that is the second lot, 164. That is the largest lot that ever came over the road.

Q. Did the committee pay you for it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Whom did they pay it to?—A. To our ticket agent.

Q. Do you know how many were sent?—A. They went off in separate lots as the committee raised the money. I think probably some of them are here yet.

Q. Did the ticket agent pay the drawback to them?—A. I do not know, sir. I was not here. There was an arrangement I know to pay the drawback, and it might have been settled in Baltimore.

Q. You are the Southern passenger agent of the railroad?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You are allowed to make arrangements with different parties to get up passengers for the road?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the fare from your depot down here to Indianapolis?—A. Sixteen dollars, limited tickets, three days, first class.

Q. Are your emigrant tickets the same?—A. Yes, sir; they are the same for emigrants.

Q. You make no distinction as to color?—A. None in the world.

Q. With what road did you have your principal competition for this business?—A. The Pennsylvania and the Chesapeake and Ohio Roads.

Q. And you beat them by bidding better than they did?—A. I do not know, sir. They watched us as close as we watched them without getting up a railroad war, which Garrett and Scott are both afraid of.

Q. You say that Taylor Evans was an active man in the business; do you know where he lived?—A. At Goldsboro'.

Q. Do you know anything of his motives in recruiting crowds of emigrants to go to Indiana?—A. No, sir. I do not.

Q. Do you know from what he has told you?—A. He tells me that he commenced this thing a year or eighteen months ago, speaking about in the country and working up the movement.

Q. What did he tell you about secret societies for the purpose?—A. Nothing at all.

Q. And you have never heard anything about that even from him?—A. No, sir; not even from him. You would be surprised if you were in my office in Lynchburg to see the proposals and letters sent to me saying "I have five hundred emigrants ready to go to Kansas," and asking for rates of fare and all that, and if you go to the place you will probably find one or two men ready to go and neither one of them with money enough.

Q. Mr. Dukehart, you have been mixing with these people down there; please state what their idea is as to the wages they will receive and what they will get when they go to Indiana. Have you seen any of those chromos of the homes they are to receive or any of the circulars that have been distributed among them?—A. I have seen some of the circulars among them stating that good wages would be paid.

Q. How much?—A. Well, about a dollar, a dollar ten, and a dollar and a half a day.

Q. For what sort of labor?—A. For farm hands.

Q. With or without board?—A. I didn't see as to that.

Q. Whom were they signed by?—A. These things emanated, I believe, from "The Greencastle Banner."

Q. Is that a paper published in the town of Greencastle, Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were published from that paper as editorials?—A. Yes, sir; and also statements published in that paper made by negroes who had gone out there.

Q. Were they not principally distributed about there by Perry, Williams, and Scott?—A. I never saw Perry's or Williams's names there; they did their business principally through mass meetings.

Q. You stated in the opening of your testimony, I believe, that Perry left North Carolina suddenly. Have you any explanation of why he left?—A. They had him indicted by the grand jury in La Grange for forging school certificates, and he left a hundred dollars which was raised by his church people to make his bail, and he came away and has not gone back.

Q. You stated something of the competition. State if you have any information as to any other road moving for this business; if so, please state it.—A. The last party I brought through came last week—at least I secured them, and the Chesapeake and Ohio were bidding for them \$2.50 less on the ticket, but I held on to them. I have a telegram this morning that they are, through their agents, about to establish an office there to sell tickets to this business.

Q. Where is that?—A. At Goldsboro'.

Q. I will get you to give me the names of the parties connected with the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company who know these things?—A. Well, sir, there is Mr. J. C. Dane, the Southern passenger agent, resident at Richmond; and Henry Washington, at Greensboro', is also an agent of that road.

Q. Mr. Dukehart, you have spoken of receiving a great number of letters proffering crowds of emigrants to go west. Is it well understood among these people that any person getting up a crowd will get a dollar a head for them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then, between you and Evans it was a secret arrangement?—A. A. No, sir; everybody did not know of it, I suppose, because those who pay for a single ticket do not get any drawback, but this is a special arrangement.

Q. Then the understanding is that you, as agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, have authority to employ an agent where he gets a dollar on every ticket that he sells to one of these crowds?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you would feel authorized to employ anybody as an agent who would furnish you a sufficient number to make it an object to get them over your road?—A. I would employ them for the time.

Q. That is, you give the drawback when there is a party all going together? Then if a party, by mass-meeting or by church excitement or otherwise, were to get up fifty men and women to go over your road it would be worth \$50 to him?—A. Yes, sir, after you had sold the tickets.

Q. Then there was that inducement held out to Perry and Williams and all these people who were working in this business?—A. Yes, sir; that is what all the trunk lines do.

Q. And these colored men understood that?—A. Yes, sir; all of them.

Q. You spoke of a number of persons coming to the train to go away, more than were provided with tickets. How many were there?—A. I cannot tell you, sir.

Q. Why didn't they go?—A. Because they did not have money to pay for their tickets.

Q. Do you know what representations were made to them as to tickets being given to them by the government?—A. I do not know as to that; but I think they were told that after they got to Washington they would have a new suit of clothes and free transportation to Kansas and Indiana.

Q. And Evans, who was acting as your agent, was telling those tales to these people?—A. I will correct you, Senator. It was Perry and Williams who circulated the report. Evans did not have anything to do with it.

Q. Then Perry and Williams told these people that after they got to Washington they would be furnished a new suit of clothes and be given a free ticket to Kansas or Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Perry was a preacher, was he not?—A. No, sir; he was a school teacher.

Q. Was he not a preacher also?—A. No, sir; I never heard that he was.

Q. Well, Williams was a preacher?—A. Yes, sir; but he went to Kansas with the first party, and has never returned.

Q. You say that they operated by mass meetings?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They got up quite a great deal of excitement, did they not?—A. Yes, sir; and they were sent out there by these people to prospect and see that everything was favorable to their coming.

Q. And in these parties that you carried over the road there were no dead-heads except the children?—A. No, sir.

Q. And no dead-heads except those who were under five years of age?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You consider that a very great inducement to people who are emigrating, to carry children under five years free?—A. Yes, sir; that is the rule.

Q. Did you carry other people's children free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear of any politics being discussed in this matter?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear anything of it from Perry or Williams?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not discuss it with them?—A. No, sir; on the contrary, I have not had anything to do with it. I said, "I am here to sell you these tickets. If you don't want them I can get out." I will say, with reference to the first party, that when I was trying to get rates every day at Goldsboro it was dark when I got the rates, and the negroes were all of them quartered in a church at Little Washington. I was upstairs in the hotel, and I got my tickets out of my satchel, went downstairs into the back yard, kicked a board off the fence, and went down to the church. I told them that our road was the only legitimate line to the West, and was a good "air-line," and all of that sort of thing. So I sold them all tickets there in the church, and came back with my pockets full of money to where the other agents were; and we had a good deal of fuss in a friendly way over my beating them so nicely.

Q. Have you ever been to Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who has gone with them from here, as a rule?—A. This man Perry, I believe, until the last two parties went.

Q. Do you know who were with them?—A. I think they went in charge of the conductor. There was nobody went with them from here.

There were only eighteen in the first party and twenty-five in the second.

Q. Where will you go when you leave here ?—A. Right back to Goldsboro, unless somebody stops me.

Q. Are you going on this business ?—A. Yes, sir, I am, unless the other roads should reap the advantages by my absence and scoop them in.

Q. You have made yourself very popular among them, have you not, Mr. Dukehart ?—A. Yes, sir ; I am looked upon by them as a sort of Moses. They are like sheep down there. When one leads off they all go over the same rail. In the first instance I got them by going to the church and making this pathetic address to them. They think a great deal of me on account of my securing this first party.

Q. You say they are like sheep, and that when one starts the balance follow. Now, from your general knowledge of this subject, what do you think of the future of this emigration movement ? Is it going to increase or stand still ?—A. I think just as long as those people have money or can get money to pay their fare they will keep going until they receive letters from those ahead telling them not to come, or some of them are brought back to tell them the status of affairs out there.

Q. Then you believe it will not stop unless it is checked from the other end of the line ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I suppose your road would not object to bringing them back if they want to come ?—A. No, sir ; if they want to come I will go over there to Indianapolis and do as much work to secure them as I did down in North Carolina. I will sell them tickets either way. I will even go down to the church and make another address to them.

Q. You have the only air-line, I believe you said ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much of a line have you ?—A. I do not know its full extent.

Q. There is a great deal of it, is there not, Mr. Dukehart ?—A. Yes, sir.

The chairman here called upon Mr. George S. Koontz, one of the agents of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, to state the line of railroad under the control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company in the State of Indiana, which he did, and then presented to the committee one of the railroad company's circular maps.

Testimony of JOHN P. DUKEHART resumed.

The WITNESS. This is the regular map of the road, which shows the only legitimate air-line route from this point to Indiana. I never give up the Baltimore and Ohio.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Through what counties does your line run in Indiana ?—A. I do not know that I can give the counties. The map does not do so ; but it enters below Defiance and runs up to Seymour and Belle Union to the Chicago Junction.

TESTIMONY OF SAYLES J. BOWEN.

SAYLES J. BOWEN sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I simply find your name, Mr. Bowen, as one of a board of audit of this concern, the Emigrant Aid Society. A paper has been presented here showing the disbursements of that society in furtherance of this em-

igration movement. I do not recollect the amount, but whether much or not you can state whether it is your name that is signed to that paper?—A. I never saw the paper until it was read here and knew nothing of its existence.

Q. Do you mean by that to say that your name is there without your authority?—A. I mean to say that it is there without my knowledge or authority any further than permitting my name to be used as a member of the auditing committee.

Q. Have you acted in that capacity and allowed it to be used?—A. No, sir. There have been some accounts presented to me for passage-money to Indianapolis for some of these emigrants. I have no recollection, however, of the particulars.

Q. When did you allow your name to be used?—A. I think it was two or three months since.

Q. By whom?—A. I think Mr. Wall and Mr. Adams came and asked if I would allow my name to be used, and mentioning other parties who had consented to act.

Q. And you consented?—A. Yes, sir, after being told what were the duties of the committee.

Q. And you did not know until this paper was produced anything in connection with the transactions of the society?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Have you any knowledge of the matter of this emigration except what you have heard here?—A. No, sir; I merely acted on this paper, and when I found the paper all right I put my name to it. I have had no further business connected with this emigration movement. I have been down in Tennessee most of the time.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE S. KOONTZ.

GEORGE S. KOONTZ sworn and examined.

The WITNESS. Mr. Chairman, I will say that I know nothing of the location of these roads controlled by the Baltimore and Ohio Company, except what I get from the maps. I know nothing of the geography of that country. Our line enters Ohio in the county of DeKalb, extending through the northern part of the State into Lake, and into Moran; thence into DeKalb, Noble, Kosciusko, Elkhart, Marshall, Porter, and Lake. Those are the counties shown by Rand & McNally's map.

Question. What other line of road does your company own or control in Indiana?—Answer. I do not know of any other. I have no knowledge on that subject.

Q. You have a road from here to Indianapolis?—A. No, sir; not running into Indianapolis.

Q. How do you sell tickets there?—A. We sell them by other roads. We sell tickets by the C. C. and A. and other roads.

Q. That arrangement you had running in January?—A. This has been the line running to Grafton and Parkersburg, and thence to Cincinnati, and the Indianapolis Cincinnati and Lafayette Road running on from there.

J. P. DUKEHART recalled.

By Senator WINDOM:

Question. You spoke a while ago of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad Company flying the track in the matter of rates; do you know the reason why they flew the track?—Answer. No, sir. The first thing they did was to sell tickets through to Washington, and the next party that came along they would not sell them tickets, except to the end of their line.

Q. So that they have not sold any to Kansas and Indianapolis from there?—A. No, sir; not since the first batch.

Q. What was the destination of the first batch?—A. Indianapolis.

Q. Do you know of any efforts being made in Washington or elsewhere to keep the railroad company from taking them to Indiana?—A. No, sir; I never heard of any.

Q. What political party do you belong to?—A. I am a Democrat.

Q. To what party does Mr. Koontz belong?—A. I cannot speak for him.

Mr. KOONTZ (interrupting). I will speak for myself; I am a Republican.

The WITNESS. I began by voting against Henry Clay. Mr. Cole, the general agent, is also a Republican.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you know of anything political in this exodus movement, or is it purely a business transaction?—A. That was what it was with me.

Q. When did you first hear of this movement? What was the information brought to you as to the character of it in that section of country? Was it simply that a large number was going, and that it would be desirable to secure them?—A. When I first went into La Grange I had a talking with Ferry and Williams. It was necessary to learn the number who were probably going, and they stated it at from fifteen to twenty thousand. I laughed at them, and they said there was no use in laughing, it was all right, and they were going.

Q. You stated, I believe, that 763 of them went?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Since that time?—A. Yes, sir; from the 20th of November to this time.

Q. You said, I believe, that 235 of the 763 were half tickets. What class of people did they represent?—A. Children between five and twelve years of age.

Q. Then the whole number of adult tickets, deducting that amount from the other, would be 428?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What proportion of those would you say were women?—A. I should say a half; I am only speaking of them as I saw them in the train, and I think half of them were women.

Q. Was there any considerable number between 12 and 20 years of age?—A. No, sir, not many; when a man would go out and take his family, he would come into the office and say to us, how much to Indiana? I would tell him \$16.60 a head, and ask him if he had any children. I have had them to answer yes, I have got 9 head. That fellow had the largest family I ever knew to go among them. Out of that family I think he had three children who would come within the age described by our tariff.

Q. Then there would be six who would come within the ages of 12 and 20?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you give any estimate of the number, out of 264, who could vote in Indiana next year?—A. I could not tell you, sir.

Q. Do you think that is a sufficient number to create all this consternation in the Democratic party in Indiana, and to alarm them as to the Democratic status of that State?

The CHAIRMAN. There is no consternation, Senator Windom, but a deal of indignation.

The WITNESS. I could not tell the number who will vote.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Out of the 268 you say half were women?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it is unreasonable to say that there are 64 between the ages of 12 and 20?—A. I should say not; although I did not pay any attention to them.

Q. Then if that would not be unreasonable that would leave 200 who could vote?—A. I never looked to see after them in that regard; I think, though, to assume that would not be unreasonable.

Q. That would leave 200 males over 20 years of age, or about that?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF H. W. MENDENHALL.

H. W. MENDENHALL sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where is your residence?—Answer. Washington City.

Q. How long have you resided here?—A. Three years.

Q. Where did you live before you came here?—A. In Indiana.

Q. Whereabouts?—A. The last four years I lived at Indianapolis.

Q. Where did you live before then?—A. In Richmond.

Q. Bent County?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was your business in Indianapolis?—A. Part of the time keeping books for a wholesale house, and part of the time I was in the insurance business.

Q. What are you doing now?—A. I am a clerk in the Treasury Department.

Q. What department of it?—A. In the revenue marine department.

Q. In what grade?—A. First class clerkship.

Q. At what pay?—A. Twelve hundred dollars.

Q. I saw your name attached here as a member of the board of audit—did you hear it read?—A. I did not get in in time.

Q. It is a paper appealing to the people of the North for aid and sympathy?—A. Yes, sir. I am knowing of it.

Q. You were familiar with it before it was brought out here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you read it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you read any part of it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who did?—A. Mr. Adams.

Q. Did you see it before it was published?—A. No, sir; Mr. Adams told me about it and asked me to read it, and I said I was busy at the time and did not do it.

Q. Did he ask you to put your name to it?—A. As a member of the committee?

Q. Did he in any capacity?—A. I don't remember whether it was Adams or Wall that asked, and I replied that I did not care.

Q. Then you knew this paper was circulating with your name attached to it for sometime past?—A. I knew it when he handed me one.

Q. It is dated November 15, 1879, at 934 F street?—A. It was dated then but was not printed until the 1st of December. That is my impression.

Q. Has the Emigrant Aid Society rooms at 934 F street?—A. No, sir; it had one then up stairs, but has moved since.

Q. Where is it now?—A. I don't know.

Q. Did you go up to that room you had up there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who has the books and records of that society?—A. I don't know anything about it.

Q. Did you know Mr. Fearing?—A. Yes, sir. Mr. Adams some two or three weeks ago concluded to go to Washington Territory and resigned as secretary and Mr. Fearing was appointed as secretary in his place.

Q. Have you ever seen the books and papers of the society?—A. No, sir.

Q. Never seen any of them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever seen any letters?—A. Yes, sir. I have seen two; Mr. Adams showed me two from Mr. Langsdale.

Q. The editor of the Greencastle Banner?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the writing about?—A. That he could provide employment for a large number of emigrants.

Q. Did he state the number?—A. Really I don't recollect, but he said he had a large number of places for hands upon the farms.

Q. You are an Indianian yourself, and Greencastle is in Putnam County, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How is that county there settled up and supplied as to laborers?—A. I was not there but once in my life, and I do not know anything about the county.

Q. You belong to the old Mendenhall family in Wayne, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; my father lived there.

Q. Do you know anything of how it is furnished with labor?—A. I know nothing of its statistics at all.

Q. Did Mr. Lungsdale state anything as to other counties?—A. I do not think he said anything, except that if the emigrants were here to send them there.

Q. What do you know of an emigration aid society there at Greencastle?—A. Nothing, whatever.

Q. What at Indianapolis?—A. Nothing, except what I saw in the Journal a week ago, that the colored people had a meeting to establish an aid society and help the people coming there to that State.

Q. That was the colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know General Straight?—A. Yes, sir; but only by reputation.

Q. He has the reputation of being a white man, has he not?—A. Yes, sir; and has a very fine business, I believe.

Q. Do you know Mr. Dudley—is he a white man?—A. He is indeed in a good many ways.

Q. And the editor of the Indianapolis Journal, Mr. Walker, boasts being a white man, does he not?—A. You speak of Mr. Martindale, do you not?

Q. I speak of Mr. Walker, his writing man.—A. I do not know him.

Q. You do not know anything about their employing negroes on their paper?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you take the Journal?—A. I do.

Q. Do you read it?—A. Occasionally.

Q. Have you seen Mr. Langsdale's paper?—A. Yes, sir; I have seen two copies of it, I think.

Q. Mr. Langsdale is the postmaster at Greencastle?—A. I do not know that.

Q. He is a leading Republican, is he not?—A. Yes, sir; I should judge so from his paper.

Q. And from the remarks he made?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How often did this society meet with which you were connected?—A. I do not know, sir, but I think four times I have been there.

Q. Be good enough to tell us what was transacted?—A. I think about a year ago, about the time of the first landing of emigrants in Saint Louis, Mr. Adams came to me. I was in the Treasury at the time, and he said he was going to have a meeting at his house to aid the emigrants in Saint Louis, and asked me if I would meet with them, and I said yes. I went there and met with nine or ten persons who were there at the meeting. They were all strangers to me except Mr. Wall and Mr. Adams, and Mr. Fearing, I think, was there too.

Q. Then the first meeting of your society was on the occasion of the arrival of a large number of Southern negro emigrants at Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir; that is the first meeting.

Q. Was Mr. Otey present at that meeting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. Otey?—A. No, sir; I didn't know him until after the meeting, when I learned his name.

Q. You know him now, don't you?—A. Yes, sir; there was a gentleman here this morning that I took to be him.

Q. He was there at that meeting?—A. Yes, sir; he was there at that meeting.

Q. When was the next meeting held?—A. Really I do not recollect.

Q. Where was the next meeting?—A. We were assembled at the same place.

Q. Was that Adams's house?—A. Yes, sir; at Adams's house.

Q. About what time was this meeting held?—A. In point of date, I think, about one year ago, and about one week or ten days after the emigrants arrived in Saint Louis; it was in cold weather, I think.

Q. You met afterwards, about how long afterwards?—A. I cannot tell.

Q. Can't you approximate it?—A. Well, sir, it was three or four weeks.

Q. When did you have your last meeting?—A. The last meeting was some time in the latter part of the summer.

Q. Did you ever meet Otey more than once at one of these meetings?—A. I think that was one only one he attended.

Q. You have been favorable to placing these people in Indiana?—A. I have been in favor of putting them in every State we could.

Q. I did not ask you that; I said Indiana.—A. Yes, sir; I have been in favor of sending them to Indiana if they could get employment there.

Q. You advocated that disposition of them?—A. Yes, sir; in one sense of the word, I did.

Q. You spoke in the meeting?—A. I spoke that night.

Q. That was the first meeting, you say?—A. Yes, sir; I do not know that I spoke at that meeting about Indiana, but some one asked my opinion of the matter, and I said that the matter was a new one to me, but I thought there was going to be a very extensive number of people who were going to leave the Southern States and take up their residence in the North and West.

Q. Have you ever been in the South?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you knew nothing of the condition of the people there?—A. No, sir; except what is a part of the history of the country.

Q. That is, what you have read in the newspapers?—A. I have read something in the newspapers, and I generally read and believe what I see in a newspaper, if it is a Republican newspaper.

Q. What kind of a newspaper did you read it in?—A. I only take the best papers.

Q. Do you read any Democratic paper?—A. I do not know that I do particularly, but I have seen some things from the Southern Okalona States.

Q. But you believe all that you read in a Republican paper?—A. Yes, sir; I think I would.

Q. Then you read something in these newspapers to the effect that the negroes were in bad condition?—A. Yes, sir; I think the report I read was in a Republican paper.

Q. Didn't you state in your speech that the negroes would do better by going to Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. What inducement did you state would be held out to them in Indiana?—A. None.

Q. Did you say anything on the subject?—A. I had never seen or heard at that time anything about people coming from the South to Indiana.

Q. Did you say anything about it yourself in your speech?—A. Yes, sir, I did.

Q. What did you say?—A. I will tell you exactly; or rather give you the substance, as I cannot tell the language precisely. I stated that their persecution was as much as they could bear, and that if Indiana could offer inducements to these people I felt like a great number of them would go there; and I stick right there now.

Q. Didn't you state in your speech that as these negroes were going to emigrate you would like to have a large number of them come to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I knew that a great number of them, if not all, voted the Republican ticket, and I would like amazingly to see them come there, just the same as you to see the Irish coming in there because they generally vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. You were in favor of their going there to vote?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. Are you a Quaker?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And of anti-slavery antecedents?—A. No, sir; my father had two or three brothers who owned slaves.

Q. Your father emigrated to North Carolina, did he not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, you stated this thing in the meeting, and Otey was there; have you talked with him since on that point?—A. I do not know that we have even met together, and certainly not talked over this matter.

Q. You are a pretty strong Republican and somewhat of a politician?—A. No, sir; I am not a politician. I have talked over this matter frequently, but our society in no case has done anything to further the matter. I stated my opinion simply, but no action was taken on it. When I said this the society was not organized, but we were staying talking the matter over. Mr. Wall was then elected president, and Mr. Adams secretary.

Q. You wish to be understood, then, that you expressed your independent views?—A. Yes, sir; those views are mine.

Q. Have you explained them to any of your friends in Indiana?—A. Not politically.

Q. Will you answer the questions?—A. I have.

Q. Will you tell us who they were, unless they are covered by private reasons?—A. They were private matters. I have had nothing to say about this emigrant matter in a particularly public way.

Q. Have you received letters about it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what points?—A. Indianapolis.

Q. Have you received them from any other points?—A. No, sir.

Q. If you have no reasons for not doing so, give the names of your correspondents.—A. There is United States marshal Dudley and Doctor—I think a colored man—Dr. Elbert. I just had one postal card from him.

Q. What degree of approval do you understand this emigrant movement is meeting with from those prominent men like Dudley?—A. I do not know. I had no information from him on the subject.

Q. Well, what is your position on it, if you can tell it?—A. He told me, and I am sorry I did not preserve his letter, that as a political movement the Republican party of Indiana didn't approve of it.

Q. Did he seem to think he would like to have them there to vote us down?—A. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Q. Then he disclaimed the act, but was willing to take the fruits?—A. Yes, sir; that is about it.

Q. Are those the only parties who have written to you from Indianapolis?—A. They are the only ones I recollect.

Q. And if I understood you, Mr. Dudley, who is United States marshal, while disclaiming it as an act of the Republican party, said he would be glad to have them there as Republican voters?—A. No, sir; not exactly in that way.

Q. Define, then, what he said.—A. He said that if employment could be got for them he would be glad to see them come into the States, but the Republicans as a party could have nothing to do with it.

Q. I want you to answer the question directly whether United States Marshal Dudley approved or disapproved of this emigration to Indiana?—A. As I stated to you before, that is as near as I can get at the substance of the letter; that is, that he disclaimed the movement for the Republican party, but if employment could be gotten for them he would be glad to have them there. Indiana has millions of acres of land, and I think her people would be glad to have them there.

Q. I thought you stated you were ignorant of the statistics of the State?—A. I know enough to know that.

Q. Where is any of that million of acres that the people of Indiana would be glad to have these negroes settled on?—A. There are some in Stark County.

Q. Are you, as a member of this emigrant society, to send emigrants to Stark County?—A. No, sir; not particularly to Stark County; I sent one there.

Q. You are a member of the auditing committee of that concern?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you sent any of these people to Shelby County?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you sent any to Marion?—A. No, sir; that is around Indianapolis; a good many have gone around there; there is a good deal of wild lands about there.

Q. What good will it do a negro to get him a home around Indianapolis?—A. Why, sir, I see farms myself there most of them cut up and included into the city limits.

Q. You say there are millions of acres of wild land in Indiana. Do you know any government lands that are not taken up there at \$1.25

an acre?—A. No, sir; and I do not mean wild lands altogether; I mean improved lands.

Q. Where do you know of any improved lands in Indiana that the negroes can get?—A. I do not know.

Q. Have you been in Northern Indiana?—A. Only to pass over it in going to Chicago.

Q. Were you ever in Lake County?—A. No, sir.

Q. Saint Joe?—A. No, sir.

Q. Marshall?—A. No, sir.

Q. Elkhart?—A. No, sir; but I know that is a fine agricultural region and well settled up.

Q. Who else have you known to have anything to do with this emigrant movement?—A. I do not know of anybody specially. You appear to make me out as though I was very active in this movement, which is not the case.

Q. No, sir, I have no point to make on you. I think you have testified quite candidly. I want the facts, and I advise you in advance that those who are supporting this emigration will have to answer for it hereafter when these people get their eyes opened to the great iniquity that has been practiced upon them; I want to know the facts simply and put them on record, and this committee is appointed to find out the facts on this very important subject.

The WITNESS. You know the charge has been made publicly that it was a political movement. It has been made by Governor Hendricks in his speech and by others.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. I know that. Now, then, tell me, Mr. Mendenhall, with whom you have talked or with whom you have communicated regarding this movement?—A. I have communicated with those whom I have mentioned. I never communicated directly with Elbert, but he wrote to me; he wrote me a postal card.

Q. Go on, now, and tell us all you know about this emigration; who started it, and what caused it.—A. Well, sir, about the first of October I was called out of my room at the Treasury and introduced to Mr. Perry and Mr. Williams. That was the first time that I knew that anybody was going from North Carolina to the West. They had with them a paper containing one hundred and sixty names, most of whom were heads of families who wanted to leave North Carolina and go somewhere where they could be in a better condition. They had come here in advance to get some information as to railroads and fares, and were going to wait here a week or ten days for money. Their idea then was, I believe, to go to Kansas. I said to them, "Gentlemen, there are a great many colored people going to Kansas from Louisiana and Mississippi, and my opinion is that some of them will suffer." I said, "There are other States where you can get to much cheaper, and I believe fare better." I mentioned Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, all of which were nearer to these people than Kansas, and that they could get there much cheaper, and I thought fare better than they would do in Kansas where so many had preceded them. They said they had thought of going nowhere else than to Kansas, and that that was where their company had sent them. They reported that they were reduced to starvation down there in the South, and some of them were paid only forty and sixty cents a day for their labor in store orders and all that.

Q. This was Perry and Williams who told you this?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did they say they got a month?—A. From four to six

dollars a month. They said that was the best they could do, and as they were starving they had determined to go where they could do better if possible, and I suggested to them to go to Indiana. I said to them that it was not out of their way, and while it may cost a little more to stop there you may make money out of it. They said, after studying over the matter, they thought they would do it, and I wrote to Judge Martindale and asked if they could be furnished with employment if they stopped there. I heard nothing from him, and these men were still here a week or ten days after. Then I got a postal card signed by Elbert, who stated that Judge Martindale had asked him to reply to me. He simply said to tell these gentlemen to come to Indianapolis, and I did so.

Q. Repeat the substance of what Elbert wrote to you.—A. He said that Judge Martindale had mentioned the matter to him and handed him my letter, and asked him to reply to it; and he sent a postal card telling me to send these two men to meet him in Indianapolis. They went out there, and in a week or ten days returned. I was absent at the time, but I learned that they had been to Indiana and been to Greencastle. They said that they had seen Langsdale and spoke with him, and that several farmers had come and talked to them, and said they wanted farmers on their farms. These were all farmers, I believe, who went to Indiana, and I was informed that in about, well, a few days, they returned with about fifty emigrants. They went with them to Indiana, and I understood they had got employment in the neighborhood and around Greencastle.

Q. Then, that was the beginning of the tide that has struck Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; it begun as I have stated.

Q. And you were the directing agent for the movement?—A. It was with me just as I have stated.

Q. How many men did Perry and Williams say they would deposit in Indiana?—A. I do not recollect what they said. I have not seen Williams, I do not think, since; certainly not since I came down to the depot and saw these emigrants.

Q. Are you acquainted with Judge Martindale?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any conversation with him about these emigrants?—A. No, sir. I saw him just a little while in the Ebbitt House. I also had a conversation with Mr. Cowgill.

Q. Have you had any conversation with any of the members of Congress from Indiana this winter?—A. No, sir; I have had a conversation with nobody but Dudley, I think.

Q. Did you see Dudley here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When?—A. A few days ago.

Q. And had talk with him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he say he still wanted these darkies, and that he was still of the opinion that the Republican party should take no interest in it?—A. Yes, sir; he was of the same opinion, that it should take no interest in it except as the friends of the colored man; he thought that, as a party, it should take no interest in the coming of these people except as their friends to aid them when they got there.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. What did he say about the condition of those who were there?—A. He said they are suffering, and the citizens had raised money and sent them on to Greencastle.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you know the number of those who have gone to Greencastle ?
—A. No, sir ; I know that is the place they strike first after leaving Indianapolis.

Q. Do you know that there has been great suffering there among them ?—A. Yes, sir ; I read that in the Journal.

Q. Don't you know there has been a general appeal to the people to help them ?—A. Well, yes, sir. I am mistaken, though, about the Journal ; it was in the Indianapolis Leader that I saw the statement of their suffering.

Q. That is the colored people's paper ?—A. Yes, sir ; it was appealing to take provisions to them just as done here in Washington City.

Q. Have you only seen that one appeal ?—A. That is the only one I recollect.

Q. Have you conversed with any members of Congress this winter about this emigration ?—A. I conversed with one or two, and got such poor encouragement from them that I quit.

Q. Whom did you converse with ?—A. I conversed with Mr. Cowgill, but he said he knew nothing about it, and paid no attention to it.

Q. Didn't he say he didn't think it a good thing for the people, and didn't believe in it ?—A. Yes, sir ; I heard him say that ; but he said he believed ten thousand industrious people could find employment there if they got there, and could support themselves.

Q. Then he seemed in favor of their going ?—A. No, sir, I think not ; I have not seen him since the regular session commenced, however.

Q. Did you talk with General Brown ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did the General think ?—A. He had nothing to say on the subject.

Q. He was non-committal, was he ? He was not anxious for it, and not particularly against it ?—A. I think if he had been in favor of it he would have said something.

Q. What did he say ?—A. He said it was a matter he had not thought anything about.

Q. What number did he think could get employment there ?—A. He didn't state.

Q. Are there any other members here that you have talked with ?—A. No, sir ; not that I recollect.

Q. Have you seen Langsdale's paper recently ?—A. I have seen copies recently ; that is, within two months.

Q. Did you see the articles he wrote as to the use that could be made of these negroes as voters ?—A. No, sir ; I never saw anything of the kind in those two papers ; one of the papers was sent to the secretary of the society that had the statement in it made by those colored people as to how they were doing, and that they would never go back to North Carolina.

Q. In your opinion, from your knowledge and observation of this matter, and as a member of this emigration society, how many negroes do you think should be transported from the South to that State in order to change it from a Democratic to a Republican State ?—A. I have no idea at all to express on that subject. I know there are immense coal mines undeveloped in that State where these people might be employed at good prices and become good citizens. As to the demand for labor there I do not know whether it was satisfied or not. As to the numbers needed in the event this were a political movement, that would depend largely on circumstances.

Q. You have stated that with commendable frankness. Now, I want

to ask you how far this emigration ought to extend for the benefit of the colored race and the white race both?—A. I do not know, sir, that any distinction ought to be made. If there is any colored man in the South that does not like his place of residence he ought to go away from it.

Q. And you think if ten thousand colored men want to go to the North and the railroads will help them, there is no objection to it?—A. Yes; I think there would be objections to that. There will always be objections to people being put on the State as paupers.

Q. I mean is there any limit, in your opinion, where this emigration ought to stop?—A. Yes, sir; I think there would be a limit in Indiana just as soon as they would be deprived of work. If they cannot live in the North they should go somewhere else; if they cannot live in the South they should seek a better home. If they have friends in the South and are contented, they should remain.

Q. But you think they cannot get their rights and protection in the South?—A. From what I have seen in the newspapers I should think they could not.

Q. But those who have tried to better themselves are suffering and have to be relieved by charity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have heard nothing from them, have you, as to their doing well, except what you have seen from Perry and Williams?—A. No, sir; not them alone.

Q. Well, from any others?—A. No, sir; I think they told me something of it, and I read something in the newspapers. I think those who have gone will write home the truth about their condition and try to induce their "sisters and their cousins and their aunts" to come out.

Q. You read those statements in the paper, you say. Was it the Greencastle Banner?—A. Yes, sir; there were statements in there, whether true or false I do not know, but one of them said he would not go back to North Carolina for \$500, and another one of them said that he had employment, a good home, and a pig and a cabin.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. You never read anything in that paper on the other side, did you?—A. No, sir; sometimes I pick up a Democratic paper and read something in there, but I do not waste money on them. I do not say that all I read in a Republican paper is true; some things in the Republican papers come from Democratic sources. I read something in a paper of what the Wilmington Post had copied, in Elizabeth City.

Q. The Wilmington Post, then, testified on the subject?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you see a report of a woman named Maria Bryan, who was begging her way back, and what she said?—A. No, sir.

Q. You will never see it either, if you do not read the Democratic newspapers.—A. I think I would read the paper, governor, if you published it.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Are you the gentleman who was mentioned by Mr. O'Hara when he stated that some one member of the society left it on account of the political character which was sought to be given to this movement?—A. Mr. O'Hara said something about me, I believe.

Q. Had you and Mr. Otey any conversation in regard to this emigration movement and its political bearings?—A. I never spoke to him until after the meeting of that night.

Senator VANCE. I understood it was a speech that you made there.

The WITNESS. No, sir; there were no speeches made; some one asked my opinion, and I gave it.

Q. (By Senator BLAIR.) Was Mr. Otey connected with that society?
—A. No, sir; he was there that night, but I never saw him any more, and I understood he was opposed to the exodus all the time.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You stated that you got your information from newspaper reports about the bad treatment of the colored race in the South. Have you ever read any of the Congressional reports on that subject?—A. Yes, sir; I have read considerable. I have also read some of the Teller report.

Q. Did that assist you any in the way of information?—A. It confirmed what I knew and had heard before.

Q. You know there are a number of volumes of Congressional reports upon that subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you corresponded with Martindale and Elbert on this subject?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you say anything to Martindale about any political motive you had in assisting these emigrants?—A. I think I wrote him as short a note as possible, as I was in a hurry. I said that these men were here and I thought Indiana was a better State for them to take their people to than to Kansas, and I asked him how they could get to Indiana, provided they could get employment; I asked him what he thought about it.

Q. And you say he never answered that note?—A. He paid no attention to it.

Q. You heard from it afterwards, though?—A. Yes, I heard from Mr. Elbert; he said that Judge Martindale had given him my letter and asked him to reply.

Q. You say that Mr. Dudley said he would like to see them come to the State, but the Republican party could have nothing to do with it?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was the expression of this personal feeling?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he meant to give you notice that the Republican party would not participate in it?—A. Yes, sir; I so understood it.

Q. You spoke of the suffering of the colored people who had arrived in Indiana; what do you know about that?—A. I just say that I saw the notice in the colored paper there at Indianapolis appealing for help for these emigrants just as they did when they were here.

Q. That is to say, they had reached there without food or money?—A. Yes, sir; and they were asking help, asking the colored people, I think, and calling upon their churches to take care of them.

Q. Do you know of any movement on the part of active Republicans to colonize these negroes for political purposes?—A. No, sir; I never heard of any.

On motion, committee adjourned to Monday, 10.30 o'clock a.m., January 26, 1880.

FIFTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Monday, January 26—10.30 a. m.*

The committee met pursuant to its order of adjournment and renewed the taking of testimony. Present—the chairman and all members of the committee.

The taking of testimony was resumed, as follows :

LETTERS TO EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY.

O. S. B. WALL appeared and presented to the committee from the files of the National Emigrant Aid Society, as per previous order of the chairman, the following letters and correspondence :

I.

DEAR SIR I would like some information in regard to obtaining a colored man to work for me. I want a young single man not under 20 or over 35 years A good Horseman or groom active industrious & honest

Please give me what light you can and amount of wages expected
I enclose Stamp.

Resp't

C. J. PHILLIPS
Sugar Grove Penna

II.

ALLEGHENY CO. Ceres N. Y. Jan 5th 1880

JOSHUA L. BAILEY Esq.

DEAR SIR: I saw your name in N. Y. Weekly Witness in connection with the "Southern Exodus" helpers I wish to know if we can get four or five good colored women for general housework. I want one and some of my neighbors want one each Would give them good homes at good wages in steady places could arrange to pay their fare here Want none but honest and steady ones. Will you be so kind as to inform me if you can help us in the matter.

I think I could find good families who would take fifty or more for female help in the line of general housework is scarce & unreliable here They appear to be anxious to get away from the South and here is a good place for a large number. There are a good many colored people around here but they are independent have homes of their own & do not work out much. If you do not know of any such help & can give me the address of some one who does please do so. Hoping to hear from you soon I remain

Yours truly

J. P. BROTHE M. D.

III.

AUGUST 1 1877.

We the People of the Sesson Cong. jist nr hav a Strong desier to Emagrant to Kasas Land where we can hav a home. Reason & why

- 1 We hav not our rights in law
2. Labors the old formare masters do not alow us any thing for our labor only in orders an the orders are Shave from 10 cts to 20 or 25 cts on the dollar
- 3 We hav, not our Right in the Election We are defrauded by our formiar masters
- 4 We have not no rug to make a hounis an homble living
- 5 thire is no use for the)Col(to go to law after thire Right not on out of 50 Git his Rights.
6. the KuCluck Rainges in the own ways an Rules.
7. We want to Git to aland Where we can Vote an it not be a Crime to the)Col.(Voters.
- 8 Wages is very low wages is from \$5 to 6 6 and \$8 for men
9. Woman Wages is from \$1.00 to \$2 and \$3. the list is \$4.
10. An near all of the labors hav familys to tak cear of an many orther things we could mention, but by the help of God we intent to mak a efferd to mak our start to Kansas land We had Rather Sufer an befree. than to sufer an be intangele by such enfamious degrades that are Brought upon us
11. Wags per day is 25 cts an 30 cts a day an your Boad found.
12. Wags per day 45 cts to 50 an 60 cts per day an we Boad our Selfs
13. one Grate Reason why we want to get away so Soon we do not want our Census taken no more in n. c. but in Kansas or in Som orther Places Where we will do as well The Emagrants Reason

REV S. HEATH
(*chur Cham*)
MOSES HEATH
(*Sect*)

Delegate

Rev A W Heath man of hon an Good Morial.

Aug 1th 1879 at Kmstore
Cim Lencor Co. N. C.

an if any man wants to hear from A. W. Heath he will answer for him selfe by the help of God.

IV.

INDIANAPOLIS Dec the 1 1879

Capt. O. S. B. WALL

DARE SIER I arived safte and finde the meny friendes of the Collard Emmergrantes at worke trying to provide for them they heave all got Homes that are heare and wall setteside thay tel me that wood Not gon back to N. C. for the State Mr wall I wrate Home for sum Money to Coum to wasington in your care please to lock oute for it. I am very sherte I think I will bee in wasing in a few days the Committy meates heare to night to tak actien in the good Coyes thay say theare not going to bil a fence a Ronnde this State to Cape the Coleud people from Coming

I am as everes yours Respec't truley

C A SCOTT

V.

INDIANAPOLIS Dec 14 1879

Mr O. S. B WALL

DEARE SIER I heave met a greate meny friendes sens I arive heare I heave bin in Cuunty a lange wayes and meate with suckses I will bee in the City D. C. in a few dayes please luck oute for my Male that will Coum in your care I heave so mutch to tel you when I coum thane an a taking good Care of those Emmergrantes that Coum the uther day

Yours truley

C A SCOTT.

VI.

EGBERT U P. R. R. Jan. 13th, 1880.

Mr O. S. B WALL

Washington D. C.

DEAR SIR: My wife wrote you not long since making inquiry for a colored servant, & in your reply of Dec. 27th your remark that while you have men & women that wish homes in the west, you have not a dollar in your Treasury to send any am. You also suggest that we advance their fare & retain it from their wages. We want two girls or middle aged women, What can they be sent to cheyenne for, Can they be sent C. O. D. I suppose you have arrangements with R. R. companies which you can get reduced rates We have no acquaintance in Washington & would prefer to pay their fare if it can be done In the meantime I will see if there are more servants wanted in the neighborhood An early reply is desired

Very Respectfully

A. MARTIN

VII.

FINDLAY, OHIO, Jan. 6th 1880.

Freedmans Rileaf Association Washington D. C.

Please let me know the proper steps to be taken, in regard to employing Exodusta Emigrating to Our Western States, what they can be hied per month &c. We want good farm hands both male & female Please let me know immediately

ALEXANDER MORRISON

Address Findlay Hancock Co. Ohio.

VIII.

WASHINGTON D. C., Dec., 13th, 1879.

O. S. B WALL Esq.

MY DEAR SIR Can I have the pleasure of an interview with you on Monday morning, please advise me and oblige

Yours Truly

D. W. JANOWITZ
Passr. Agt. B & P Depot.

IX.

EMPIRE CITY KANSAS Dec. 30th 1879.

DEAR SIR I have just come from Arkansas where I have been travelling the past two years and have had an opportunity to see and learn the condition of affairs in that State. I can assure the real State of the colored race cannot be described on paper, the oppression and intimidation & deception practiced upon them in every conceivable way that unscrupulous men can invent. I can give many instances time and place if necessary

Yours Truly

A C KETCHMAN

Late Editor South Eastern Desoh Mo.

X.

TERRE HAUTE IND.

Mr. ADAMS Esq.

Sec Emigrant aid Society Washington D. C.

DEAR SIR. I am Informed that you are Directly Interested In furnishing To Emigrants all Facts necessary to enable them to Select Future homes Which will Prove to them Both Satisfaction and Profitable. In this connection therefore I Desier to Place before you Some of the advantages offered by the State of Indiana and to do so Would Properly Requier to much Space of a Simple Letter I can therefore Present only a few of the main advantages, and add that I think no other State in the union offers Greater or Better opportunities to Industrious Persons Seeking an Honst Livelihood then this State We are Blessed with coal Land that cannot be Excelled by any which Is known as the Block coal our miners Get from 90 cts. to one Dollar Per Ton and good miners can make from \$2.50 to \$4.00 Per day and there Is a greater Demand for coal then the miners are able to Supply within the last few days I have had applications for at Least 500 mines and at one mine alone 200 men can Get Work and whether they have had any experiance or not if they are willing to work they can soon learn all that Is Required again there never was Such a Demand for Farm Hands Farming is all the go In this State as we have Some of the Finest Lands In the World Farmers do not confin themselves to Raising any one thing the Cheaf Products are Wheat Corn oats Rye Barley and vegetables of all kinds as for Rasing Stock of all kinds never was Better and a great Deal of this Land can be Bought on Long and Easy Terms or can be gotten at on the Shers and Farm hands Get from \$15 to \$20 Per month and Board I will Repeat it again there never was such a Demand for farm Hands and Laborers of all Clases and I will again Repeat it that Indiana offers as good Inducements to colored emigrants from the South as any State In the union.

Agan I will say that there is no State In the Union that has a better School System than Indiana we have a Sinking fund of \$7,000,000 for School purpos and the Colored People are treated the Same as the whites In these Schools for want of Time I will close I am yours as Ever.

J. H. WALKER.

TERRE HAUTE IND Nov 10—79

If I only had a little aid I would Do Lots of good I am going to Saint Louis Mo which Is 165 miles from here and make arrangements there to Get Reefugees to come this way but this is a private matter

W.

XI.

TERRE HAUTE IND. Jan 5 1880

CAPT WALL My Dear Sir I am Directed to write you concerning the colored Refugees Leaving Washington for Indiana I was Directed by Mr Perry to write you now what I want Is this the First Time you have any of those People on hand and wanting to come to this State Please Send me about 15 Families I have Places for them as Soon as they can Get here and if Such Should be the case Telagraph me at my Expense What day they will leave Washington for Terre Haute Please oblige yours &c

J. H. WALKER

Terre Haute Ind.

TESTIMONY OF W. G. FEARRING.

W. G. FEARRING sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside ?—Answer. Temporarily here in the city.

Q. Where did you formerly reside ?—A. In North Carolina.

Q. What part of North Carolina ?—A. In the eastern part, at Elizabeth. I was raised there.

Q. You are a native of that part of the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long since you left there to take up your residence here ?—

A. In December, 1877.

Q. What is your occupation at present ?—A. I am a laborer in the Treasury Department.

Q. How long have you been in the Treasury ?—A. Since July 14, 1875.

Q. You may state whether you are secretary of the Emigrant Aid Society of this city.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You succeeded Mr. Adams ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long since you were appointed secretary ?—A. I was appointed the 29th of last month.

Q. What records have you of the acts and doings of that society ?—

A. I have some of the letters and minutes of the meetings.

Q. Did you bring the records with you ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You brought none of the letters with you ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where were the letters from principally ?—A. Some were from North Carolina, some from Indiana, some from New York.

Q. Could you bring them here at the next meeting of this committee ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the records of the society ?—A. You mean the minutes of the last meetings ?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Yes, sir ; I can.

Q. I wish you would do so. What interest have you taken in the emigration movement that caused you to be secretary of the society ; have you actively engaged it ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what way ?—A. In getting up funds to help my brethren to get away from North Carolina.

Q. You solicit funds for that purpose ?—A. Not personally.

Q. How do you do it ?—A. I helped to raise them by a concert and in other ways. A committee of 17 were appointed to get up a concert and we realized a handsome sum by that.

Q. That was when these people were stuck here in the city ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had occasion to raise any more since that ?—A. No, sir ; not directly for emigrants. We also got up a lecture for the benefit of the colored fund.

Q. Do you keep yourself posted as to the number who pass through here ?—A. No, sir ; for there are a good many who pass that I don't know anything about.

Q. You don't know anything about it until you hear of it ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. You are in the Treasury Department, you say ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What State are you from ?—A. North Carolina.

Q. What part of it ?—A. Eastern part of it.

Q. Are you familiar with other parts of the State?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is your age?—A. I am 27 years old.

Q. You are engaged in promoting the exodus, and you think, of course, it is a worthy cause; what are your reasons for so thinking?—A. Well, sir, I think as the people are about to move from the South to the North to better their condition, it is to our advantage to help them along.

Q. I want to know wherein it is, if at all, to their advantage to move from the South?—A. They seem to think they can better their condition, and which I think they can do.

Q. Give your reasons for so thinking.—A. One is the school facilities which they will have in the North. In some counties in North Carolina they have only two months' school in the year. The proportion of school fund is about \$50 for some of the counties, and the teachers are compelled to have \$25 a month, and that makes only two months in the year. Another reason is that the farm wages are too low. They get from 30 to 50 cents a day and board, and 60 and 70 cents when they board themselves; servants in families cannot get more than \$2 and \$3 a month. Of course they have the right to vote, but to a certain extent they are counted out of that.

Q. How do you understand it is in the localities where these people go?—A. Do you mean Indiana?

Q. I mean any place. What is the condition there as to schools?—A. I think they have school all the year around, except in the summer months, when there is a vacation.

Q. How is it as to wages?—A. Wages are better.

Q. How much better?—A. A farm hand in North Carolina, I think, gets \$6 and \$7 a month; and I understand from these people who have gone that they can get \$15 and \$20.

Q. Do you say you learned that from people who have gone there, or from those who are inducing them to go?—A. I have received letters from parties who have gone there.

Q. You say you have received letters from parties who have gone out there, and who are getting that?—A. Well, I take back the statement as to the letters. I have not received any of that kind, but I get it from statements that I saw in the newspapers.

Q. What kind of papers?—A. The Greencastle Banner and Indianapolis Leader, copied in the Wilmington Post, in North Carolina.

Q. Are the Greencastle Banner and Indianapolis Leader both edited by colored men?—A. No, sir; one is edited by a white man and one by a colored man. I have also read statements in the Cincinnati Commercial to the same effect.

Q. Who controls that?—A. White men control it.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. I wish to ask you whether your knowledge of the status of your people in North Carolina is obtained from personal contact with them or from your observation at home, or from parties here in Washington?—A. It is from parties at home, friends of mine asking me to look out for them. I say that their condition there is so low that they can do nothing for themselves.

Q. Is there any prospect of any immediate improvement in wages or the school facilities there in North Carolina?—A. I hardly think there is.

Q. How has it been there during this period of reconstruction since the war as to wages?—A. Up to 1867 or 1868 farm hands got from \$1 to \$1.25 a day, but that was under a Republican administration. Since

then they have been going down, and now they are 30 and 40 cents a day.

Q. How is it as to schools?—A. We had schools six to eight months in the year there.

Q. And that you say was during the period of a Republican administration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How has it been since the Republicans lost control?—A. In some counties we have schools for two months and in some four. In some of the counties where there are towns there are six months school.

Q. You spoke of the manner of voting. How is it as to the exercise of the franchise since the war? How has that privilege been accorded to your people in practice?—A. We have got the right to vote, I believe, especially in the second Congressional district, where the vote does not seem to do us much good.

Q. How is that?—A. Because, with an 8,000 Republican majority, we have a Democratic member representing us in the House.

Q. But if I understand you, you do not complain of any actual violence practiced upon your people in North Carolina; how is that?—A. Well, sir, in my section of country they attempted to organize a band of ku-klux, and the leader of it came down into my county and went out to organize his band, and we told them that we were quiet and peaceable, and we wanted them to attend to their own business, and we would attend to ours; and we said, if they organized the ku-klux, that the first colored man or white Republican who was murdered in that section we would burn down the town in revenge. That rather scared them off, and we have had no trouble there since.

Q. And you prevented the organization of the ku-klux by that threat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the ku-klux was not established in your section?—A. No, sir.

Q. How is it in other parts of the State?—A. The colored people vote pretty freely, I believe, since 1869 and 1871.

Q. How has the franchise been exercised by your people since then?—A. Generally pretty freely in most parts of the State, but not in all.

Q. Where is it different?—A. Up in the western part of the State.

Q. What proportion of the colored population live in that part of the State?—A. I cannot say.

Q. Now, do not you think, Mr. Fearing, that considering all the resources of North Carolina, her climate, and the fact that your people have lived there ever since the first settlement of the country, that it will be better for them to stay there, and hope for an amelioration of their condition through their own efforts and the friendship of the whites, rather than seek homes further to the north and west, where they are unknown, and the friendship for them is mostly of a sentimental character?—A. I do not, sir.

Q. Do you think they have made sufficiently strenuous efforts to remove these prejudices, so that they are justified in incurring the dangers and the hardships of emigration?—A. I think so.

Q. Are they not acting hastily in your opinion?—A. I think not.

Q. Is there not a great deal of false information circulated among them to stimulate this movement?—A. I have not heard of any.

Q. Do you not know, or have you not heard, of any false reports circulated among them to stimulate a desire to emigrate?—A. No, sir.

Q. Has your society or have you personally any information from these men as to their condition now in Indiana?—A. I have heard from some of them.

Q. Will you give us the substance of their reports ?—A. They say they are getting along splendidly, and never had such a good time in their lives ; and one man said that he would not go back to North Carolina for \$500.

Q. What is his condition now, do you know ?—A. He is living with a gentleman out there, and doing well.

Q. In what capacity ?—A. As a farm hand.

Q. Do you know what wages he is getting ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know how many men are situated out there with the farmers ?—A. Most all of them, I believe.

Q. This man who would not go back for \$500, is he a man of family ?

—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has a wife and child ?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. How long has it been since you lived in North Carolina ?—A. Since November, 1870.

Q. How long since you have been back there ?—A. I was back there in the late Presidential election.

Q. You were down there then ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are in government employ ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you go home to vote ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you go before the last Presidential election ?—A. I think thirty days.

Q. And you have not been back since that time ?—A. No, sir. I have been back since then, but not home ; but I have been in Warrenton, my wife's home.

Q. How long did you remain ?—A. About two weeks.

Q. How much time did you spend in Indiana ?—A. I never was in the State.

Q. Never in the State at all ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You know nothing of the State ?—A. No, sir ; except what I read.

Q. Have you read her laws on the subject of public schools ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of her landlord and tenant act ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You know nothing about it whatever ?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you say you know of no false reports made to these emigrants in order to make them go to Indiana ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know that they were told that they could get \$1.50 a day ?—A. No, sir.

Q. What wages did you hear it stated they could get ?—A. Twelve dollars to \$15 a month.

Q. Twelve dollars to \$15 a month and their board ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you see that ?—A. I saw it in the Greencastle Banner, copied into the Wilmington Post, in North Carolina.

Q. Did you ever see these reports in other papers except those you have mentioned ?—A. No, sir ; except in this National Republican here in Washington.

Q. What representations did the National Republican make ?—A. They copied those articles from the Greencastle Banner.

Q. Did you hear it represented that they could get from \$2 to \$2.50 a day as coal-miners ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never heard that ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say that this man in Indiana said he would not go back to North Carolina for \$500 ? What is his name ?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Do you know where he lives?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know what post-office he wrote from?—A. I never saw the letter; I only saw the statement in print.

Q. Do you know where he is living now?—A. I think somewhere near Greencastle, in Putnam County.

Q. Was his name signed to the statement?—A. Yes, sir; his name was signed to it as his statement.

Q. But you do not remember the name?—A. No, sir.

Senator WINDOM. I have a statement here in the paper which seems to have been made by a professor of mathematics in Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. In what institution?

Senator WINDOM. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. This happens to be the portion of a letter from Professor McNutt, who was a white man when I saw him last.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You said you did not see the letter, and did not see the man who wrote it?

The WITNESS. No, sir. It was marked under the head of "Colored emigrants."

Q. So is this letter in the paper this morning.—A. Well, sir, that letter I take to be the letter of a white man.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Is that the letter you alluded to?—A. No, sir; I never saw that before this morning.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Will you not state to the committee what you want to say about this colored man?—A. Well, sir, there was a statement published in the Greencastle Banner in connection with others coming from colored emigrants, that one of them said he would not go back to North Carolina for \$500, and the statement I refer to was under the head of "Colored emigrants."

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. That letter in the Republican this morning is under the same head?—A. Yes, sir; but that is the letter of a white man, and is not the one I refer to.

Senator WINDOM (passing a paper to the witness). Do you remember whether that report of that meeting which is marked there is the one that you saw?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The substance of the statements published in the Greencastle Banner is there?—A. Yes, sir.

Senator WINDOM. I will read this statement (reading):

LIFE IN INDIANA—HOW THE COLORED IMMIGRANTS ARE FARING.

CINCINNATI, December 29.

A meeting of negro immigrants from North Carolina was called for Saturday night in the court-house in Greencastle, Indiana. The purpose of the meeting was to compare experience and interchange views as to the propriety of encouraging the movement. The Democratic sheriff, however, closed the doors of the court-house against the colored men, and the meeting was not held. Pains were taken, however, by newspaper correspondents to gather from the colored men who have arrived since the movement began a number of statements of their personal experience. Greencastle is the home of Mr. Langsdale, who guaranteed homes and employment to all who would come, and the greater number of the new arrivals have naturally located in that vicinity. Of a dozen or more intelligent negroes all express themselves as greatly pleased

at the change they had made. Said Willis Statin, "I have a good plastered house to live in, with five rooms. Me and my family have plenty to eat, and we never had such good times in our lives. I would not go back to North Carolina for \$500. I get sixty cents a cord for cutting wood, and cut from a cord to a cord and a half a day, besides doing other work. My wife worked for one of the neighbors yesterday and got seventy-five cents in silver for it. I have already had more things given me since I came here than I had lost in leaving North Carolina. My family is better satisfied than they ever were before in their lives. I never met as good white friends in my life. I have three children, and they will start for school on Monday. I want all my people in the South to leave there and come here. They can do so much better here, and be freemen."

A dozen others interviewed, without exception, talked in the same strain. About one hundred and fifty men, women, and children have so far settled in Putnam County. One thing that pleases them is receiving pay for their work in money instead of store orders, as they did in North Carolina. Republicans say that plenty of work is still to be had on the farms in that part of the State. Three men, who wantonly destroyed clothes of immigrants arriving in Greencastle on Wednesday, were convicted yesterday and fined, and one of them went to jail.

Q. Have you ever seen this statement?—A. Yes, sir; I think I have read the substance of it.

Q. Well, have you ever seen this statement of James A. Stokes in regard to his condition and experiences in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I read that letter in the same newspaper.

Q. Did that help you to make up your mind as to how these people were getting on in that country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you read the letter of Colonel Streight as to why he was helping those people and taking care of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was another evidence to your mind as to their condition?—A. Yes, sir.

Senator WINDOM. I will read this letter of Stokes (reading):

[From the Greencastle (Ind.) Banner, January 8, 1880.]

MORE EXODUS TESTIMONY.

LAGODA, (IND.), January 5, 1880.

GEORGE J. LANGSDALE, Esq.,

Editor of the Greencastle Banner:

DEAR SIR: I read with delight your interviews with various colored men, published in your issue of January 1, and desire to add my testimony to controvert the falsehoods that are being constantly published in Democratic newspapers.

I left Rocky Mount, North Carolina, on the 15th of December last to come to Indiana, having been told that I could do better here than there. I had thought of going somewhere to better my condition more than eight years ago, but did not know just where to go. I could only get from five to seven dollars per month for labor, and was paid in orders at the store, and had to pay from ten to fifteen per cent. above the regular prices for goods and groceries, because, as was said, the orders were "time orders"—that is, not payable for some months, they being paid in the fall and spring.

By living with the most stringent economy, on the plainest fare, and working all the time, I could hardly keep out of debt. Nearly all of the colored people find themselves involved in debt from year to year, and are not in condition to come away, though they greatly desire to do so; and they are not treated with that respect which they know is due to them, but are constantly compelled to submit to insolence and insult, besides being robbed of the just reward of their labor.

There the colored people are not allowed to enjoy their political rights as citizens. Three Democrats and two Republicans constitute the judges of election at each voting place, and the two Republicans are usually incompetent, uneducated colored men, who are appointed and forced to serve, though entirely ignorant of their duties and unwilling to act. The three Democrats control and govern the election and compel the two Republicans to do as they are bid. These are among the reasons that induced me to leave North Carolina.

The colored people having heard of Kansas and the lands there, and the chance to get homes for ourselves and families, sent two agents to view that country and to make a true report. They came to Indianapolis, and there learned that we could do very well here, and reported that fact to us. At once large numbers of us determined to leave that inhospitable country and seek homes in a land where we could enjoy those rights which are justly ours. I paid my own and my wife's fare, all the way, which was thirty-two dollars, and came right on to Greencastle. I came direct from Green-

castle to Ladoga, and am working for Mr. James H. Harrison, to whom I was cited by Rev. J. H. Clay, of your city, who very kindly directed me where to go, as I was a stranger in a strangeland.

Mr. Harrison pays me twelve dollars per month and board, for one year, and provides myself and wife a good comfortably furnished room at his house. He also pays Mr. Rayford Statin, a brother of Mr. Willis Statin, whose interview I read in your paper, the same wages, and treats us with great kindness, like men, and not like dogs, as it was in North Carolina.

Both myself and Mr. Statin are perfectly satisfied, as are our wives, and I am quite sure that this is the place that I wanted to find more than eight years ago, where I can get a fair return for my labor.

I believe truly that this country is the right one for the thousands of colored people, living in darkness and under intolerable oppression in the South, to come to, and I denounce the contrary position, as taken and declared by the Hon. Fred. Douglass. I sincerely thank you for the very great interest you so kindly manifest in the welfare of my benighted race, and bid you God-speed in your good work.

Yours, most sincerely,

JAMES A. STOKES.

Senator WINDOM. Here is another letter which I desire to read in evidence, from General Streight (reading) :

STREIGHTENED UP—AN EXPLANATION THAT HITS THE BULL'S-EYE AT EVERY SHOT—A LETTER THAT DOES HONOR TO ITS AUTHOR AND STRIKES HOME FOR THE OPPRESSED.

[Logansport Journal.]

The following letter clearly and sufficiently explains itself :

HON. CHARLES KAHLS :

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND: You have my thanks for sending the Pharos of the 18th instant. It is surprising to see how a very ordinary transaction in our private business affairs can be construed by blind political partisans into a matter of great public concern. The truth is that I sent two colored men and their families, consisting of some twelve women and children, from this city to my farm in Newton County, where I am needing some farm laborers. These people had just arrived here from North Carolina. These are the people referred to by the editor of the Pharos when he says: "Tell it to the laboring white men of Indianapolis that Colonel Streight is stocking his farm in Newton County with North Carolina negroes." Certainly, tell it to men of Indianapolis, both white and black, that I sent these people to work on my farm. Why not tell them? I have frequently advertised for farm laborers to go to my Newton County farm, and have sent numbers of them there, gave them remunerative employment, and I still want more, and, so far as I know, there are no idle farm hands in Newton County. Yes, tell it to the people that I sent two colored men, with their families, to my Newton County farm; and I will add that they are poor and destitute, but I believe honest and industrious.

Now, friend Kahlo, while I am writing I will add that I have a very kindly feeling for these poor, destitute, persecuted people, who are endeavoring to escape from a condition worse than slavery. It will soon be sixteen years (in February next) since I was making my way from the same country. That class of people that are now persecuting the colored people was then called rebels; and those rebels had orders from the commander of the prison from which I had escaped to capture me, but not to bring me back. My life was at stake, but human endurance has a limit even when life is at stake, and this limit was reached when I was on the south bank of the Rappahannock River, near Tappahannock, after a terrible day of crossing difficult streams, marching and hiding from the enemy. My feet were sore; I was worn out for want of sleep and starving for want of food. Escape seemed impossible. On the north was the Rappahannock River (near three miles wide), on the east was a deep impassable creek, on the west was another stream of water too wide and deep to cross without a boat, and on the south side the rebels had established a strong picket line. It was known by the rebels that I was somewhere within the space of country above described, which was not more than two miles wide and three or four miles long. A cavalry regiment, together with the people, both black and white, with their dogs, had turned out to hunt all day for my place of concealment. It seems almost providential that I was able to elude their vigilance through that terrible day. But darkness put an end to the search and I was left to consider the situation. Up to this time my policy had been to avoid trusting anybody, and to endeavor to get through the country undiscovered. This must now be changed, for I was in great need of immediate friendly assistance, and as I had no confidence in the white men of that section of the country, the black men were my only choice. I started in the dark, through a drenching rain, and soon found the negro quarters of a plantation, and on entering one of the cabins I was welcomed by a good, honest Union man, and a friend, though a slave, who had

been out all day with his master hunting for me. This man, at the risk of his life, took me into his cabin, procured and cooked a bountiful supply of food, and permitted me to rest while he joined his master the next day in a vigorous hunt for my place of concealment. Night came again, and the negroes returned to tell of what had been done, and of the fact that a certain boat, by chance, might be captured, which would enable me to cross the Rappahannock, and thus escape from my pursuers. The negroes of this plantation, at the risk of their lives, joined me in capturing the boat, and piloted me through a difficult stream to the river, and returned to their houses to join in the search for my whereabouts on the morrow. By their assistance I made my way out of the reach of the enemy, and my life was spared.

The colored people now fleeing from southern persecution are trying to escape from the same evil spirit that plunged our country into war; that starved and tortured to death over thirty thousand Union soldiers; that hunted escaping prisoners of war with bloodhounds; that since the close of the war has murdered tens of thousands of men and women for entertaining political opinions favorable to the Union; that has organized rifle clubs and ku-klux bands to whip, scourge, and murder Union people. I say that it is from this evil spirit that these poor people are trying to escape, and it was from the same demon that I made my escape; and now, remembering the fact, if any man supposes that I have no sympathy for the refugees he is not acquainted with my disposition, for I do not intend to be guilty of ingratitude.

Hoping that the time will soon come when our National Government will protect the constitutional rights of our citizens throughout the length and breadth of the land,

I remain, most truly, yours,

A. D. STREIGHT.

The CHAIRMAN (to the witness). Do you know who General Streight is?

A. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose, Senator Windom, you will allow it to appear as admitted that he was a Republican and a member of the State senate of Indiana?

Senator WINDOM. O, yes; and I also desire that this article in the Republican of this morning shall appear as a part of the record (reading):

COLORED EMIGRANTS IN INDIANA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 24, 1880.

To the Editor of the National Republican :

SIR: The following of a letter to a gentleman of Washington from Rev. Patterson McNutt, A. M., professor of mathematics in Asbury University, at Greencastle, Ind., will no doubt be read with interest by those who so generously contributed money, food, and clothing for the benefit of the colored emigrants from North Carolina to Indiana.

L.

"Yours containing an article from the Alexandria Gazette on 'The North Carolina negroes in Indiana,' is received. In reply I will say I know nothing, nor can I find out from others anything in regard to the case referred to of the woman who, when arriving in Indianapolis, was stationed in a church packed with emigrants of her own color from her own section, and for three weeks received only one meal a day, and that a poor one, and who says that the 'emigrants were treated like dogs;' but from what I do know personally of the treatment shown to emigrants to Putnam County, and from what reliable colored persons and others who assisted in providing for the emigrants at Indianapolis have told me, I can but think that the story of that woman must have been invented for other purposes than the good of the emigrant freedmen.

"Before receiving your letter I had been aiding, as far as I was able, in looking up homes for those unfortunate people. Since receiving yours I have taken pains to inquire of several of the emigrants in regard to their treatment since coming, as also how they are pleased with their change, and, so far, I have not found a solitary one who complains of his treatment, or who is dissatisfied with his new surroundings. On the other hand I find them, without exception, enthusiastic over their new homes and prospects. I will mention one example, from which you can judge all. I took the daughter of one of these North Carolinians to do the work in my family, and after a few days the father and mother came around to advise her, and, in conversation with these parents, I asked: 'How do you like Indiana, and how do the people treat you?'

They replied, 'We could not be hired to go back to Carolina; would not go back for \$500. The people here, though strangers, already treat us better than the Carolinians did, with whom we had spent all of our lives.'

"The class of negroes who have come to Putnam County seem to be honest, industrious, and anxious to find employment, and I rejoice to say that, so far, all who have come have found homes and employment, and yet the demand for farm laborers and house servants is not fully supplied.

"I think the cry that these people have been influenced to come here for political purposes is a base slander. My judgment is that the 'exodus' is controlled by a power greater and safer than that of politicians, and I only fear that a curse will come upon our government for not aiding the helpless freedmen to homes."

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES N. OTEY.

CHARLES N. OTEY (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. Otey?—Answer. 2121 Twelfth street, N. W.

Q. How long have you lived in Washington?—A. I have been here about eleven years.

Q. Where did you come from when you came here?—A. I came from Oberlin, Ohio.

Q. How long had you been in Oberlin?—A. Two years and a half.

Q. Where you educated at Oberlin?—A. I entered the freshman class. I was three months in it at Oberlin.

Q. Where were you born?—A. Raleigh, North Carolina. I lived there until I was sixteen years old.

Q. You went from there to Oberlin?—A. Yes, sir; I went from there to Oberlin, and I came from Oberlin in November, 1869, to the Howard University.

Q. Were you a teacher in the Howard University?—A. Yes, sir; I taught awhile, educating myself the whole time I was in college.

Q. Are you a graduate of Howard University?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of what class?—A. The class of 1873, and the law class of 1876.

Q. Are you a member of the bar in this District?—A. Yes, sir; I am a member, but I am not practicing.

Q. What are you doing now?—A. I am teaching and editing a newspaper. I am teaching near the Howard University, one or two squares from the boundary line, in a public county school, called the Howard high school. I am also editing the Argus, which was established last September.

Q. Is it a weekly paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what interest is your paper devoted?—A. The interest of the colored people.

Q. You are editing a paper which is advocating the interests of the colored race?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is your own race, I take it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a native of Raleigh, North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; I lived there 16 years, and I have been visiting there every year since—spending my vacations there almost every year, with one or two exceptions.

Q. Were you back there last year?—A. No, sir; but I was there in January—this present month.

Q. But you go there pretty much every year?—A. Well, every year, I might say. Some years I may not go; but I go twice a year, gene-

rally—Christmas sometimes, and holiday vacation; and I might say that I go every year.

Q. Being an editor and a teacher, will you please state to the committee whether you have made something of a study the condition of your people in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have been visiting in different portions of the State?—A. Yes, sir. When there in the summer I have gone over some sections of the State, and particularly over this same section from which this exodus takes place.

Q. Now, in your own way, I wish you would describe the general condition of the laboring people in that part of the State, black and white, and point out what distinctions, if any, are made between your people and the white people.—A. Well, sir, I last night wrote out the notes of what I wanted to respond when called before this committee. I will therefore give you my statement from my own notes. I was one of the six or eight who first formed the national emigrant aid society. At the first meeting I was elected vice-president, and myself alone drew up the constitution. The object of the society, as I understood it, was to give aid to those who were fleeing from oppression.

Saint Louis was overcrowded with emigrants from the Southern States, and appeals had been made to all lovers of humanity. The object of the society was commendable, viz, to do all in its power to raise funds, either by the personal efforts of its members or by lectures and subscriptions. All the money collected was to be forwarded to those who were fleeing from the persecution of Southern task-masters.

So far as I know, no member of the society appeared to hold any other view until Mr. Mendenhall, at the second or perhaps the first meeting, made a speech in which he suggested the advisability of diverting the emigrants from Kansas, which seemed to be the objective point of all of them, and in his speech said that it would be a good thing to send about five thousand into Indiana as that was a doubtful State in the coming election. No one at the time objected to this suggestion save myself.

Now, while no man lives who is more devoted to the principles of the Republican party than myself, yet I was compelled to object to this use of my people.

I felt that we had been used long enough as tools. I knew that the former use of us had not redounded to our advantage. In the South, as one man, we had voted the Republican ticket, and our reward was buckshot from the ku-klux and no protection from the national government. We had placed Mr. Hayes in the White House, and as soon as he took his seat he withdrew from us all the protection we ever had. Hence I was opposed to the longer use of my people by any political party, and as soon as I saw that the exodus was to be used politically I withdrew from the society.

There were others in the society who afterwards expressed the same sentiments that I entertained, but they remained in the organization.

Captain Wall, Messrs. Holland and Adams told me repeatedly that there was no political significance in the movement, and two of them urged me to attend the meetings, but I refused.

I was willing with money, voice, and pen to aid the oppressed, but I could not sanction the movement to send men to States for political purposes. In Kansas they might acquire homesteads; in Indiana and Ohio they could not. To the first-named State they had received an invitation, but to the two last named they had not been invited.

Of course all men have a right in this country to go where they please, and when men know or think that they can better their condition by

changing their places of residence it is their duty so to do. I am not and never was opposed to colored emigration, but I am bitterly opposed to the wholesale delusion which has been practiced upon my people. When the exodus from North Carolina began I was astonished, and being a native of the State and the editor of a colored newspaper I immediately wrote to the most prominent colored men in the State asking them to give to me the cause of this sudden uprising. I could not understand it. I was more than astonished; I was bewildered. I received answer from all of them that there was no cause for it; that the more ignorant class had been deluded by three men, named Perry, Williams, and Taylor, who by some means unknown to them had been North and returned with such glowing news that the people could not resist them. An investigation followed, and it was ascertained that these three men had been among the most ignorant class of the country people and had told them that the United States Government wanted them to go to Indiana; that the government would give them money to begin with; that they would receive \$1.50 per day during the winter, and from \$2.00 to \$2.50 per day during the spring, summer, and fall.

Some who hesitated were told that they would receive new suits of clothes at Washington. These men registered the names of those who consented to go, and charged them from twenty-five cents to two dollars, according to their ability to pay. These men called meetings in the country churches, and, with closed doors, so the press in the eastern part of North Carolina informs us, bound those whom they had deluded to secrecy.

Of course the first batch went, having sold all their worldly goods. Being few in number they were well received and found immediate employment in some place designated by parties unknown to the deponent.

These wrote back to their friends and advised them to come, and hence it is easy to understand the great exodus in North Carolina.

I have met Perry and charged him with everything I have stated, and he did not deny a word of it. He only said in extenuation that the money charged for registering their names was for the purpose of paying his expenses to Indiana and back.

Now, it is true that many who have gone, left because of dissatisfaction. The landlord and tenant act works greatly to their detriment, as it does to poor white men, so I am informed. I have not investigated that subject.

They are also dissatisfied with that section of the new constitution which takes from them the privilege or right of voting for their county magistrates, county commissioners, and school trustees.

But so far as injustice in the courts is concerned they have no reasonable complaint. The *colored* solicitor in the district from which these people are emigrating told me not more than three weeks ago that neither the judges, the officers of the court or juries, made any distinction on account of color.

It was my pleasure to deliver the oration at the celebration of the seventeenth anniversary of the emancipation of my race, at Raleigh, on the 1st of January instant.

In that city I met people from all parts of the State. I talked freely with them in regard to the exodus, and all of them were bitterly opposed to it. Those to whom I talked were not office-holders dependent upon the support of the colored vote—for you must know that only white Republicans hold office in North Carolina—there may be here and there a spittoon-cleaner or a messenger, but nothing more, and yet they with one accord opposed this exodus.

James H. Harris, the most prominent colored man in the State, a man who only one year ago went into every nook and corner of the counties from which these people are fleeing, told me that there was not a particle of necessity for this exodus.

Osborne Hunter, jr., the editor of the Journal of Industry, who originated the idea of a colored State fair, and who made it a success unequalled by any State fair in the South, told me that he traveled over every road and by-path in that section, and he saw no occasion for it.

Hon. James E. O'Hara, who has testified before this committee, and who lives in the section from which these people come, told me in North Carolina that it was a shame. W. V. Turner, who, as editor of the North Carolina Republican, had been almost everywhere in that section, in the interest of his paper, told me that though he had lived in many sections of this country he had never seen poor people doing better.

Governor Holden, Richard Badger, Col. Ike Young, all prominent radical Republicans, say that the colored people have no such complaint as would induce a reasonable person to leave his home.

I might mention a dozen prominent colored Republicans, none of them office-holders, such as Hon. George Price, Colonel Wassom, who has lived for years in Wayne County, a county from which so many have gone, Hon. John S. Leary, Hon. George Mabson, and his brother William, of Edgecourt, and others too numerous to mention, who are bitterly opposed to this exodus. In fact, every intelligent colored and white man in the State is opposed to it. Our six colored newspapers are all fighting it. Every week's issue of these papers contains leading editorials on the subject, and I have not failed weekly to say what I thought on the subject.

With malice toward none but with charity for all, I say that the exodus from *North Carolina* is a FRAUD.

From *some* of the Southern States the exodus may be a blessing, but from the Old North State it is a *curse*. In saying this we have not in mind those intelligent men who think or know that they can better their condition. To such men we would say God speed you and bless you; but that is not the class which is leaving the State; it is that ignorant class which, after it is *used*, will ask for bread and be given a stone, beg for a fish and receive a scorpion.

I lived in the West for two years and a half, and I never saw in Raleigh, N. C., such a poor, ignorant class of colored people as I saw in Oberlin, Ohio, the paradise of colored people. There were many rich colored men there; there were colored men doing good business, but the poor people were poorer than any I ever saw in any town in North Carolina. Now, this was in their heaven. My God! what will they do in Indiana, which up to within a few years had a law on her statute books that a negro could not live in the State!

In Virginia, if a colored man marries a white woman, both are incarcerated in the penitentiary.

In Indiana, if the same deplorable event takes place, not only the couple but the officiating minister also suffers.

Now, I am opposed to the exodus from North Carolina, for the reason that there is no occasion for it.

Nine-tenths of those who have gone west could give no reason for their going, and one-tenth said that they left because they were cheated in their contracts. Is there any assurance that they will not be cheated in Indiana?

In North Carolina the most kindly relations exist between the white

and colored people. At the last celebration of the day of the Emancipation Proclamation, the whites, all of whom had owned slaves, paid three fourths of the expenses necessary for making it a success. They not only did this in Raleigh, but in other places where the day was celebrated.

The colored people as a mass are more intelligent than in any other State in the South. They always had more opportunities for acquiring an education. There are at least five schools in the State where they can get a scholastic education, and almost every town has a graded school.

They have what no other State in the South possesses—an asylum for the deaf, dumb and blind. A Democratic legislature has appropriated money for the erection of an insane asylum; at present the colored insane are in the white asylum, than which there is no finer in this country.

The free schools are open for all, and colored teachers are always employed in preference to whites.

There are numbers of colored lawyers who have made a name at the bar; doctors who have successful practice; farmers who own their farms and carry their own cotton to market. Why, Raleigh, a city of about 13,000 inhabitants, half whose population is colored, has grown within the past five years to such extent that I could scarcely recognize my native city. There are more colored people who own their own houses than there are in the city of Washington. Their beautiful cottages are to be seen everywhere.

As I beheld this sight I said to myself, why does not the emigration begin at Washington?

In one word I say that the cause of the exodus from North Carolina can be found in the purses of the men who furnished Perry and Williams with the means.

In my opinion, the time will come when those who have encouraged this movement will repent in sackcloth and ashes.

In my humble judgment, in December, 1880, many colored men who are now feasting on the lamb in Indiana will be begging for money to pay their way back to old North Carolina.

And in connection with that, Mr. Chairman, I have two papers which have been sent to me, and from which I desire to read some. These are questions which were asked by the editor of the People's Advocate.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What paper is that you read from?—A. The Journal of Industry, published in Raleigh. It is a paper published by colored people; and now this is what the editor of the People's Advocate published here and said in his paper:

[Journal of Industry, Raleigh, January 17, 1880.]

THE EXODUS.

The People's Advocate says:

"Notwithstanding the protests made in the United States Senate and by some of the press of this city and North Carolina, one hundred and seventeen colored emigrants from Goldsborough, N. C., passed through here Tuesday, *en route* to Indianapolis. It is a great pity that 'these shiftless people' are thus 'duped to leave their homes for the inhospitable West.' Just wait until the proposed conference of colored men takes place; then it will stop; won't it, Brother Hunter?"

To this Mr. Hunter, the editor of the Journal, who has traveled over

every section of that country in the interest of his paper, as Mr. O'Hara knows, replies as follows :

In reply to our confrere's interrogatory, we will state, that so far as the ability of "the proposed conference" to stay the tide of emigration is concerned, we know nothing.

Having frankly answered his question, we respectfully ask of him a reply to the following, he being an advocate of the movement, and is, or should be, thoroughly acquainted with all the facts connected with it : If any of our mechanics desire to emigrate to Indiana they can find plenty of employment on the same building or in the same workshop with white men, as they can do here ; can't they, Brother Cromwell ? Or if any of our farmers desire to go, they can become "monarch of all they survey" on as easy terms as they can and do here ? Or if any of our teachers desire to go, they can find as many schools to teach and as good salaries, ranging from twenty to one hundred dollars per month, as they can and do here ? Or if any of our lawyers desire to go, they can find plenty of clients, as they can and do here ? Or if any of our doctors desire to go they can find as lucrative a practice as they can and do here ? And last, but not least, if any of our politicians desire to go, they can find their way to the legislature and halls of Congress as easily as they can and do here ? If the colored people are once convinced that these things can be done as easily in Indiana as they can and are being done here they will emigrate *en masse* ; but if the movement is to be narrowed down to the idea that "I take the turkey and you take the buzzard, or you take the buzzard and I take the turkey," it will continue to meet the opposition of the more intelligent colored people ; "won't it, Brother" Cromwell ?

In the same connection, I read a portion of a speech delivered by James H. Harris, the editor of the North Carolina Republican, prefacing it by saying that there is a good deal in this which I do not agree with, but in the main points, as they relate to this exodus, I agree with him fully :

HON. JAMES H. HARRIS ON THE EXODUS.

The conference of colored men held in this city last week sat in extra session on Thursday evening to consider the exodus movement. After the meeting was called to order, Col. George T. Wassom arose and moved that the chairman, Hon. James H. Harris, be invited to address the conference on the grave and momentous subject which they had met to discuss, and in relation to which it was highly necessary to take wise and timely action. The motion was seconded, and prevailed. Mr. Harris was then brought forward, though somewhat reluctantly on his part, and proceeded to deliver a powerful and convincing speech in opposition to the emigration of the colored people from North Carolina at this time, and particularly under the auspices of those who are controlling the present exodus movement. He did not, he said, wish to be personal in his allusions, nor would he be, further than was necessary in order to expose the dishonesty and wickedness at the bottom of this whole exodus business. There are in and about Washington City a class of colored men who may be very appropriately described as political deadbeats and paupers. Those men are the self-styled and self-appointed leaders of their race, and with unblushing effrontery assume it as their peculiar prerogative to represent the colored people of the whole South. These are the unprincipled impostors who, with lies on their tongues and base deception in their hearts, beguiled Senator Windom into offering a bill in the Senate to set apart a definite portion of national territory for the colonization of the Southern negroes. Then they went forward and organized a colonization society, and scoured the North, through their agents, to collect money, professedly for the purpose of aiding the poor, unfortunate negro to escape from the intolerable oppression of his Southern home. The money raised for this philanthropic object, however, reached their own pockets and stuck there. Professors Greener, Green, and one Wall, with their coadjutors in Washington, are the original promoters of the exodus movement, and on them our righteous indignation and censure should be unsparingly poured. Through their machinations and misrepresentations the seeds of restlessness and discontent have been sowed among our people, and the exodus is the fruit. These self-constituted negro leaders, knowing as little about the real condition of the colored masses as a Hindoo knows of the social status of Europe, have from the first ignored the representative colored men of the South, and acted with a contemptuous disregard of their views and opinions. They apparently take it for granted that we are all an ignorant and credulous set of fools together, and can be herded and tolled like a drove of cattle whenever they, in their superior wisdom, shall deem us fit instruments to serve their individual ends and interests. Like the debauched libertine and traitor, Cataline, they have gone

systematically to work, and plotted against their race and the good of their country by seeking to entice from this Southern portion of the United States its colored population, merely to replenish their depleted purses, and to gain a doubtful prominence before the public. We spurn these men with their impudent and insulting pretensions. We denounce them as the enemies of their people, and warn colored men throughout the South against their baseness and falsehoods. We want no intermeddling from such a source in their affairs. We are competent to take care of ourselves. Whenever our condition shall become so hard as to be intolerable; whenever we shall become persuaded of the inexpediency and impossibility of our remaining longer among the Southern whites as free and recognized citizens, we will judge and act for ourselves, and take charge of our own exodus. We say to Professors Greener, Green, Wall, and to all others engaged in the nefarious work of deluding the negro by misrepresentation and falsehood—stop; hands off; let us alone. We indignantly resent your impatient interference in our affairs, and ask that you will allow us to manage for ourselves in our own way. You do not represent us, you have no constituency, you have nothing but impudence, cheek, and cunning, and an inordinate greed for filthy lucre, for which you would wickedly mislead and basely sell us into the hands of the Philistines. But we will none of you. It is war to the knife between you and us, and we will not sheath our blade until we have forced you down and out from the position which you have usurped, and to which you have not the shadow of a claim, and until we have exposed you to your race and to the country as the conspirators and swindlers that you are.

We readily concede the right of the colored people or of any people to migrate at any time from one portion of the United States to another. This is a free country, and the privilege of locomotion from and to any point within the bounds of the Republic may be exercised by our citizens at their option. We are opposed to the exodus from this State, not that any colored man in North Carolina has not the sole and exclusive right to decide for himself in all matters concerning his welfare, to select his own home and settle in any quarter of this broad land, but we oppose it, we earnestly advise against it, because those who have become imbued with the spirit of emigration are deluded. They know not what they do. They are acting upon a sudden impulse created by lying and cunningly agents, who have been, and are now, among them. It cannot be denied that we have grievances here in North Carolina, the best of the Southern States, which justify no little discontent and serious complaint.

The people have been arbitrarily deprived in part of their sovereignty. An unscrupulous party, in order to entrench itself the more securely in power, has, through its legislature, enacted odious laws and followed a line of policy destructive of our long-established and cherished forms of popular government. Our county commissioners, our magistrates, and school committeemen are no longer elective by the people, and whatever may be the choice of the latter, they are not permitted to select and vote for those whom they would have represent and serve them in these several capacities. These are wrongs which ought not to be borne by a free and liberty-loving people; nor will we bear them. Yet, we will not flee the State to escape these wrongs. We will remain here and have them redressed. The honest and patriotic sentiment of the State, irrespective of race, is opposed to the outrages of the Democratic party, and there is a strong, determined, and confident spirit abroad among us which will make itself felt at the ballot-box, and which promises our deliverance from Democratic rule and tyranny. While it is very natural that the colored people in the eastern counties, who have until recently chosen all their local officers, should chafe under the changed condition of things, it is one of the wildest and most impolitic schemes for them to abandon their homes and emigrate *en masse* to Indiana as their temple of refuge.

Said the speaker: "I know something of Indiana. I lived there two years. I have traveled from one end of the State to the other, and I am prepared to say, in all candor and sincerity, that scarcely a comparison can be made between Indiana and North Carolina that is not in favor of the latter. Our climate is more genial and healthful. Our soil can be made equally as fertile, and is adapted to a far greater variety of products; while land, which in Indiana is \$60 per acre and upwards, here in North Carolina is \$5 per acre and upwards; in every way as desirable, and in some respects more so. Wages may be higher there than here, but in the same proportion the cost of living is higher. In that State of higher latitude the winters are rigorous, and from four to six months in duration, during which time labor is generally unemployed in the rural sections, and wages are at a minimum. Here in North Carolina we enjoy, as it were, perpetual summer; employment can be obtained the year round, and no one need suffer for the necessities of life. Who can hesitate in choosing between these two States, and unalterably deciding in favor of his own upon learning that there are more beggars in two cities of Indiana—Indianapolis and Terre Haute—than can be found in the whole State of North Carolina?

"The colored people are far more prosperous here than they are or are likely to become there. Here they are better treated, experience greater kindness at the hands of the whites, enjoy more impartial educational facilities, and, which is more than can be claimed for Indiana or any other State, have charitable institutions for the un-

fortunate of their race, established and supported on an equal footing with similar institutions for the whites. In the face of these facts, to which others too numerous to mention might be added, what intelligent colored North Carolinian can longer contemplate joining the ill-advised and pernicious exodus movement? What the people need is information, and that information the plain and unvarnished truth. They are being imposed upon and misled. It is the imperative duty of prominent and representative colored men everywhere through the State to post themselves thoroughly by reading, by correspondence, and reflection, and seek by argument, exhortation, and entreaty to stay the impetuous tide of emigration, which threatens misfortune, suffering, and ruin to the hundreds whom it is sweeping along, almost weekly, in its fatal course."

Mr. Harris's speech was very elaborate, and the above is only a synopsis. It was well received, and created great enthusiasm.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What conference was this which Mr. Harris refers to?—A. The conference held in North Carolina, in Raleigh, on the 15th of this month.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. For what purpose?—A. To consider this exodus.

Q. You say you approve of some of the things stated by Mr. Harris, and some you do not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You approve of all that he says about the condition of the colored people and the folly of the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; I approve of this. There are a good many things in here that I do not approve of, but they are things like this, for instance, that he refers to Captain Wall, that I do not approve of.

Q. Do you approve of what he says in regard to the loss of their right of suffrage under the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir; I approve of that, with reference to that particular point, the election of magistrates.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You are and have always been considered as a straight-out Republican, have you not?—A. I was always a radical Republican and am now.

Q. And you do not consider it necessary to approve of this exodus in order to maintain your standing in the party?—A. No, sir; because I oppose it they call me a Democrat. If I approve it in Louisiana and Mississippi then I am all right, and as I oppose this from North Carolina, my own State, knowing that there is no necessity for it, of course I am a Democrat.

Q. As I understand you, there are some things, you say, to criticize in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know of any political commonwealth on the face of the globe where the same thing is not true?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you think, despite the truth of these things, that it is better for the colored people to remain there in North Carolina than to go to Indiana or elsewhere?—A. I think it is better for them to stop there. I think North Carolina is a Republican State, and since Governor Vance has come up here to the Senate I do not think there is any man in the borders of that State that can carry it against the Republican party or against Sam Phillips, who is its best representative.

Q. You think Governor Vance is a strong man, then?—A. Yes, sir; he is the strongest man in the State.

Q. And Mr. Phillips is the strongest man with the Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; he is the strongest man with the Republicans.

Q. What is the secret of Governor Vance's strength?—A. Governor Vance has treated the colored people better than any man who was

ever Governor of the State. He gave them their normal school. I know that when on the stump he told them not to vote for him, as he was a Democrat of the very worst sort, and two days after he was elected he made a speech and promised them their school, and in a few months afterwards they had it. He can carry the State against anybody down there, Democrat or Republican, and I do not think anybody else can carry it Democratic, now that he is here in the Senate.

Q. You think you have enough votes in the Republican party to carry the State down there?—A. We have more white and colored Republicans there than there are in any other State South; we have 80,000 of them.

Q. The composition of the Republican party is largely colored?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they dictate the policy of the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Republican party, you think, being in perhaps a majority, will be strong enough to enforce a liberal policy towards the colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, beyond that—of course I am a Democrat and I expect you to speak from your own standpoint as a Republican—but I ask you to take Governor Vance; has he not a following in his party favorable to the colored people, and to giving them a fair chance with the white people?—A. Yes, sir; or else he would not have given us the normal school. We also have an asylum for the deaf and dumb; it is not as large as the white asylum, but it is just as fine, and that was given to us by Governor Vance.

Q. You edit a paper and take all the colored papers from all parts of the United States, do you not? Do you know of any other State that does as much for the colored people?—A. I do not know of all that has been done by the States, but there is a school in Missouri at Lincoln Institute, and that I believe is the only one outside of North Carolina that I know of, provided by a Democratic legislature.

Q. Isn't it true that they have not such a school in Indiana?—A. Not that I know of; and that is given by a Democratic legislature.

Q. That school in North Carolina was given by a Democratic legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And by and through the advice of a Democratic governor?—A. And the insane asylum was built, I think, since Governor Vance was elected.

Q. That was done by a Democratic legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And there is a provision made now to build a second insane asylum?—A. Yes, sir; down at Goldsboro'.

Q. It is in process of erection?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is.

Q. The United States Government does not give the colored people a separate insane asylum here, does it?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say that you have a deaf and dumb asylum in the course of operation there?—A. Yes, sir; it is as fine a building as there is in the United States, and the children and teachers are all there and doing well.

Q. What party gave that to the colored people?—A. The Democratic legislature.

Q. And taking all that into consideration, you think it would be better for the colored people to stay in North Carolina than to go to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I thought, and that is the reason I opposed their going to Indiana.

On motion the committee adjourned to Friday, January 30, 1880, at half past ten o'clock a. m.

SIXTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Friday, January 30, 1880.*

The committee met, pursuant to its order of adjournment, at 10.30 a. m.
Present, the chairman and all the members of the committee.
The taking of testimony was resumed as follows:

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES N. OTEY.

CHARLES N. OTEY (colored) recalled.

By Senator VOORHEES:

Q. Before passing you, Mr. Otey, over to Mr. Blair for the purpose of cross-examination, if there is anything that has occurred to you since your examination in chief which you desire to offer in explanation of your testimony, you have the opportunity now to do so.—A. Yes, sir; I do desire to make an explanation. I read from the *National Republican* of Wednesday morning, January 23, 1880; it is an editorial; it is a very lengthy one and I read only that part that refers to me and my testimony.

“We notice that a colored citizen named Otie”—

Now, this man who wrote this article knows me as well as anybody in this room, as well as I know myself or anybody else, and yet he spells my name wrong, “Otie”; he knows my name, for I have written over fifty articles for that newspaper—

We notice that a colored citizen named Otie has given evidence which has made the Democrats somewhat hilarious, but when Senator Blair shall have got through with shaking his testimony up and cleaning the wheat of truth from the chaff of nonsense and folly with which it is mixed, the yield of wheat will be too insignificant to be worthy of consideration. Mr. Otie may be a very good-intentioned sort of person, but his testimony, so far as it has come to our notice, appears to be of the hack and coal order, which is marketable at cheap rates. He undoubtedly intended to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, but the reason given for changing position on the exodus is a little too thin to bear with much weight upon the question. It looks as if it had been made to order, and he had undertaken to peddle it out for Democratic delectation. We may refer to this again when his wire is fully run from the reel and Senator Blair shall have got through with straightening out his entanglements under a close and rigid cross-examination.

I desire to answer that, for I prefer not to be misrepresented, and so I answer it from my notes:

The *National Republican* intimates that I was coached for the occasion when I testified before this committee. In answer to that, I say under oath that I have not talked with a Democrat either on politics or the exodus since the summer of 1872.

The same paper intimates that I was bought up. In answer to that I will say that there is not enough money in the United States Treasury to buy me. I know that Republicans very frequently sell out, and I doubt not that the editor of the *Republican* was honest and meant no harm when he intimated that I had engaged in a business so common.

The difference between my Republicanism and his is this, viz: he has been well paid for all the service he has rendered the party, while I have never made one cent out of politics, though I have worked hard for the party all my life.

I have never asked for governmental position and never held one.

I have great respect for Mr. Clapp, and will do him the justice to say that had he known me better he would have insinuated less.

His assistant, Col. E. P. Brooks, knows well that no more radical articles were ever written for his paper than those I have written.

I have never wavered in my devotion to the principles of the Republican party, but I love my race more than I do party. I have no objection to Indiana going Republican in the coming election. I wish that all the States in the Union would go that way.

I object to deluding the ignorant people of my race. I object to the carrying them in the midst of the winter like so many hogs or sheep to a State that I have always considered the worst in the Union for colored people.

Why, in the days of slavery there was a law on the statute-books of that State that forbade the entrance of a negro within its sacred precincts, and I believe that so far as action by the legislature is concerned the law has never been repealed.

Within the past two years a negro outraged a white prostitute in some town in that State, and the whole white population arose as one man and drove from the town every colored person that lived in it. Governor Williams had to call out the militia to put a stop to the wholesale persecution of my race. This information I got from the newspapers of both political parties.

It may be well and good for men who make their living out of the party, to abuse me because of my opposition to the use of my race. I am a Republican because I believe in the principles of the party. I am opposed to the exodus from North Carolina because I am a negro.

The National Republican also says that there was much nonsense in my testimony. I ask this committee to summon from the old North State J. H. Harris, Osborne Hunter, jr., B. J. Edwards, W. V. Turner, and Stewart Ellison, of Raleigh, N. C.; Col. J. T. Wasson, of Goldsborough; George Price, jr., of Wilmington; also, Col. George Mabson, of the same city; William Mabson, of Tarborough—all radical colored Republicans—and if they do not corroborate every word I have said, then, with Jim Anderson, I am willing to go down in history as the greatest liar of the age.

I almost forgot to state that I did hold an office in North Carolina for two years, during which time I was teaching school and studying law here in Washington. It was not the office of Government Printer; neither was it any other sinecure. I was, in 1873, elected, while on a visit to my native city, school trustee for the township of Raleigh—that was only a fiduciary trust. I wish that all men would act as honestly as I did during those two years. I never saw a dollar, for there was no dollar to be seen. I appointed all the colored teachers, and they taught faithfully, knowing that when old Wake was able they would be paid. They were paid, but I was in Washington and could not get a percentage. I did, though, receive a good deal of abuse; for, *unwittingly*, in my appointments, I appointed no denomination but Methodists and Episcopalians. Now, I was a Methodist, and my oldest brother's wife was a member of the Episcopal church, and, consequently, all the other denominations spared me not for two years.

Now, God knows that I made the appointments solely on account of the merit of the applicants, as shown by the certificates presented to me by the examiner. I have never desired a public office since.

Mr. Clapp seems angry because, as he says, the Democrats were hilarious over my testimony.

Now, I cannot help that. If the truth makes a man happy, I think that the one who told it ought to be honored, not vilified.

In the last part of his editorial he seems to threaten me. That has

been tried on me before and would not take. Let me say to him that I am as honest as he and as good a Republican as he, *without expectation of reward*. He knows about as much of the condition of the colored people in North Carolina as he does about the pearly gates of the New Jerusalem.

Here before this committee he testified that he knew but little about the exodus, having only acted as treasurer. I believe every word that he said, because I believe him to be an honest and truthful man.

Why should he question me—a man identified with the race, most interested in this exodus? Three years ago, as associate editor of the *People's Advocate*, I wrote and published there editorials in opposition to the Western emigration from the South of the people of my race. I did this at a time when there was no stampede—when there was no excitement and no exodus. Outside of my duties, I study nothing but the interests of my race, and I think that I ought to be allowed to express my views without being abused by anybody.

Are colored men to be denied a privilege which all other races enjoy? I consider that man a scoundrel or a fool who willfully traduces another because of the honest expression of his opinions.

Free speech is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and by the help of God I intend to take advantage of that amendment so long as I live. From the beginning I have opposed the exodus from my native State. I have had no selfish motives, for the people who have gone West went not from the section in which I live or expect to live. I have consistently opposed it for what I consider the good of my race and my party.

If this be Democracy then let my enemies make the most of it.

I also desire, in talking about what my testimony is based upon, to read an article published December 9, 1879, in the *Raleigh Republican*, taken from the *Roanoke News*:

ENFIELD, N. C., Dec. 15, 1879.

Editor Roanoke News:

SIR: In your issue of the 11th inst. I find the following paragraph: "According to James E. O'Hara's speech at the industrial fair recently held at Raleigh, the colored people in Halifax County own thirteen thousand acres of land, &c."

Many persons question the assertion, and regard it as a mere ipse dixit of mine, upon which it would be, to say the least, a great presumption to give credence.

Not desiring to startle those who can see no good in the colored man, nor make the credulous uneasy, I told only of part of the colored man's acquisition in this and adjoining counties, but now refer you to the list of the county for the year 1878, where you will find the fact by townships to be as follows:

	Acre
Brinkleyville township.....	2,609
Butterwood township.....	22
Caledonia township.....	1,186
Conocanarie township.....	628
Enfield township.....	2,006
Faucetts township.....	216
Halifax township.....	3,458
Littleton township.....	2,479
Roseneath township.....	
Palmyra township.....	2,228
Weldon township.....	769
Total.....	16,601

Nor is this the full amount with which the colored man is entitled to be accredited, because, after a person arrives beyond the age to pay a poll tax, there are no means by which you can tell from the tax list to which race he belongs, thus in collecting the fact we are obliged to take those only who are not above the poll-tax age (fifty years), unless it be those personally known to be colored, and my memory of names being quite deficient, but a few are added to those listing a poll.

The above does not include the many acre and half-acre lots owned by colored people in the suburbs of Enfield, Halifax, Scotland, Neck, and Weldon, nor does it include new town lots in Enfield, with substantial, comfortable houses erected thereon, surrounded by gardens showing taste and some culture, and a decided air of health and contentment. Thirteen town lots in Halifax and at least twelve in Weldon, valued in the aggregate thousands of dollars.

While speaking of Enfield it is but just that I should state that the greater portion of those owning lots with comfortable houses within the corporate limits are indebted to the kindness of James H. Parker, esq., who, after selling them lots, provided work whereby they might, in an easy manner, procure and pay for their homes.

Among his many kind and good deeds, silently yet timely administered to the colored people, none, I dare say, can give him more real pleasure than the consciousness of knowing that, through his kindness, many worthy merchants are now able to sit around their own fireside, and for his acts of kindness he has the love and respect of the colored people that know him.

The colored people in acquiring land are not contented at this alone, and a day's ride among these people in the country would satisfy the most skeptical that their farms are in a good state of cultivation, well stocked with horses, mules, cattle, and the modern implements of agriculture, and the exhibition at the industrial fair has at least taught many that not only in agriculture and mechanics, but also in the fine arts, the negro's sun in North Carolina is above the horizon and steadily advancing, regardless of dark clouds and rude storms, to a splendid meridian.

All that was said of the counties of Nash, Warren, and those adjacent, in the address will easily be verified in the same manner as the assertion about the lands owned in the county of Halifax.

I regret that newspapers often speak of the colored people as "a shiftless, improvident class of our population," when the above showing has no parallel in history, added to the further fact (painful though the admission may be to our white friends) that the colored people of the State are far "ahead in the acquisition of property, knowledge, and culture of that class known as poor whites" in ante-bellum days; and it is no idle boast when we say to our white brethren, look well to your laurels or your boasted superiority backed by two thousand years of advantage, may vanish like the mist before a bright summer's sun ere this people shall celebrate its centennial jubilee of liberty. Regardless of Emigration Aid Society, Kansas Pacific Railway agents, county boards of canvassers, who subvert the will of the people and send the defeated candidate to the national legislature, while they strain at a gnat and swallow a camel; the bulk of the colored people will remain in North Carolina, sharing in common with other citizens her weal or her woe, building up her waste places and assisting her to take that rank among her sister States of the American Union that she is eminently deserving to take.

A slight glance backward at the past decade will show even to the most casual observer that the negro in North Carolina and the majority of the Southern States will not have to compete in the race of life with the sturdy son of Erin's isle, the keen-witted Scotchman, the money-saving German, nor in fact any of the European emigrants annually thronging our shores, for before the pleasant "Westward ho" shall have lost talismanic sweetness to the ear and heart of the foreign emigrant, our waste places shall have been built up, and hill and dale smile as they acknowledge and pay tribute to the colored man's ownership. Another fact in this connection worthy of notice is, that not even with the heirs to ancestral estates will the colored man long have to contend for its ownership or fight in his efforts to acquire title to broad acres or fertile fields, for it cannot be denied that a majority of our white young men flee the farm as though pestilence and death held high carnival there; and, whether obtained by device, gift, or marriage, farms are often deserted, their young owners acting in many instances as though they felt it more honorable to be allowed to say small nothings to or smile at the belles of fashion from behind a yard-stick, at a certain monthly stipend, or more profitable to deal out liquid poison to the thoughtless and unwary, than to be an independent farmer or mechanic, while hundreds seek professions and occupations leading to fortune and fame, but never reaching the goal, and lands thus abandoned must in the very nature of things fall in the possession of the colored man, who is desirous of obtaining it when that desire is coupled with the means or other ability to pay for it.

And yet another cause why the colored man will remain here and increase in wealth and assist in building up the State as he builds himself up: In Eastern North Carolina the most valuable and productive lands are the swamp lands and river bottoms, which to properly drain and ditch would impoverish their present owners, who must either allow them to lie waste, taxed without yielding profit, or sell them on easy terms to the colored man, who alone is not afraid of their miasmatic influence, and who, by his own brain and sinew, will ditch, drain, cultivate, and cause the same, now useless, but fertile, land, after a few years, to smile beneath a golden harvest.

In face of the foregoing facts we must weld and strengthen the bond of sym-

pathy and kindness now existing between the white and colored people, and if possible make it firmer and more durable. A higher respect by both must be given to every bargain and agreement made, contract must be faithfully executed by both parties, an earnest effort by all to make each other feel and realize that fact that we are, by no act of our own, but by the decree of God himself, destined to inhabit together, whether for good or evil, this fair land, and that whether it be good or ill we, and we only, are the makers thereof.

Those who have accustomed themselves to look at the negro only from the dark side of the picture, often say, "If the negro would only stop stealing I would tolerate him better," meaning by this pseudo sympathy not an individual, but the race. I will say, that while I neither excuse, justify, nor apologize for the colored man who steals or commits crime, you cannot judge the entire race by these few, nor can you hold the race responsible. Can you judge the entire race of Jews by a Fagan or Shylock? Certainly not. Do you judge the white race by its Tweeds, its bank robbers, its defaulting presidents, treasurers, cashiers, its midnight burglars, and myriads of thieves and rogues? Certainly not. Then justice demands the same measurement and judgment for the colored race; nothing more nor nothing less.

With all the parade and obloquy cast upon crimes committed by the colored people in this and adjoining counties, I venture the assertion that there is no place in the American Union, or elsewhere, where high crimes are less, in accordance with the population, than in Eastern North Carolina.

To the colored people I will say you have done well in the past ten years, but you can and must do better in the future. March manfully up the path of duty until you reach the zenith; work hard and untiring; hold and save for old age all you acquire by honest toil; educate your children; improve the morals of your societies; shun grog-shops; and by the aid of God, who has helped us thus far, nothing can prevent us from enjoying a bright and prosperous future.

JAS. E. O'HARA.

By the CHAIRMAN

Q. Have you entertained other views than these?—A. I have not.

Q. You have always expressed the same sentiments with reference to the exodus movement?—A. Yes, sir. I went into the Emigrant Aid Society, as I thought, to aid those people who were fleeing from persecution in the South, and I said I would go into it for no other purpose.

Q. Have you any views of your own, expressed at any other time, which you desire to put into the record?—A. I have an article which I published, and which was republished in every part of North Carolina.

Senator VANCE. I think it would be fair to the witness if he would just say that he has held the same views all the time, and that on other dates previous to this he had written certain articles expressing those views, and giving the dates.

The WITNESS. This article was written before there was any movement made to investigate the exodus movement, December 13, 1879. I wrote it myself, and it is headed "A Great Shame." It was at the time some of these men came to this city for the first time. I did not consult anybody about it, but I wrote the article of my own volition; and while I think a great deal of Mr. Wall and these other gentlemen personally I cannot agree with them about this movement.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Are we to understand, Mr. Otey, that all that you have stated and read here is sworn to by you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You make these extracts and all a part of your oath. Before I come to the papers you have quoted I want to ask you a few general questions. How long have you lived in North Carolina?—A. I lived there until I was 16 or 17 years old.

Q. When did you leave there?—A. In 1867 I left there—in August. I was born in 1851.

Q. Where did you go from there?—A. To Oberlin, Ohio, and staid there until 1869. I entered a class there and staid in it three months.

Q. When have you been back to North Carolina?—A. Sometimes

each year in vacation; sometimes every two years in vacations, and in January, which would make it average every year. I generally go in August and stay through the summer, and then go back at Christmas.

Q. When were you there last?—A. The 31st of last December.

Q. At whose invitation did you go?—A. By the invitation of the whole people of the county of Wake to deliver the address on the day of the celebration of the emancipation proclamation.

Q. What was the subject of your address?—A. What the colored people had already achieved and what they ought to do for further progress.

Q. Was the exodus the subject of it?—A. No, sir; I spoke not a half minute on it.

Q. You said you were invited by the whole people of the county; what do mean by it?—A. I mean that the colored people who came to the court-house to a meeting elected me unanimously as the orator of the day.

Q. Did they pay your expenses there?—A. No, sir; I paid my own.

Q. Did you say anything in your address to discourage the exodus?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had you any letter from anybody on that subject?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing of that kind was embodied in your address?—A. No, sir. This was the third time I had spoken there on a similar occasion, and while I was there I spoke to parties all the way through the State from every part of it, not on this subject particularly.

Q. What you said on the subject of the exodus, I suppose, you wrote after you got there?—A. Yes, sir; that morning before I made my address.

Q. Did you oppose the exodus from North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you favor it from elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir; wherever they are oppressed.

Q. Do you know that it is a very insignificant affair in North Carolina as compared with what it is from other States?—A. No, sir. I know it has not stopped there yet.

Q. Taking it up to the present time, how many do you think have gone from North Carolina?—A. Well, sir, I think 3,000 people are a pretty large number to pick up and leave a State without cause.

Q. Do you know that 3,000 have gone?—A. Somebody said so here the other day, that there had been 2,500 or 3,000.

Q. Do you know that Captain Wall said afterwards that he did not know that that was true?—A. Yes, sir; but that went into the newspapers as the substance of his testimony.

Q. Did you hear the railroad agent testify as to the number who have gone from North Carolina?—A. I heard him testify when he said he would take as many as wanted to go to Indiana, and then would go out there and bring them back again.

Q. Did you read his statement in which he said there were not 200 men that had gone?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear him say he had sold all the tickets, and that the whole number would not exceed 764 men, women, and children; and when cross-examined he said 200 would cover the entire number of men who had gone?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you get your information that 3,000 had gone?—A. From what Captain Wall said. I did not hear all of his statement, and I only took it from what I saw in the newspapers.

Q. Well, from what this railroad agent said, do you think it is a

startling political movement?—A. I have not given my opinion as to that.

Q. Now, you say it is a great political movement, and that that fact drove you out of the Emigrant Aid Society; now, this agent has testified that he sold all the tickets, and that there are not 200 men who have gone to Indiana, do you think that a very startling political matter?—A. No; I do not think so.

Q. Do not you think thus far it is very insignificant as compared with the movement from other States of the South, Mississippi and Louisiana, for instance?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know that these colored people are not oppressed in North Carolina?—A. I know they are not, and if I had the money I would go down there into every city and township and advise them not to leave North Carolina.

Q. You stated in your testimony "that it cannot be denied that we have grievances"; if that is true, what are they?—A. Well, perhaps this landlord and tenant act is one of the grievances. I do not know to what extent it might become such, for I have not examined it, but the colored people think it bears hard on them in some respects; and immediately after Governor Vance was elected the constitution was changed so as to give the legislature the right to appoint the magistrates in all the counties; and here, in a county where there are 1,200 or 1,500 Republican majority, all the courts are in the hands of the Democrats. The legislature, being Democratic, appointed Democratic magistrates in those counties, and they appoint county commissioners, and they select the school commissioners in all the townships. The colored people, having had the right before that of electing their magistrates, felt aggrieved at this change. The colored people, having had and exercised the right of suffrage for only a few years, felt aggrieved at having it taken away. I have talked with them about it, and that is their feeling. Now, a question was brought up here the other day about the defeat of Mr. O'Hara for Congress and about votes being thrown out; but, as I understand it, in most of the counties where that was done, it was done by these Republican supervisors.

Q. Are these the only grievances you have heard of?—A. No, sir; I have met several men, some of them very intelligent colored men, in Captain Wall's office, who said they were cheated in their bargains. One of them said he had bought a farm and agreed to pay \$2,000 for it, and after paying \$1,800 on it, he found that it did not belong to the man from whom he had bought it. I told him he ought to have gone to the court of record and learned the facts, but that I thought he was more likely to be cheated in Indiana than he was in North Carolina.

Q. You seem to have a poor opinion of Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If these people do go to the Western States, where would you advise them to go?—A. Where they can get lands from the government at \$1.25 an acre, and where they can live in peace and comfort on their own property. If they could be directed to some such place as that, I would work for it myself.

Q. Well, from your opinion of Indiana, I am afraid you think it is a poor State, and your testimony would destroy the white emigration?—A. No, sir; I hardly think it will. The colored people, you know, cannot compete with the Germans and Irish as laborers.

Q. Do you know of any discriminations in the administration of justice in the courts?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of any?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear of a case in Greensborough where a colored

man stole 75 cents and was sent to the penitentiary for five years ?—A. I do not know ; it may be possible. They have a law in North Carolina like they have in Virginia to punish petit larceny, but they have no whipping-posts like they have in Delaware.

Q. Do you think a white man would be sent to the penitentiary for five years for stealing that amount of money ?—A. Yes, sir. I tell you there was a man down there who stole a knife from another man ; it was during the war ; but it was after the war when he was brought up. He was convicted and taken to the public whipping-post and whipped for it.

Q. What year was that ?—A. I do not remember, sir, now.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Who was governor at that time ?—A. I think Governor Vance, Senator. I say they whipped a white man so they could get a chance to whip about five hundred negroes. They whipped many of them afterwards.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. You think they took up and whipped a white man so as to justify the whipping of about 500 negroes ?—A. I think so.

Q. Do you think a State where they whip one white man so as to get an excuse to whip 500 negroes is a good place for a colored man to live in ?—A. No, sir, I do not ; but that was at another time. The State was under martial law, and Colonel Mumford was there. He came out with the troops, and demanded the stopping of this whipping. I said they had been doing it for some time, and he wanted an end put to it. Judge Fowl was judge of the court at that time, and that was in 1865, I think.

Q. Do you think that Republicans take delight in the whipping of colored people ?—A. No, sir ; I do not say that.

Q. I read another statement here from a North Carolina paper again. At the fall term of 1879 of the circuit superior court a colored man named Crutchfield was put on trial for stealing an old spade. The evidence was of such a character that the judge charged the jury in favor of the prisoner, but in defiance of the charge they brought in a verdict of guilty. The judge, who was anxious to be the Democratic candidate for governor, though he had charged the jury in favor of the prisoner, did not hesitate a moment to sentence him to the penitentiary for two years. Did you ever hear of that ?—A. No, sir ; I never heard of that.

Q. You never heard of any of this sort of thing, and yet I have a large number of them cited here ?—A. No, sir ; but I will say that I see the colored men who are in the penitentiary are treated the same as the white men. I say for some classes of crimes they are all convicted just the same. Up North they do not send people to the penitentiary for petit larceny, but they do down there. I believe myself, as a Republican, that the law was made for the purpose of disfranchising colored men. If a colored man steals a chicken he is pretty liable to be sent to the penitentiary.

Q. You think the law is made to disfranchise the colored man ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that statement includes North Carolina ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are they disfranchised when they are sent to the penitentiary ?—A. Yes, sir ; if they are sent to the penitentiary, unless they are pardoned out, it takes away their right to vote ; but the trouble is that you can hardly tell one from the other, and they go off somewhere else and vote all the same.

Q. Do you think that a State that passes such laws as that is a good

place for the colored man to live?—A. Yes, sir; they make no discrimination in the execution of them.

Q. Does it indicate a very kindly feeling and treatment on the part of the whites towards the colored people?—A. Well, Senator, I say again that I never saw such kindly treatment accorded by white people to black people as is the case in North Carolina. I will bring you up a reminiscence to show you. When Fort Fisher was captured, I went to take a dispatch to Governor Vance. I was a telegraph messenger. I carried the dispatch to his house from general somebody, and when I got to the house it was about twelve o'clock at night. I went into the house and gave the governor the dispatch. I was a pretty sassy boy about that time, and he said for me to wait for the dispatch in reply. I said I was sleepy and wasn't going to do it. He told me to wait, and took me into his room and got a pillow and put me to sleep on the floor until he wrote his dispatch and got ready to send it back.

Q. How do you account for it that things are in so good a condition for the colored people in North Carolina and not in other States?—A. Because in most of the other States they have no white Republicans, while down there in North Carolina we have 30,000 to 40,000 white voters, who belong, some of them, to the most respectable classes.

Q. Do you think the white Republicans there are in a large measure responsible for the good condition of that State?—A. Yes, sir; we have plenty of them. I think the State itself is a Republican State, and no man can carry it in a Presidential race against the Republican candidates except it be Governor Vance, and I hope he will not go down there this fall. I want the State to go Republican, and Indiana, too, if we can get it.

Q. If you were a Radical Republican, would you not want the Republicans to stay there in the State?—A. Yes, sir; because I think they are doing well enough, and believing the State to be Republican, I want to keep it so.

Q. Is your Republicanism of that order that you want to keep these people in North Carolina for their votes?—A. No, sir; not particularly. You can take from 3,000 to 5,000 out of the State, and we still can carry the State, unless Governor Vance is a candidate.

Q. Do not you think it is a very bad policy to take them from North Carolina and risk the loss of the State, when you can take them from Kentucky much easier?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is very bad policy, especially while there are about 10,000 in this town that you can take up and carry away without detriment to anybody.

Q. You think it bad policy for the Republicans to advise this emigration?—A. I do not say that anybody is taking the lead in this matter as a political movement; but I have heard men say so.

Q. What do you know about it?—A. Only what I stated in my first testimony.

Q. Did you hear anybody mention it, except Mendenhall?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you talk with any Republicans about it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you written about it?—A. Yes, sir; frequently.

Q. You say you only heard Mr. Mendenhall mention it?—A. No, sir; I do not say that I only heard him.

Q. What others did you hear?—A. That is another question.

Q. Do you remember any other person whom you heard advise it for a political measure?—A. No, sir; not by names. He is the only man who said it in a public speech. Private conversation in which the matter has been mentioned is another thing. I do not think, Mr. Chair-

man, I am called upon to give away the private conversations of friends.

Q. We would be glad to have any proof that the Republican party is engaged in this movement—anybody that you have heard advise it for political purposes; how many have you heard?—A. I do not remember the number.

Q. Then you decline to name anybody?—A. Yes, sir; because the only man who said it publicly was Mendenhall. The rest of them said it privately, and unless I am forced to do so by order of the committee, I will not call their names.

Q. Then there might have been two or a hundred?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they prominent Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; they were, and active.

Senator WINDOM. We insist, Mr. Chairman, that he shall state the names. Here is a charge brought against prominent Republicans who advised this exodus for a political purpose, and we insist that he shall give the names.

The CHAIRMAN. I would have no objection to his doing so myself, but I think the witness has the right to withhold his private conversations.

Senator BLAIR. We insist that he shall give us the names. We want him to tell who they are, that we may call them as witnesses to see whether or not they have said any such thing to this witness. We do not believe it.

The CHAIRMAN. I will state that we have gone along very loosely with reference to this matter. We have sought a number of times to get some information from the reports and minutes of this Emigrant Aid Society, and Mr. Wall and Mr. Fearing have promised, both of them, to bring those reports to the committee, and they have not done it.

Senator BLAIR. That is not the point, Mr. Chairman, here. If this witness says he does not remember the names, that is the end of it.

The CHAIRMAN. This is an open investigation of this subject, but I am not one of those kind of men who force private letters and conversations from witnesses.

The WITNESS. I will say for the benefit of the committee that this is the reason why I do not desire to give the names, while perfectly able to do so: that men cannot speak their sentiments upon some subjects here in Washington without being turned out of office and the positions that they hold, and it is to protect my friends in that regard that I decline to give the names.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What positions are they in?—A. They are men who talked honestly to me, and who might be forced out of their places on the first opportunity for having given away their opinions on the political nature of this movement.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Then these were men who agreed with you in your opinion of it?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. I ask you for the names of the men who mentioned to you that this thing should be done for political purposes.—A. I never said but one of them did; I also think, Mr. Senator, that you should cross-examine me upon the examination of Saturday, and not go off into this original matter.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand the witness, he speaks of persons who have talked with him about this being a political movement, and who, like him, are opposed to it, and he fails to mention their names because they might be forced out of their positions in consequence of these opinions.

Senator BLAIR. The point made by the witness was that this was a movement urged forward by these prominent Republicans, and he tries to fix this responsibility upon the Republican party, and mentions that two or a hundred have stated to him that it was a political movement; and we want the names of these men. We want to defend the Republican party from this charge. This man refuses to give the names of the persons by whom it can be proved one way or the other, or by whom his testimony can be contradicted.

The WITNESS. In the first place I have not charged it on the Republican party. There is not a word of mine or a paper you can get to prove it by. I simply said that I was in that society; that a man in that society got up and made a statement that it would be a good thing to divert this exodus from Kansas to Indiana, as it was a doubtful State, and he suggested taking them from North Carolina. I have never made any charge upon the Republican party in connection with it.

Q. You do not mean to be understood as making any charge on the Republican party as a party?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you have no testimony to prove that it is interested in the movement?—A. No, sir; I simply said that I believed it from hearing men talking about it. I do not believe that Captain Wall, Mr. Holland, or the others have made money out of it, but from that speech which was made there that night I believed it was a political movement, and I was tired of seeing my people hauled round the country like so many hogs for political purposes.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Then I understand that the two or a hundred who talked to you were prominent Republicans, and agreed with you that these people should not be carried there for political purposes?—A. I am going to answer your question, and will say to you that we did not agree that they should not be taken there for political purposes. We thought they should not be induced to go there for any purpose, as they were better off in North Carolina than they could possibly be in Indiana; but if they were going we were in favor of their voting the Republican ticket. I had no objections to their going there at all if they were to be cared for when they got there.

Q. Will you answer my question?—A. What is the question?

Q. You stated that there were from two to a hundred people whom you heard talk of the negroes going to Indiana for political purposes. These were people opposed to their going for that purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you mention the name of one man only who advised it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you heard others do it except him?—A. Well, sir, he did not advise it for political purposes, I do not think.

Q. What did he advise?—A. I must state this in justice to Mr. Mendenhall, that this was two months before the movement commenced from North Carolina. Saint Louis was full of these colored people, and Holland, Wall, and myself and one or two others started this society, the purpose being to aid those who were fleeing from oppression in the South. Saint Louis was full of them, and the first money collected was sent to Saint Louis. That was a month or two before emigration began

from North Carolina. I think the first or second night that there was a meeting of the society Mr. Mendenhall got up and made a speech, and said he thought it would be a good thing to divert some of this emigration from North Carolina to Indiana, because Indiana was a doubtful State. Right then I said I would be opposed to it if it was to be a political movement; so did Professor Greener, and nearly all of them said so.

Q. Nearly all of them—portions of them said so?—A. Yes, sir; and Captain Wall and the others denied that it was a political movement.

Q. Then, if I understand you, there was a society, and a half a dozen or more of prominent persons who were discussing the means of relief of these people at Saint Louis were together, and one gentleman, Mr. Mendenhall, suggested that the negroes be taken to Indiana for political purposes, and all the rest opposed it?—A. No, sir; some of them said nothing. Very few of them said a word. I was the only one who made a speech, and Professor Greener said to me privately that he would not favor a political movement.

Q. All that was said then was said by you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And others of them afterwards expressed the same opinion to you?

—A. Yes, sir; that was afterwards.

Q. And if any of them agreed with Mr. Mendenhall they said nothing?—A. Not publicly.

Q. Did you ever hear them say anything privately?—A. No sir; not that I remember.

Q. Did you attend another meeting of the society?—A. Yes, sir; I attended the third.

Q. And you heard it there again?—A. No, sir.

Q. The only time you heard it was when it was said by Mendenhall, and you opposed it and Greener opposed it?—A. He said so that night, but he is in favor of it now.

Q. Are you not in favor of it?—A. Yes, sir; I am for those who can do better by it.

Q. You do not know that Professor Greener is in favor of it for any political purpose?—A. No, sir.

Q. You left because you were not in favor of it; the others were opposing it, too, and yet you thought it was a political movement, because Mendenhall so stated it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is Mendenhall a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; I do not know that he is a very prominent one, but he is a Republican.

Q. Do you know whether he was authorized to speak for the Republican party?—A. No, sir.

Q. You spoke of somebody replenishing their depleted funds by those means?—A. No, sir; I did not say that.

Q. I thought I took it from your statement?—A. You might have taken it from the newspapers. I think it was Jim Harris who stated it in his speech.

Q. You do not know anything of it yourself?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What do you know of Jim Harris?—A. I know he is the most prominent colored Republican in the State of North Carolina.

Q. You published his speech, did you not?—A. No, sir; I read it from his own paper.

Q. What is his character for honesty?—A. I know of only one thing against it. While he was in the Republican legislature, where everybody stole something, he is said to have taken \$7,000. I do not know whether he was guilty or not, as he was never tried, and never was brought up to testify even. It is a charge that was brought in the can-

vass of 1871. I went down there and they brought this charge against him of receiving \$7,000 as a bribe about a railroad company or a railroad appropriation. He never was tried about it and has been in the legislature since. He is the editor of the leading colored paper, and was made editor by the white Republicans and others of the State.

Q. You speak of the "wholesale delusion of my people"; what do you mean by that?—A. I speak of the men who have gone down there and stated to the ignorant colored people that the government wanted them out in Indiana, that they would pay them a dollar and a half a day for work in the winter, that they would get a suit of clothes in Washington as they passed through, have their railroad fare paid, and get two dollars and a half a day in the summer time.

Q. How did you hear all that?—A. From North Carolina papers, and from Jim Harris, who traveled over the whole district and who made a speech in Wilmington. There were four or five thousand people there who were opposed to this exodus, and Jim Harris went down and made a speech, and so did Hunter, who traveled all through the State in the interest of this colored people's fair—a fair which was held by the colored people of the State, and which the white men, Democrats and Republicans, say was the best ever held in the State.

Q. What men do you refer to as having made these false and delusive statements?—A. Sam Perry, Williams, and Taylor Evans.

Q. Are those the only men who have been engaged in it?—A. Yes, sir; except the railroad agents.

Q. Those are the only colored men, however?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not believe, and have you not heard also, that the railroad company furnishes these men the money to go there and work up this movement?—A. No, sir.

Q. You do not know that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company does it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you believe that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company pays them a dollar a head?—A. I believe it, but I do not know it.

Q. You do not know any others engaged in it?—A. No, sir.

Q. You believe there is a feeling of dissatisfaction there from some cause among those colored people, which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company has taken advantage of, and is going round with these men to work up the movement, and they pay the men a dollar a head for all they get to go?—A. No, sir. You ask the question, Mr. Senator, and you answer it yourself. The people were not dissatisfied, but they have been made so by these men. These men go down there, and go about them and tell them these great stories. If you go among ignorant men, white or black, gray or grizzly, who are getting only forty cents a day, and tell them they can get a dollar and a half somewhere else, they will want to go. It is these ignorant ones especially that they play for, and these men when they get here say that they are told to vote the Republican ticket when they get to Indiana. I do not object to that, and I wish, if they could be taken care of and would not suffer, that a million of them could go.

Q. Who did you hear tells them these stories of good times in Indiana?—A. I heard that Perry told them so.

Q. Is he in the employment of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company?—A. I do not know, sir, but I heard that he told them these things.

Q. Do you know of anybody else who has done that?—A. Yes, sir; Williams and Taylor Evans. I say I do not know anything about the connection of these men with the movement, but what I say is, that I

have heard from all the people who have come here from North Carolina, and newspapers, that they were told all these things were true, that there was plenty of employment there, and that the prices were high.

Q. Of course everybody down there pretty much is opposed to their leaving ?—A. Yes, sir. They are leaving a district, however, where we could afford to lose them, as it has 17,000 Republican majority. We can lose enough from that to carry Indiana, and still be able to carry North Carolina ; and the reason that the people are opposed to it is because they think they are being used and duped.

Q. I mean do not the people of North Carolina want to keep them there on account of their citizenship ?—A. No, sir ; I do not think that makes any difference. Unless Governor Vance gets out and carries it, we can carry it for the Republicans the next time.

Q. Then they are opposed to the negro going away because they want him there ?—A. Well, Senator, the people from the North and West do not understand the feeling. The people down there love the negro.

Q. It is pure sympathy and love for the negro, then ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think that the negro is better looked after and will be better treated among the white people of North Carolina ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was this society organized of which you speak ?—A. I think in August or September, but I do not remember which month.

Q. Of what year ?—A. Last year ; 1879.

Q. Were you present at its organization ?—A. Yes, sir ; at the first meeting.

Q. In the first place you were in favor of the exodus from the other States as a relief to the negro ?—A. I am in favor of the exodus where I think the people who are emigrating think or feel they can better their condition. I am opposed to their being deluded into moving from comfortable homes to an inhospitable State where they will suffer.

Q. You are in favor of it continuing from Louisiana and Mississippi ?—A. Wherever I think they are oppressed.

Q. Do you think they are oppressed there ?—A. I do not know. I have not been there.

Q. I ask you, from the information you have from your race and your papers, are you in favor of the exodus from Louisiana and Mississippi ?—A. I am in favor of it when they are oppressed.

Q. Do you believe they are oppressed now ?—A. I do not know. I know they have been.

Q. You are ignorant, then, on this subject ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were in favor of it some time ago ?—A. Yes, sir ; very much.

Q. What has changed your opinions ?—A. Because I have not heard of anything of the kind since.

Q. Have you not had any democratic associations that changed you before you came to this committee ?—A. No, sir ; I have not seen a member of the committee or talked with them on political subjects, and I have not talked very much politics, certainly not with Democrats, since 1872.

Q. And you are balanced in your mind now as to whether you are in favor of it from Mississippi and Louisiana, but you are opposed to it from North Carolina ?—A. I say I am in favor of it from other States if they are oppressed there, and I am opposed to it from North Carolina, because I know they are not oppressed.

Q. Well, you are opposed to it from North Carolina. Now how is it with respect to Louisiana ?—A. I am in favor of it from there when they are oppressed.

Q. And you do not know that they are oppressed ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you are in doubt as to whether you are in favor of it or not ?—A. If they are oppressed in those States, I am in favor of it.

Q. Do you know whether you are opposed to it from those States ?—A. I am opposed to it when they are not oppressed, and in favor of it when they are.

Q. Do you know whether they are oppressed or not ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you now in favor of it ?—A. I am when they are oppressed.

Senator WINDOM. I shall not put the question any more, unless the chairman would insist that the witness shall answer.

The WITNESS. I do not know anything about their oppressions there.

Q. Do you know whether you are opposed to it ?—A. I am in favor of it where they are oppressed, and not in favor of it where they are not oppressed.

Mr. WINDOM insisted that the witness should answer the question in some more specific form.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can think of any other form of answer please do so.

The WITNESS. I will try.

Q. Have you any opinion to give this committee at this time upon the subject of the exodus from other States than North Carolina ?—A. No, sir.

Q. For what reason do you decline to express an opinion ?—A. Because I have not seen or heard anything about the exodus from those States for a length of time, and because I am just from North Carolina, where I am familiar with it.

Q. Then you have not any information on which to say that you are or are not in favor of the exodus from Louisiana and Mississippi ?—A. No, so.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Why could you not have answered me in that way ?—A. I did.

Q. Then you do not know anything of the facts ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you have no opinion about it ? When you joined the society what did you know ?—A. It was to aid the fleeing negroes from Mississippi and Louisiana.

Q. Why ?—A. Because they said they were being oppressed.

Q. For what were they leaving Mississippi ?—A. They said they were being shot and oppressed.

Q. When was that ?—A. In August last, I think.

Q. If they were being done in that way at that time has there anything occurred to change the status of affairs ?—A. I think, sir, after the first exodus took place there have been no more outrages committed.

Q. Then you were in favor of it at that time ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And thought it was a good thing ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, the next point is you left the society organized to help them because Mendenhall thought they should be sent from North Carolina to Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew no one else in the society who favored that but him ?—A. I thought that was giving the society a political purpose.

Q. And therefore you left it ?—A. I have stated that.

Q. I do not think you put it on that specific ground.—A. I think I did.

Q. Who else in this society favored it ?—A. There were others in the society in favor of it, I suppose.

Q. What makes you think so ?—A. By their speeches and conduct.

Q. Who made any speeches?—A. That I do not propose to answer.

Q. Are the speeches secrets?—A. No, sir, not specially.

Q. Now what speeches did you hear?—A. I heard them speaking and talking, but I left there after the third night.

Q. Is it not true that you and Mendenhall were the only ones who spoke?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then you left?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And I suppose you know nothing of anything else that occurred on that subject?—A. No, sir. These other matters were private conversations.

Q. You opposed their going from North Carolina to Indiana because you thought they were better off in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say the Democratic party in North Carolina is opposed to their going on account of their love for them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not say so?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you not say the people down there loved the negro?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I say you did, too, and the minutes will show it.—A. I stated that they liked them better down there than they do in the North.

Q. Did you not give that as a reason why they opposed the negroes leaving?—A. Yes, sir; because they liked them, and think there is no necessity for their moving away.

Q. And they think that the negro will not improve his condition, but make it worse?—A. I do not know how they all feel about that, but I think so.

Q. I mean the white people.—A. I have not talked with many of them about it. I know the white newspapers are all opposed to it.

Q. On what ground?—A. Because they say they do not think there is any necessity for the removal of the colored people, and they think they are getting along very well in North Carolina. The negro has lived there all his life, and they need his labor. They have all those things stated in the papers, but I have not talked with any Democrats about politics since 1872.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You confine your statement to North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you known of these misrepresentations by Perry, Williams, and Evans?—A. I do not know anything about them. Of course I learned what I know about them from others. I get information from the newspapers published by both white and colored people. Being an editor of one myself, I exchange with every paper in the eastern part of the State.

Q. Did not the first load of emigrants from there go through here last July?—A. I do not remember.

Q. Well, the agitation must have been worked up before to get these people to leave.—A. Yes, sir; it began last spring.

Q. Then these stories must have been circulated last spring?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these three men were then engaged in it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Going round through the State working up the feeling?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have the newspapers, white and colored, been opposed to it?—A. Some time during the fall, when the papers began to speak of it.

Q. Early in the fall?—A. Yes, sir; in September or October.

Q. Very soon after the first company left, and after the misrepresentations began to be found out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And, so far as you know, the entire white and colored papers, Republican and Democratic, are opposed to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have been engaged in exploding these statements?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And, so far as you know, all the means of public intelligence have been engaged since August in in exploding these statements and giving proper information to the people?—A. Yes, sir; all of them.

Q. Speakers and others have gone among them for that purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And have opposed the exodus?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these local sources of information are the sources to which the colored people would be likely to look for the truth?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they would believe what they saw coming from their friends, from the press and the clergy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That being the case, and having been the case for some time, it cannot be possible that the delusion continues, can it?—A. Well, right there, Senator—

Q. Answer the question, and do not make a speech. I ask, with all this information, with all the agencies of the State, all the avenues of information engaged in exploding these stories, in dissipating the delusion, have you any knowledge that it does still exist?—A. I have not.

Q. We sympathize, I believe, on political matters, Mr. Otey; but I want to know, if the emigration continues after the delusion is exploded, does it not follow that it is based on accurate information?—A. I can answer you, but you will not allow me.

Q. Your colored people down there are human beings?—A. Yes, sir; but they have false information.

Q. But the false information has been dissipated, and the emigration continues; if it has not stopped, is not that good proof that it is based on accurate information?—A. The people who are emigrating do not know anything of this; they are the most ignorant people in the State. There are not more than fifty intelligent men who have gone West out of twenty-five hundred or three thousand people.

Q. Take the ignorant colored men of the South, and whom do they most believe in; their friends who have a home influence with them, or these scoundrels who lie to them under the guise of humanity?—A. They do not know that a lie has been told to them yet.

Q. You mean they do not know that all this talk about Indiana is a lie?—A. No, sir. They have just gone ahead like sheep; three-fifths of them go because others have gone before them, because their friends have gone.

Q. They have gone because their friends have gone?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have they heard from their friends very generally?—A. Most of them have, I believe.

Q. Their friends have been out there and found it as represented, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir; I think that the first batch has generally had a pretty fair time.

Q. Well, there have been several batches gone; how long does the mail take to go back from there?—A. Several days.

Q. The last batch went in December, didn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then they have been there long enough to have been heard from; there has been opportunity for it, has there not?—A. I do not know, sir, whether they have been heard from or not.

Q. If these people were ignorant of the truth, and after getting there

could not get along any better than in North Carolina, and were abused there even worse and were not actually doing better, wouldn't they write back about it?—A. Yes, sir; it is supposable that they would.

Q. Would they have any interest in deceiving their folks at home?—A. No, sir.

Q. Wouldn't it be reasonable for them to write home whether they were better off or not; and, if so, to tell their friends to come out there?—A. Yes, sir; that is reasonable.

Q. If the exodus continues—and you seem to be apprehensive that it will—if it continues, isn't it likely it will be upon information from these people of the same class who have been out there and written home about it?—A. It looks reasonable.

Q. If it be a fact that these men went there under a delusion, expecting to find a paradise and finding a tophet, wouldn't you think they would write to their friends that all was not right, and they had better stay where they were?—A. A good many of them have done so, but very few of them can write.

Q. Don't it follow that if a few do write home that they are worse off than they were, wouldn't a large number of them write that they are better?—A. Those letters are not proven yet. I stated that those who went out with the first batch might do so. So might some of them gotten employment and written home.

Q. Can there be any doubt that if the exodus continues it is because those who have gone there write home to their friends that they are better off than they were in North Carolina?—A. All of them do not say so; there may be exceptions.

Q. But doesn't it follow that the exodus would not continue except upon information that those who had already gone were better off than they were down in North Carolina?—A. I do not know, sir, that it follows. I know one of the most intelligent persons who went in the last batch wrote a letter—my business manager had the paper—in which he said that they were not well received, and were worse off than they could possibly be in North Carolina; I went there to ask for the paper to bring it here to the committee, but he told me he had sent it to Senator Voorhees. That is a letter from one of the most intelligent men who went out there.

Q. You mean that is a letter written by one of those people back to North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it got from North Carolina here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think it would have its effect as far as it could to refute these misstatements?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think any other intelligent colored man would write the same way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think all of them would?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think they would have any interest in deceiving those of their friends who remained at home?—A. No, sir.

Q. But you think that if this exodus continues on such information from these people it would be an argument that most of them write home that they are doing better in Indiana than they were in North Carolina?—A. No, sir. Let me have a chance to answer you. I was going to talk to you of a woman who was in the streets of Alexandria begging money to get back home, and she was coming back from Indiana.

Q. But I am now asking you about letters received from these people in Indiana. If the exodus continues upon the strength of letters received from those who have gone before, don't you consider it an argument

that they are doing better in Indiana than they did in North Carolina ? —A. That I cannot say.

Q. I ask you if it is not reasonable to say that most of the information received is that their condition is better ?—A. Will you let me have a little time to answer you ?

Q. No, sir ; you can say "Yes" or "No"; you answer my questions. [The witness objected to answering without opportunity for explaining his answer.]

Q. (By Senator BLAIR.) I want to ask you this question, and if you desire to make an explanation after answering you have the right to do so: If the exodus continues on the information of those who have been there and seen the country, if it continues upon such information, isn't it a proof that the condition of the colored man is better than in North Carolina ?—A. If they have received this information it would tend in that direction. If it continues on such information it would seem to be all right. My opinion is that these people have not received this information, but are following each other like sheep. While you see these statements made in newspapers about their condition, they are not all of them true. I have been abused for talking about what I have read in Democratic newspapers, but if you will look in those papers you will find letters giving a different view of their condition there. Not more than two weeks ago a colored woman was right here in Alexandria in the streets who had been fooled away from home, and she had walked back, and was seeking to borrow money to get back home. A good many of them have gone out there and are going to be kept out there; I do not know what for, but they will be kept there I am satisfied, and will be induced to make good reports of their condition.

Q. Are you going to answer my question ? I ask you if you thought it was going to continue ?—A. No, sir ; not at all.

Q. You say the Democratic papers published these statements, and that the Republican and colored papers in the South are doing the same ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you state whether you were ever in Indiana ? Just answer "yes" or "no."—A. I never was.

Q. Do you know what an ordinary hand, from your own personal knowledge, can get for a day's work in that State ?—A. I do not know myself.

Q. Do you know anything about it ?—A. I know there are more tramps in Indiana than there are in all the South.

Q. How do you know it ?—A. I know it from the newspapers.

Q. I am not asking you for defamatory articles against the State of Indiana. I do not want you to answer anything more than what I ask you for. Do you know the amount of wages paid to laborers in Indiana ?—A. I do not.

Q. How do you know they do not get a dollar or a dollar and a half a day ?—A. I do not know it.

Q. You do not know but that this information that these men have received is correct ?—A. I do not know it ; but I do not believe it.

Q. Don't you believe that they can get from sixty cents to a dollar a day for labor ?—A. Do you mean all of them ?

Q. I mean a good average hand.—A. Men ?

Q. Yes ; can't men get from sixty cents to a dollar a day each ?—A. If they can get employment, I suppose they can.

Q. Don't you believe that they can do it ?—A. I have got no belief about it.

Q. Then have you any information to the contrary ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why, then, do you denounce this movement if you have no belief about it, and don't know but that they are better off in Indiana than in North Carolina?—A. I do not think any man ought to leave one place and go to another when he is doing well and cannot better himself by going.

Q. But you say you do not know that he is not bettering himself. You say you have no belief on it?—A. I said I have no belief about the wages they are receiving.

Q. Then you do not know but that they are as well off generally, except as to wages in Indiana, as in North Carolina?—A. Well, sir, if they are not more than just as well off, I would oppose the movement.

Q. Do you believe they have got as good a chance to go to school in Indiana as in North Carolina?—A. I do not believe they have got any better.

Q. You believe they can get six months' schooling in Indiana; six months is better than three, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If they can get six months in Indiana and only get three in North Carolina—if that is a fact, are they not better off?—A. Yes, sir; in that regard, if that is a fact.

Q. You do not know but that is a fact?—A. I do.

Q. How do you know it?—A. I know in the country you have three four months' schooling, and in the cities six and eight months.

Q. How do you know it if you have never been in Indiana?—A. Because I lived in Ohio, right adjoining it, and I know something about it.

Q. Don't you believe that the chance for schooling is better in Indiana than it is in North Carolina?—A. I think the chances in North Carolina are equaled but not surpassed in Indiana or elsewhere.

Q. You think, then, in the matter of schooling they are as well off in Indiana as in North Carolina?—A. I believe they are at present.

Q. At present? What do you mean by that?—A. Yes, sir; I say at present, because I believe they will have as good schools and as many of them after a year or two in North Carolina as they would get anywhere in the North.

Q. You do not know, you say, what wages they are getting?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you believe they are getting better wages than they do in North Carolina?—A. I do not know that they are at present.

Q. I take it the fact is that you do not know very much about how they are situated in Indiana, and cannot give any better basis for your opinion than your general guess-work and impression.—A. I would not oppose it, except with good reason for it.

Q. This paper, the Argus, is your paper, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In this issue of December 6th, 1879, I find the following:

"Capt. O. S. B. Wall deserves great credit for his untiring energy and interest in behalf of the fleeing emigrants from the Southern States. The captain has worked hard for the past three or four months, in getting transportation for those who have come here from the Southern States. We have a high opinion of Captain Wall, and at some future time we propose to have more to say about him. He is a public benefactor."

WITNESS. Well, I agree to that. He helped them after they got here. I would have done the same myself, if I had had any money.

Q. Have you anything to say against what has been actually done by the Emigrant Aid Society?—A. I do not know anything against the society.

Q. You believe the purpose for which it was organized to be a good one?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it has adhered closely to the original purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In short, you believe it is a good society?—A. So far as its object is concerned. I drew up its constitution, and they only formed another one last week. The object of the society was to help men fleeing from oppression.

Q. I did not ask you its object, or who drew up its constitution. I asked you if the acts of the society—what it has done—have not been of a worthy character; non-political, and such as you approve of?—A. So far as I know, yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Otey, as a North Carolinian, I have been gratified to hear how you speak of that State. You have, however, made one statement that you will perhaps correct when your attention is directed to it; you made it laughingly, and probably did not mean exactly what you said. I refer to your statement that the law for confining men guilty of larceny in the penitentiary was made for the purpose of disfranchising colored men. Now I ask you, was not the change in the old law, doing away with the whipping-post and abolishing corporal punishment, made in 1868 by the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was not the constitution, abolishing all corporal punishment and substituting imprisonment instead, made by the Republican party when the State was readmitted to the Union?—A. Yes, sir. But the law making felony out of a petty crime was made by the Democratic party—by a Democratic legislature.

Q. It was always a felony in North Carolina, under the common law, to steal, was it not?—A. I know that it was always a felony to steal; but it was not always the law to put them into the penitentiary for stealing every little thing. In former times they would hang a man for stealing a horse, or a mule, and whip him for stealing a hog.

Q. Did not conviction of felony in old times disqualify a man for citizenship?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when a man was whipped, did not that disqualify a man for citizenship?—A. Yes, sir; but they were never whipped; I mean, free men, who had a right to vote, were not; of course slaves were. But a man, if he stole a mule, was put in jail for so long a time; and if he stole two mules, he was hung.

Q. For the second offense, you mean?—A. Yes; for the second offense he was hung. But now they send him to the penitentiary if he steals a chicken—the same as they do in Virginia. And I do honestly believe that that law was made for the purpose of disfranchising colored men.

Q. Do you think the men who legislated upon the subject, the men who made that law, had that object in view?—A. I don't know whether they did or not, but it looks very much like it. I know I went through the penitentiary, only a short time ago, and I saw a great many white men there, and only a few colored men.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You say you went through the penitentiary?—A. Yes, sir; I was not there as a convict.

Q. I did not mean to insinuate anything of the kind. You say you saw a large number of white men in the penitentiary, and but few colored men?—A. Yes, sir; and I was going on to explain how it happened. I saw more white men in the penitentiary than colored men,

not because there were not so many white men there, but because the colored men were hired out to the railroad companies.

Q. You say that, in your belief, this law was made on purpose to disfranchise colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Explain how it produces that result; what is done under it?—A. Well, suppose a man steals a chicken; he is brought up before the police court, and his case is sent to the grand jury; he is there indicted; he goes before the court and is tried and convicted to the penitentiary; he goes there, and serves his term out. If he serves his term out, and is not pardoned by the governor, he is disfranchised and cannot vote again while he lives. Only, black men look so much alike that you can't tell the difference, so they do vote, any way.

Q. But you believe the law was passed for the purpose of disfranchising the colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What about the hiring out of colored men on the railroads?—A. It is the same there that it is in Virginia; the colored men in the penitentiary are hired out to work on the railroads, the white men are not. The white men stay in the shops, and make shoes, and do other indoor work. The colored men, the few who are kept at the penitentiary, are kept cutting stone to build the walls for their imprisonment, or some work of that sort. But the most of them are sent out to work for the railroad companies. A great many are sent out to the Western North Carolina Railroad.

Q. Is not this also a fact, that the white convicts in the penitentiary are there for very much more serious crimes, as a general rule, than the colored ones?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A colored man, you say, is sent to prison for stealing a chicken?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are sent there for very slight matters; is not that a pretty common thing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How is it with white men? Would they be sent to the penitentiary for stealing a chicken?—A. Yes, sir; if prosecuted. But they generally don't steal such small amounts.

Q. They generally steal larger amounts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the hardship comes in that way?—A. Yes, sir; that is it.

Q. The negro, as a race, is guilty of far less heinous offenses than white men, and yet suffers the same severity of punishment?—A. Yes, sir. If a colored man steals a chicken he is put in the penitentiary for a year; if a white man steals a horse, he goes to the penitentiary for five or ten years; if he steals two horses—that is, for the second offense—he is put in there for life.

Q. Do you know of any instance where white men have been disfranchised on account of having committed petty offenses?—A. I don't associate with ex-convicts, and don't know anything about it.

Q. I did not mean to intimate that you were a convict; but you spoke a few minutes ago about going through a penitentiary and seeing a good many white men there, and but few colored men. From what you learned there, or in any other way, do you know of any white men ever being disfranchised for petty offenses?—A. I could not tell whether those white men were disfranchised or not, for I didn't know anything about it.

Mr. VANCE. The conviction of felony itself disfranchises the convict.

The WITNESS. Conviction to the penitentiary disqualifies a man from voting, unless he is pardoned out by the governor two days or a month before the expiration of his term.

Mr. VANCE. But his right of franchise can be restored.

The WITNESS. Yes; by an act of the legislature.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you know of any colored man who had been convicted to the penitentiary?—A. No; nor white man either.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Have you said anything yet to show that the law of which we are speaking was passed for the purpose of disfranchising colored men?—A. I still hold that the law was made to disfranchise colored men.

Q. I do not see how you have yet made it appear?—A. It appears clear enough to me. For instance—I hate to say it, and I say it to my own shame, and that of my own people, but these laws against petty larceny operates more hardly against colored people than white people everywhere, and especially in the South. Many of the colored people are very poor and have nothing to live on. They have been brought up in such a way that they are almost taught to steal, as well as compelled to by their poverty. But if they do steal anything, however small, they are sent to the penitentiary, and that disfranchises them. And I believe—of course I do not know, but I *believe*—that the law was passed for the purpose of disfranchising us.

Q. Do you not think it may have been done also with an idea of appropriating the avails of their labors, for very slight offenses in some cases?—A. I don't know how that might be.

Q. Are these men a source of profit to the railroads?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do the railroads pay the State for the labor of the men?—A. The State is paid for their labor, but not more than their support amounts to.

Q. Then the railroad gets the benefit of their labor?—A. I do not know about that. I know the State has to pay for the guards who guard them while working on the railroad.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You intimated in your testimony that white men are not sent to work on railroads?—A. I may have said that, but in fact I do not know; I meant to say that I never saw any, and never knew of any being sent out. I know they said there were three hundred and fifty colored men in that penitentiary, and I did not see more than ten colored men there; but I saw about a hundred white men there making shoes, clothing, &c.; and the man who took me around said—and he was a white man and a Democrat—he said that the reason of it was that the white men were hired out to work on the railroads.

Q. Did you hear any complaints of ill-treatment of men on the railroads or public works?—A. No, sir. On the 1st of January I went on an excursion, and saw people from all parts of the State, from Goldsboro and Weldon and Greensboro and other places; I talked with the people generally, and they made no complaint whatever. The only thing they said to me was they begged me to come and live there; and I saw such prosperity that I had a great desire to settle there, and if I hadn't been married I think I would have staid there.

Q. Do you not know that in the constitution, which provides that convict labor may be hired out, there is also a provision that they shall be superintended by a responsible State official and are under his constant supervision, so that they are not in the hands of irresponsible contractors?—A. I know that the men who guard them are paid by the State government.

Q. They are simply working for the railroads under the supervision of a State official?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JULIUS A. BONITZ.

JULIUS A. BONITZ sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. State your residence and occupation?—Answer. I reside at Goldsboro; I am editor and proprietor of the Goldsboro Messenger, and have been for the past thirteen years.

Q. Goldsboro is about the center of this movement of the colored people to the West?—A. Yes, sir; a large number of 'exodusters' have left my section.

Q. You are acquainted with the region from which they come, the circumstances and condition of the people, &c.?—A. Yes, sir; intimately.

Q. Be good enough to state to the committee your impressions, and the facts upon which they are based, as to the reason of the exodus—whether it arises from natural laws and causes of migration, or from political oppression, or from the injustice of their white fellow-citizens, or what?—A. It is difficult to get at the reasons. I see no reason why they should leave North Carolina. There is certainly no political oppression there. My paper, I believe, has the largest circulation of any in the district; I may safely say it is considered the leading paper in the district; in fact, the leading paper in East North Carolina—that is, east of Raleigh. I have endeavored in vain to discover any reason why the colored people should leave North Carolina. Furthermore, I find, so far as my acquaintance goes, that those who have left my section are of a roving, migratory disposition. They look upon the prospect of a journey North as a grand excursion. If the movement had continued as it began, several thousands, perhaps, would have left, where only a hundred has gone now. It has had a very demoralizing effect upon the laborer in our section. Just at present there is a lull in the exodus; hundreds, perhaps thousands, are uneasy, undecided, unsettled. A very little would induce them to go. The return of a few who left to go to Indiana has caused a lull, and it remains to be seen what the future will be.

As I said, there is no apparent cause for their going. I think Mr. Otey's evidence is correct and Mr. O'Hara's evidence is correct when they say that, so far as the condition of the colored people are concerned, there is no oppression in North Carolina. It is true that in my section, and throughout the eastern portion of the State, only perhaps one-tenth of the white population are Republicans, and the other nine-tenths are Democrats, while the colored population are Republicans, solid. At the same time, the colored men are allowed to vote as they please, to work for what wages they choose and for whom they please, and to do as they please—of course always within the laws of the State.

The first intimation I had of this exodus, some meetings were got up in our section and in Lenoir County, under the auspices of Sam Perry and Williams—I do not remember Williams' first name or initials. They were holding meetings in that section for some months. These meetings began in the spring, and continued during the summer. At these meetings incendiary speeches were made; the unpleasant features of life in North Carolina were dwelt upon and exaggerated, while Indiana was pictured as a perfect paradise for colored men. Letters were read from Indiana, stating that the colored people there were treated just like white men; that colored laborers were permitted to sit at the same table with their white employers; that their children were allowed to go to school with the children of white men. They were told that they could get from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day for their labor. I have

been informed that this was what was told the colored men at these meetings; I never attended one of them myself. I speak from common report. I have seen papers printed, and have myself printed circulars upon the subject; I have printed notices for Taylor Evans, calling these meetings; I did all his printing at one time. A number of societies were organized in the interests of this exodus movement. There was one organization at Stony Creek; another at Bear Creek; and other organizations at other places in the county. I am informed that the Stony Creek organization had a membership of over a thousand.

I do not know so much about the organizations in Lenoir County. I know nothing of them except by report.

It seems that these men, at least Perry, required the colored people to pay a fee, and I think he visited Indiana; at least he visited Washington; whether he visited Indiana or not I do not know, but I know he came here. On his return to La Grange, he of course did everything in his power to influence the colored people to go to Indiana. In one township there was scarcely a colored man left in the township, or woman, or child, but what was talking about going, and anxious to go, or at least contemplated going. I think that inducements were offered them; I was told they were promised that their fare would be paid; at any rate, that it was desirable that they should pay their fare as far as Washington City, and on arriving here their expenses would be paid to Indiana, and on arriving in Indiana they would be supplied with homes and labor.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Have you been present at any of these meetings, or conversed with anybody in regard to what occurred at them?—A. I have not been at any of the meetings, but I have seen colored men who have been there; I have seen one colored man that quit the meetings, because he did not agree with the spirit of the organization.

Q. Explain the condition of the colored people in your section, the average price of labor, and the opportunities of the colored men to do well.—A. The condition of the colored population in our section has greatly improved, both morally and otherwise. I will speak first of educational facilities. They are as good as those of the whites. I speak of their free schools; of course the whites have better educational facilities in the shape of colleges, though the colored people have a college at Raleigh. I am chairman of the school committee in my own town and township, having in my charge both the white and colored schools, and have been for several years. I have made arrangements with a man named Jones, who represents a society of Friends in the North—I think it is called the Freedmen's Aid Society—who supplies one teacher. I have employed three excellent teachers, all colored, and we have a school in operation eight or ten months in the year, in which between two hundred and three hundred children are taught. I visited the school last week, and then found that they had an average attendance of two hundred and sixty six. There are four teachers, three of whom are employed by my committee and paid by the State. The money that is necessary to keep the school in operation is raised by taxation. By the constitution of the State seventy-five per cent. of the poll-tax goes to the school fund, and the schools are principally supported from the poll-tax. For instance, in Wayne County last year \$2,153.46 was raised for school purposes. In my own county I have made an estimate that about two thousand dollars in all are raised on taxes for school purposes from the colored people, while the expense of the county for car-

rying on the colored schools is about \$3,300, thirteen hundred dollars of which, therefore, must of course be paid from the taxes upon the white people. The Democratic legislature has established a normal school at Fayetteville, with an annual appropriation of two thousand dollars, which receives assistance from the public fund and other sources. The object of this school is to qualify colored people to become teachers of their race. This school will receive, I am confident, the best encouragement from the white people of the State, the Democratic party in particular.

I am also director of the asylum for the colored insane of the State; in fact, I am one of the building committee, and secretary of the board of directors. We are now building at Goldsborough, and will have ready for occupancy by the middle of March, the main part and one wing of a building that, when built, will cost between sixty and seventy thousand dollars. The appropriation was made at your suggestion, governor [referring to Governor Vance]. We have already expended, including contracts given out, about forty-three thousand dollars. When this portion of the building is completed, there will be accommodations for about a hundred and twenty-five insane persons—colored insane, of course; no others are admitted. As soon as the legislature meets again another appropriation of twenty thousand dollars will be made for the completion of the other wing. The building is a creditable three-story building. We have now completed, besides the offices, reception rooms, &c., one hundred and twenty-five rooms or wards for patients. The building is supplied with all the modern improvements. The heating apparatus, laundry, and water fixtures cost eleven thousand dollars. We congratulate ourselves that we made our contract when building material was remarkably cheap; the portion that we are to have built for forty-three thousand dollars, if the contract were to be made now, could not be built for less than sixty thousand dollars. It is estimated that we have two hundred insane in the State.

So much for educational facilities and the comfort of the unfortunate.

Q. Give the committee an idea of the average price of wages, what colored people can make by cropping for themselves on shares, &c. ?—

A. Well, governor, that, as you know, depends very much on the industry and capacity of the laborer, among black men as well as white. The wages for ordinary farm labor is from seven to ten dollars a month; some excellent hands receive twelve dollars a month.

Q. With rations found ?—A. Yes; with rations found—supplies for a week's support—and a house and fire wood furnished. I have a colored man in my employ whom I have paid ten dollars a month for the past twelve or thirteen years. Colored mechanics find no trouble in getting employment; and we have some excellent mechanics among the colored people—carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, bricklayers, buggy-makers—in fact, almost every trade is represented.

Q. What are about the average wages of these mechanics ?—A. Well, they can make from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day; good hand find no difficulty in getting a dollar and a half a day. I have paid that myself, again and again.

Q. Is there any discrimination shown in favor of white mechanics, as against colored ones ?—A. Not the least; if any discrimination is shown it is the other way. Indeed, I have heard complaints on the part of white mechanics that colored mechanics could get work when they could not. A good deal of jealousy on this point has been manifested on the part of some. Being the editor of a newspaper, such

things come to me more frequently than they would to the most of persons. I have known white mechanics, who were Democrats, complain because Democrats employed colored mechanics, who did not vote the Democratic ticket, in preference to them.

Q. Is there any discrimination in the matter of renting lands?—A. None whatever. I speak advisedly and knowingly when I say that the majority of planters prefer reliable colored tenants to the ordinary white tenants. So far as there is any discrimination it is in favor of the colored man and against the white man. Of course, colored men who are known to be industrious and good managers are preferred to the lazy and negligent ones; but the same thing is true of white men.

Q. What are the usual terms upon which land is rented?—A. One-fourth is the usual rent—the landlord gets one-fourth, I mean.

Q. Who furnishes supplies?—A. The landlord furnishes supplies, and horses or mules, &c., with which to put in the crop and carry on the work. The supplies are charged, and of course deducted from the crop. If he has sufficient means to make his own crop, of course all that he raises, except the one-fourth for rent, is his.

Q. And his profits depend not only upon his industry, but upon his extravagance in the use of his supplies while the crop is growing?—A. Yes, sir. I know a colored man living near Mount Olive, twelve miles from Goldsborough, who is the owner of three hundred and sixteen acres of land. His name is Calvin Simmons. He has, within the last year or two, finished paying for the plantation. He bought it some years ago, on long time, at the rate of ten dollars an acre. He paid for it himself—and his boys—with what they raised off from it. More than that, I have got it from his own mouth that he cleared, within the last year, nearly five hundred dollars on his crop. I don't remember the exact number of years it has taken him to pay for it. I know a number of instances in which colored men have bought lands upon the same terms, and paid for them, and now have them for homes of their own. In my own town there is a man named William Bernard, who owns a fine house and lot. Not long ago I offered him a thousand dollars for his place; but he refused it, on the ground that he did not need the money. It is well located, a valuable piece, and increasing in value every year.

Q. In your observation, and extensive acquaintance, is there anything in the laws of the State, or in the business customs of the community, or in the practices and methods of labor, or anything of that kind, to prevent the colored men doing as well as the white men in North Carolina?—A. No discrimination has come within my knowledge. If there is any discrimination it is in behalf of the colored people.

Q. You say that the landlords as a general rule prefer good colored tenants?—A. Yes, sir; there is no doubt of that.

Q. White men do not get any better terms than colored men?—A. No, sir; none at all.

Q. And sometimes white mechanics have complained that colored mechanics are given the preference?—A. Yes, sir. Being editor of a paper, and chairman of the Democratic county central committee at the same time, I have heard this complaint frequently. They have come to me with reproaches, saying, "Why, I vote the Democratic ticket, and here is a negro who votes the Republican ticket, and he can get work of you Democrats when I cannot."

Q. Is there any feeling of hostility on the part of white men toward the colored men; any disposition to oppress or "bulldoze" them, as it is sometimes called?—A. I have not heard of anything of the sort. I have been in political life for fourteen years, and within that time I have

not heard of any disturbance. There has been no social disturbance in my section. I have heard, of course, of some prejudice amongst the lower classes—the same as you will find in the north. But so far as intelligent white men are concerned, they all feel kindly toward the colored man, and are disposed to help and encourage him. In saying this I speak knowingly. So far as “bulldozing” is concerned, I do not know whether I apprehend your meaning.

Q. I mean, for instance, whether you know of landlords using their power as landlords to compel their tenants to vote as they desire them to; or white men in any way compelling or trying to compel colored men to vote their ticket?—A. If there is any bulldozing it is on the part of colored men.

Q. In what way?—A. I have known cases where colored men have compelled other colored men to vote the Republican ticket, contrary to their wishes; that is, have brought compulsory influence to bear upon them sufficient to accomplish that purpose. I have known instances where colored men have said to me, voluntarily, that they were going to vote the Democratic ticket; but when election day came they turned around and voted the Republican ticket. Some of these men were in my employ. They would come to me, unsolicited, and tell me they were going to vote the Democratic ticket, but on election day would vote the Republican ticket. And the reason they would give was this: These white Republicans have had what they call their “strickers” out, who have said to these colored men who were about to vote the Democratic ticket, you must not do so; you must vote the Republican ticket. And sometimes his colored associates would say that; or his preacher or his wife. And those two agencies are frequently resorted to to keep the colored men in the Republican party. The only bulldozing I know is of that sort. If a colored man were to vote the Democratic ticket he would be ostracized among his race, if not actually mobbed; he would be turned out of the church and divorced from his wife.

Q. Do you know of any unjust discrimination against colored people in the courts?—A. My observation has been considerable in that respect, as in other matters. I have attended the courts of different counties in my part of the State. In my own county I know of no instance where a colored man has been imposed upon by a white man. Of course, ordinary bar-room fracas and affrays have occurred; but such things occur among the trifling classes of both races everywhere; and yet, we have not had many of these. In fact, in those that we have had, do not understand me to charge the blame upon the colored people any more than upon the white, and perhaps not so much. We have, I am happy to say, a most excellent colored element in my section—peaceable and industrious. To show that the colored people are not imposed upon by the whites, I will relate these facts: We have had, within the last thirteen years, eleven or twelve murders in my county. Five white men and one white woman have been killed; the other murders have been among the colored people—that is, colored persons have been killed by colored persons. In those cases where white persons were killed, the murderers were colored persons, or the evidence directly pointed to the murderers being colored men; but in no single instance in thirteen years has a colored person been killed by a white person.

Q. Five white men and one white woman have been killed by colored men?—A. Yes, sir; some of the murderers have been apprehended, and some have made their escape; but it was known who they were.

Q. I will ask you, while you are upon that point, to relate briefly the circumstances connected with the “Worley” murder.—A. The one in connec-

tion with which rape was supposed to be perpetrated—O, yes. The community is really under many obligations to the colored element for their activity in bringing those murderers to justice. It was the most atrocious murder ever committed in our State. The victims consisted of a father, mother, and three infant children. They were tenants in a neighborhood known as "The Islands," that had previously been occupied and inhabited altogether by colored people. The land is owned by a Mr. Atkinson, who concluded that he would make a change and settle some white tenants on some of his land, and did so. It seems that on that account some jealousy or hostility arose among some of the colored tenants toward these white tenants. That is one report of the origin of the trouble. Another report is that one of these colored men had frequently made remarks that this man's wife was a mighty pretty woman, was too good for her husband, and that he certainly must become acquainted with her. That was the evidence adduced on trial. The murder was committed some time in the night; the first that was known of the murder was that the husband and wife were found next morning, both murdered. The three children—one a child four years old, the next not quite three, and the other an infant a few months old—were left during a cold February night, without any fire, in a lonely log cabin, with the father outside and the mother right at the back steps, both with their brains knocked out and their corpses terribly mangled; there was none to guard the children except a faithful watch-dog. For a long time it was impossible to obtain any clue to the murderers; it was a perfect mystery what could have been the inducement or provocation to such a terrible crime. A post-mortem examination showed that Mrs. Worley had been outraged before she was killed. Of course the entire community was terribly excited, and most justly so. The murdered persons had been peaceable, unoffending citizens, in the humblest walks of life, as poor as they could possibly be; so the murder could not have been committed for the purpose of obtaining any money from them. Every effort was made to ferret out the guilty parties. The colored people, no doubt, felt their responsibility in the matter—the better class in that section; and they requested and urged permission to organize a jury of inquest. This was readily granted by the sheriff; they were permitted to deputize other sheriffs, and to have all the facilities that a regularly organized court of inquest could have had. After working for a week or so they finally succeeded in getting a clue to what they supposed would lead to the apprehension of the guilty ones. The rest of the story was given in evidence when the case came to trial. A colored man named Jerry Cox was arrested on suspicion. At first he denied that he had had anything to do with it or knew anything about it; but when he saw that the net of circumstantial evidence which was woven around him seemed complete, these colored men finally succeeded in getting a confession from him; and the community is very thankful to these colored men that the guilty parties, this Jerry Cox, and three besides him, were finally brought to justice. They were tried, convicted, and hanged.

Q. Through the instrumentality of these colored men?—**A.** Yes, sir. We never would have succeeded in getting the evidence to convict the murderers but for them.

So far as the courts of justice are concerned, I think Mr. O'Hara's statements are correct in most particulars. There is no discrimination made between white men and colored men in our courts of justice. The great trouble seems to be to get reliable evidence before the jury; but that trouble arises without regard to the color of the party impli-

cated or on trial. The majority of colored witnesses do not seem to understand the nature of an oath; that is the great difficulty in our courts. Of course that is the kind of witnesses that are more generally put upon the stand by this class of criminals. Respectable colored men seldom, if ever, have any business in the courts. But in regard to color, I have known of no discrimination in our courts.

Q. Do you know of any discrimination in the infliction of punishment by judges?—A. I have not. If there is any discrimination, it is in favor of the colored men. I remember one striking instance of this. Two white men, it seems, had left Greenville to go home; they resided some distance in the country. They were evidently in liquor. On their way home they overtook or were overtaken by a couple of colored men. They got into a cutting scrape, and had a terrible row. Both were indicted for the affray. Our present governor, Mr. Jarvis, was attorney for the colored men; while Major Latham was the attorney for the white men. The white men were put on the stand, and swore that as they were going home, two colored men jumped out of an ambush and assaulted them. The colored men were put on the stand and swore to exactly the opposite; that they were on their way home, when the white men came up behind them and assaulted them. Both sides were ably defended. When the case was given to the jury, the jury acquitted the colored men and convicted the white men. The judge, a Democratic judge, then ordered that an indictment be found against the white men for perjury, on the testimony of the colored men.

I could cite numbers of instances of that kind. There was the case where William Bernard, a leading and influential Republican, who had made himself obnoxious to leading Democrats, but who had never been molested. He was charged with highway robbery upon an old man; the same old man died last week, seventy-nine years old. He was seventy-six years old at the time of the robbery—that was three years ago. The evidence against Bernard was the strongest evidence I ever heard. I published it at the time. Both white and black, that heard the evidence, expected his conviction. The jury consisted of white men; there was not a single colored man on the jury. I cite this to show that no political considerations enter our courts; for he was a leading obnoxious Republican; one of these “strikers,” ready to do any dirty work for the party that was needed. Yet, when the jury rendered their verdict, he was acquitted. They had their doubts, and they gave him the benefit of the doubt.

Another case was that where a colored man named Lewis Taylor was charged with killing Calvin Ethridge, a white man. There was no doubt that he had been hired to do the killing by two white men; in fact, the two white men employed counsel for him when his case came to trial. Intelligent white men on the other side employed counsel to prosecute Taylor. The case was removed from Wayne County to Duplin County—one of the strongest Democratic counties in the State. He was tried before a white jury, and the jury acquitted him. Here, again, there was a doubt in the minds of the jury, and the accused, although a colored man, was given the benefit of the doubt. Yet everybody to-day believes him guilty. That case cost the county more than twenty-five hundred dollars.

My friend Otey, here, of course speaks only from report when he says that white men who have been sentenced to the penitentiary are not sent out to work on the railroads. Now, I know of white men who have been sent to work on the railroads; I know of such a case in my own county. A white man named Nuchin was sentenced to the penitentiary

for five years, for stealing a pistol from a colored man named Winn. His wife was a very pitiable object, certainly deserving of charity; and I interested myself in his behalf, and succeeded in getting up a strong petition for his pardon; and the governor, with some reluctance, pardoned him. While he was in the penitentiary he was sent out to work on the Atkinson and Raleigh Railroad. He was the only white man pardoned out of the penitentiary by our governor here [indicating Governor Vance]; while three or more colored men were pardoned out by him, before the expiration of their term. I think you pardoned only one white man, governor?

Mr. VANCE. Yes, sir; and yet I think I was accused of being a little too liberal.—A. Yes, sir; the principal complaint against you on that score was in the case of Stephen Darden, who was sentenced to be hanged for burglary and attempt at rape. The governor commuted his punishment to imprisonment for life.

I wish to express, with your permission, the feeling of our people with regard to this exodus. Our white people, regardless of politics, are opposed to it. It is resulting in great demoralization to our labor. The colored man is the best laborer we can possibly find on the face of the earth.

Q. What is the opinion of the more intelligent and well-disposed colored men?—A. They, too, are opposed to it; I do not know of a leading colored man in my county that is working in the interest of this exodus movement. I cannot account for it. No intelligent man, of either race, can account for such a disposition to leave taking possession of our people. Leading white men, whether Democrats or Republicans, are opposed to the movement. Some Democrats, for political reasons, would be glad to have the colored people go; but those who are disinterested, of all parties, regard the exodus as a calamity to both whites and blacks, and advise the colored people not to go.

Q. You mentioned that the exodus had a demoralizing effect upon labor in your section; explain in what way.—A. I will give you one instance out of many that will show you. Needham Smith, a well-to-do farmer near Goldsboro', had a contract or agreement with three colored men to crop on his land this year. He supposed that he had succeeded in getting reliable and industrious tenants for the year. To my own knowledge he came to town and purchased a couple of mules for the parties, and implements with which to work the farm; for these they were to pay him, on time; he supposed that all was settled between him and the parties; they seemed to be perfectly satisfied. But on Saturday week, or Sunday week, I forget exactly which, they came and rather surprised him by telling him that they had made up their minds to go to Indiana, and requesting him to take back his mules and other things. Of course that caused him considerable expense and embarrassment. If he engages other men to work his land, there is no knowing when they will conclude to go to Indiana, too. That is an illustration of the demoralized condition into which our labor system has been thrown by this exodus movement. Our farmers don't know what to do—what preparations to make. There seems to be a lull in the exodus there—right in that vicinity—just now; but if it should receive a new start—a fresh impetus—there is no telling to what extent it might go before it would cease, or in what shape it might leave us. And it seems that no intelligent white men or colored men; Republicans or Democrats, have any means to stop it.

Q. Let me ask you in relation to the credulity of the colored people;

are they not suspicious of white people, as to what they may say on political subjects?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is not that suspicion carried into all the business of life?—A. Yes, sir. I think the greatest mistake that has been made by the Democrats of North Carolina in regard to the exodus has been this: if we had just advised them to go they would not have been so willing to go. We advised them not to go, and they at once suspected that we had some political purpose in view. Inasmuch as Democrats advised against the exodus, the colored people concluded that there must be something good in it.

Q. Are they not credulously disposed and much more prone to listen to a stranger, who comes to them talking philanthropy, than to believe men with whom they are acquainted?—A. Yes, sir. I have seen some of the papers circulated by this Taylor Evans. He lives in my town, and, as I said before, I did his printing for him for awhile. He has been for years a leader of the colored Republicans in our town and neighborhood. There are better men—a hundred times better men—among our colored people. But he is rather intelligent, shrewd, active, a good worker, and so manages to retain considerable influence over them. Men who want to be nominated to some petty office give him a suit of clothes or something, and he brings his men into line and does the work. I believe he helped count out my colored friend, Mr. O'Hara, here.

It seems that this man, Taylor Evans, has succeeded in getting employment from what he calls an Emigrant Aid Society. I have printed handbills for him, calling upon the colored people to meet and consider this exodus business. Meetings were held at various places in the county. At these meetings the people were told that they must leave North Carolina before May. They were told that if the Democrats should elect the next President the colored people would all have to leave North Carolina or go into slavery. All such rascally means were resorted to in order to induce the colored people to leave.

Q. You have given us the opinion of a large majority of the Democratic party, and of the more intelligent class of the colored people; what is the opinion of the white leaders of the Republican party in our State—such men as Governor Holden, and Governor Smith, and Colonel Humphrey?—A. I have conversed with Mr. Smith, and Mr. Humphrey, and Judge Stanton, and in fact with nearly all the Republican leaders of the State, and they express themselves unequivocally as being emphatically opposed to the colored people leaving our State. They hold that there is no occasion for their leaving; that the colored people have it in their own hands to elevate themselves where they are if they see fit to do so, and can make themselves as comfortable in North Carolina as in Indiana or any other State. But somehow they seem to have lost their influence over the class who are leaving. The other day, a short time before starting from home, I met an old dandy, sixty-three or sixty-four years old, who was preparing to emigrate. He had been farming on the lands of the Wootens, near La Grange. I asked him, "What are you going to Indiana for, as old as you are?" He answered, "I want to better myself." I replied, "Have you not been doing well enough?" He said, "I think I can do better in Indiana." I said, "How long have you been living on Wooten's land?" He said, "About seven years." I said, "How much land did you have there?" He said he did not know, but I knew, he had about sixteen acres. I said, "Wasn't it good land?" He said, "Yes." "And with a good house on it?" "Yes." "What rent did you pay?" I asked. He said, "I didn't pay any rent." "You have lived there seven years, and never paid any

rent?" "Yes." "And had your fire-wood free?" "Yes." "And now you want to go to Indiana to do better," I said. About this time Mr. Wooten came along; he had previously told me the terms upon which the old man was living on his place, and I said to him, "You ought to have given the old man a mule and a wagon, and hired somebody to chop his wood for him, and possibly he might have staid."

The other day—I think last week, Wednesday—a crowd of people left Goldsborough for the North, and at the cars I met the old man. I said to him, "You are making a sad mistake; I think you will regret this day's work as long as you live, for you are doing better here than you possibly can do in Indiana." His wife spoke up then and said, "That is exactly what I think about it." Then the old man said, "What do they want us to come for then? They wrote for us to come on. If we cannot do better there than here, why do they tell us so?"

Q. It is stated in a circular issued by the Emigrant Aid Society of this city that the colored people are not allowed to raise vegetables or anything else upon which they can subsist during the season, but are forced to procure their necessary supplies from their landlords at fancy prices. Do you know whether such is the case or not in North Carolina?—A. I know that nothing of the sort is true in North Carolina. I have no garden, as I live in the center of the city, where ground is valuable, and consequently almost entirely occupied by buildings. So I am of necessity compelled to buy vegetables, and I buy my vegetables from colored gardeners, who not only raise all they need for their own consumption, but all they wish for sale.

Q. Is there any prohibition at all on colored people keeping vegetable gardens?—A. None at all. Mr. Otey has spoken of the landlord and tenant system of North Carolina. The law in relation to that matter was first passed by a Republican legislature. It is similar to the laborer's or mechanic's lien. The laborer or mechanic is protected by his lien. If I employ a mechanic, whether white or colored, to build me a house, he can take a lien on the property. In a similar way the landlord is protected by this landlord and tenant act. It does not affect oppressively the honest man, either white or black. It protects one race as much as the other. It interferes only with such as wish to cheat their landlords.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say you are the editor of a Democratic paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been engaged in that occupation?—A. Thirteen years.

Q. Are you pretty well acquainted with the colored people of your district?—A. Very well.

Q. What is the number of the Congressional district in which you live?—A. The second.

Q. Are the colored men in that district all Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; except some few; in my own county there are, perhaps, not to exceed fifty colored men who vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. What is the Republican majority?—A. I think seven or eight hundred, white and black.

Q. How long since it has been represented in Congress by a Republican?—A. It has always been represented by a Republican until the present Congress.

Q. You mean commencing with the 4th of last March?—A. Yes, sir; since the State was redistricted, and up to the 4th of last March, the district has always been represented by a Republican.

Q. Who is the Representative in the Forty-sixth Congress?—A. Mr. Kitchen.

Q. Was he not in the last Congress—the Forty-fifth?—A. No, sir; Governor Brogden represented that district in the Forty-fifth Congress.

Q. You say the colored people have not much confidence in Democrats?—A. No, sir; I said not politically. Otherwise they come to them freely for advice, or favors, or assistance.

Q. In matters of business they look to them for advice?—A. Yes, sir; in everything except politics.

Q. Are they ready to take your advice in matters not political?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then why do you advance the theory that if the Democrats had advised them to go they would have staid?—A. I say now that they will take our advice in everything except political matters.

Q. But this is not political; it is industrial.—A. I think it has something of a political gloss to it.

Q. This, certainly, is a movement looking to their employment; and yet you have told us that if the Democrats had advised them to go they would have been more likely to stay.—A. I have said that they have not much faith in Democrats, in political matters.

Q. Is there any politics in that?—A. They look upon it in that light; they were told that they were wanted in Indiana to vote the Republican ticket.

Q. Who tells them that?—A. Some of their "strikers." The evidence we have is that the movement was first instigated by Republicans—whether leading Republicans or not I am not prepared to say.

Q. What is your information on that subject?—A. The first information I had was a paper that was placed in my hands, called the Green-castle Banner, in which the editor proposed to find homes for fifteen hundred colored immigrants in this State.

Q. Did it make any political suggestion in connection with that proposition?—A. I do not know that he did.

Q. That proposition was purely industrial?—A. It appeared so.

Q. No other reason was stated?—A. No, sir.

Q. Only that if they would come they would be furnished with homes?—A. That was the proposition.

Q. Was there any political suggestion there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where else did you obtain any information on this subject?—A. The correspondence these parties who are working up the exodus movement had with regard to it was with men who, I am informed, are Republicans.

Q. Did you hear of their offering the colored people any political inducements or giving them any political reasons why they should come to Indiana?—A. No, sir. I saw that one colored man, named C. A. Scott, was very cautious in his report; he said, "You can get a few dollars more wages in Indiana, but you will have to work harder; no idle time is allowed; you will not be indulged as you are in North Carolina." He evidently had not the courage to advise them to go. He said, "If you do go, you had better not go till spring."

Q. His report was, in substance, if you are industrious, and will go to Indiana, you can do well; but the lazy had better stay in North Carolina; is there any political motive in that?—A. Apparently not. But when I asked him whom did he meet in Indianapolis, he mentioned several persons: Dr. Abbot, a colored man, Mr. Thompson, a colored man, and a white man who was one of the city officers. I asked him what their politics were, and he said they were Republicans. I asked him

how he came to seek these parties. He said he had letters of introduction to them, indorsed by representative colored men from North Carolina.

Q. Then, it is only because he had letters of introduction to and had conversation with Republicans that you suppose this movement to have a political purpose?—A. I said that I had no knowledge of my own; that I spoke only from common reports.

Q. Did he state that these Republicans whom he met in Indianapolis gave any political reason for inviting colored people to come into the State?—A. I do not know that he did.

Q. They better not come until spring, he said?—A. I think that was one thing he said.

(At this point some discussion arose as to the laws of Indiana in regard to voting, which the chairman settled by stating that there was a provision in the constitution of Indiana whereby a residence of six months in the State makes a man a voter.)

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Would you not have supposed that, if they wanted these men there for political purposes, he would not have asked them to postpone going there till spring?—A. I have simply told you what was said to me, or what I have heard from common report; you can draw your own inferences.

Q. Then all the reason you have for supposing this movement to have a political purpose is because this man, when he went to Indianapolis, took with him letters addressed to Republicans and while there conversed with Republicans?—A. No, sir; that is not all the reason I have. I had observed that Scott was very unwilling to communicate freely to me on the subject, suspecting that I intended to use anything that I might learn from him for publication. He is a mechanic, a carpenter, a good workman, and finds no trouble in getting employment by the leading citizens. He is looked upon as a man of character. Therefore he was very cautious what he said to me. So I had a gentleman, a friend of mine, who is a practicing physician, Dr. Cobb, call upon him. The doctor said to him, "I have read your interview in the Messenger, and am highly pleased with it;" and they conversed for some time in regard to it. Finally Dr. Cobb said, "Do you think that it is really the condition of the colored people in Indiana that they can earn more wages and will be better off in all respects than they are here?" Then Scott said, "I will tell you, doctor; I do not tell editors everything I know; but I will tell you that the real fact of the matter is this: the colored people will not stay in Indiana more than a year; the object is to get them to Indiana; and there they are now forming a land and emigration association, and they intend to carry the colored people to a large tract of land in Kansas, and in a year from now they will be taken from Indiana and carried to Kansas."

Q. That is the statement which the doctor gave you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you account for these people going there?—A. The only way I can account for it is that these agents, Evans and others, were paid to work up the fever.

Q. Do you know how they were paid?—A. No, sir; I have no idea. I have seen the evidence of Mr. Dukehart, where he says he pays Evans a dollar a head, and Evans has not denied it.

Q. You do not know of any other reason?—A. I stated that since that I had a letter placed in my hand from Nathan Wade, in which he asks for money to come home; and I read that letter to Taylor Evans,

and I said, "If you have any conscience at all you would quit this business, sending these people there to starve;" and he said, "I am just employed by the Emigration Aid Society;" and he said to me, "If you were employed to do a certain work, wouldn't you do your duty?"

Q. He said he was employed by the Emigration Aid Society?—A. Yes, sir; and he says, "If you were employed to do a thing, wouldn't you do your duty?" I asked him if he knew of their condition there. He said he didn't know anything of their condition there. I said, "Why don't you go there and see to it?" He said he had only money enough to go to Washington and turn back.

Q. I see in this newspaper where Ex-Judge W. J. Clarke has started a paper called *The Signal*, and where he states that a negro accused of a crime is convicted on half the evidence that it takes to convict a white man.—A. My answer is that there is no truth in the charge; that it is false. My answer is here in this copy of my paper.

INFAMOUS DEFAMATIONS.

Our attention was recently directed to a paragraph taken from an article in ex-Judge W. J. Clarke's paper, the *Signal*, in which the ex-judge charges that in many of our eastern counties "the colored man is excluded from the jury-box because of his color," and, further, that "a negro accused of crime is convicted on half the evidence which is necessary to convict a white man." This charge, coming whence it may, is simply infamous, and the only excuse we can find for the false declaration is that the author thereof may have reached the petulance of age that is the early blossom of senility, and that his faculties are so abated that he may plead the infirmities of years for having given utterance to so vile a slander against our people.

There is no truth in the charge, so far as the inferior courts of the counties of Wayne and Lenoir are concerned, which his ex-judgeship delights in pointing out so conspicuously in connection with what we have quoted from his article, and the reckless imputation, in manner and in matter, is simply a fabrication, a piece of arrogance, or, in charity, let us hope, a thoughtless license of speech.

Our Kinston contemporary has already spoken its protest as far as Lenoir County is concerned, and the *Messenger* does so in behalf of Wayne County. Our inferior court is presided over by three most honorable gentlemen, and its worthy solicitor is as generous as he is unbiased in the discharge of his unpleasant duties, alike to white and black. All who know the presiding justice, old Maj. John C. Slocumb, know him to be a high-toned, upright, Christian gentleman, as such respected by both white and black, and what we here say of him we can also apply in the strictest sense to his associates upon the bench, Messrs. L. G. Pearsall and F. I. Becton. Mr. I. F. Dortch, the able solicitor, has the confidence of our citizens, and discharges his duties with an eye to mercy rather than bias towards colored offenders, and we could cite many instances in evidence of this fact. Again, the charge that colored men are being excluded from juries is not true, especially when applied to Wayne County inferior court. We are officially assured that there has not been a jury empaneled for several terms but two or more colored men were on it, except when set aside by the defendant in the case. The State has hardly ever rejected one.

No, there is no oppression of the colored people in our courts of justice, and, lastly, our readers will agree with us that such imputations come with peculiar bad grace from the pen of ex-Judge Clarke, his judicial record considered, no matter whether it be intended as a "puff for show" or a "field-bat" for political ends.

Q. It is a fact, however, that it is claimed by papers in your own State that such things exist?—A. No, sir; it is not.

Q. Is not that one of your North Carolina papers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Doesn't the editor claim it so?—A. Yes, sir; he is a Republican, and edits a Republican paper.

Q. Then you think a Republican cannot tell the truth?—A. Yes, sir, he can; but this is not true. I was speaking awhile ago of the court in one county, and I wish to say that I am not at all in favor of the inferior courts, and I advocated that criminal courts should be established in their place. Yet we have most excellent gentlemen, three highly-esteemed gentlemen, on the bench, one who is an old Christian gentle

man, a Methodist of lifetime standing, who are on our bench, and they are generally liked by both white and black.

Q. Isn't there difference of opinion in North Carolina as to whether the negroes have all their rights in the courts?—A. There are some demagogues who want office who make that charge, but intelligent Republicans do not make that charge, and the ignorant portion of the colored people are ready to believe that they have some grievances when it is continually told to them by these men. They believe they are wronged in the courts, but those who know and understand the situation do not think so. For those who do not get an attorney one is appointed for him, and they generally take an appeal from the decision if he is not fairly treated.

Q. Well, then, Mr. Bonitz, isn't there a difference between the Republican demagogues and the Democratic patriots as to this fact?—A. Yes, sir; but there are demagogues in both parties.

Q. Well, some of these Republicans do hold so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The North State is a paper published in your State?—A. Yes, sir. I am exchanging with it.

Q. What does it think about it?—A. I do not know, sir. I am not very familiar with that section, as it is some distance from my place to Greensborough.

Q. Do you know anything against the editor of that paper?—A. I think the editor is Mr. Keogh.

Senator VANCE. No, it is not.

The WITNESS. I was under the impression it was Keogh; that is the reason I stated what I did; but I look upon that paper as being a good paper.

Q. (By Senator WINDOM.) If he says the negroes are not fairly treated in the matter of juries, do you think that he does that from a false motive, or that he is simply mistaken as to his judgment?—A. I think he is doing wrong to single out rare cases and charge them as being the rule. I might cite the case of Mechin, and say that was a hard sentence; but the general character of the person is taken into account in the courts in imposing sentences.

Q. I find that this gentleman of whom you spoke so well, and who edits this paper, says:

In the year 1870 the Democrats obtained control of the legislature for the first time since the war. It is well understood that their victory was won by the aid of the ku-klux, and was the result of the bloody outrages committed by that order during the two or three years preceding that election. This order and kindred organizations, which had for their common object the suppression or control of the votes of the colored people, were disbanded. Prosecutions against many members of these orders had already been instituted in the courts of the United States, and murderers of colored people, and Republicans could no longer expect that immunity which had been so generously and so invariably extended to them by the State courts. It was believed that the work so well begun could be accomplished just as effectually and far more safely through the legislature, many of whom were members of the different secret orders organized to prevent negro supremacy, and many others elected by their influence and heartily sympathizing with them. In other words, the Democrats, finding that they could not deprive the colored people of the right to vote by violence without great danger to themselves, determined to accomplish this object, so dear to their hearts, *by law*. From that date the legislation of North Carolina, so far as it affects the colored people and their interests, bears the unmistakable impress of the ku-klux, and breathes the intolerant spirit of that bloody order. The first important step which the Democrats took to carry out the programme which they had laid down was to deprive the people of the right to elect their own county commissioners and magistrates, and to give the legislature the right to appoint the latter. By this act they placed the power of trying petty cases in the hands of a lot of their own ku-klux followers, who have not failed to carry out the wishes of their masters. This was felt to be a heavy blow, but it was light in comparison with what was to come. The col-

ored people might have borne, with some equanimity, the sight of a ku-klux governor and secretary of state but when they are compelled to have their lives and their liberty placed in the hands of ku-klux judges, they feel that the limit of human forbearance has been reached. One, at least, of the judges of our superior court was an active member of the ku-klux, and attained to rank and influence in the order in his own county.

It is true that he showed the white feather when the pinch came, but this very cowardice makes him the more dangerous, because he would naturally be anxious to wipe out this disgrace by more than common zeal in the service of the men whom in their hour of danger he was ready to betray to save his own skin. It is his proud boast that he once *shot a "nigger" in the back* in SELF DEFENCE, and he never has forgiven the "nigger" for it to this day. There are others of our judges who, if not members of the ku-klux, were in full sympathy with them. Here, then, we have a view of the whole system—a ku-klux legislature to make the laws, a ku-klux solicitor to prosecute, a ku-klux jury to try the case, and a ku-klux judge to pass sentence; men who have, all of them, taken a solemn oath to exert their power to keep down the colored people. When we add to this the notorious fact that these men and their friends believe that "niggers" have no right to vote, and that the placing of the ballot in the hands of the colored people was an outrage on the entire South, and was done on purpose to humiliate Southern men, we can see that this system is a far more formidable engine of oppression than any open violence, because *its work is done under the forms of law.*

A. With your permission I would like to make an explanation. So far as his statement about the taking of the right of suffrage from the people—the right of electing their own officers, I will state that previous to the last constitution we had the most miserable and deplorable state of county governments. For instance, in our own county we had a bad government; the county bonds were almost worthless, and the county finances were in the hands of speculators and brokers in the court-house, and the warrants were not worth forty cents on the dollar. The jurors could not get a dollar for sitting on the juries, and not a dollar of claim against the county could be collected. We had ignorant people on the courts and for magistrates, and came frequently near having difficulties growing out of these facts. One that I know of was a colored magistrate who could not read and write. He was in a colored township, where the population was largely colored, and he was a notorious character. Yet the colored people elected him to any office that he wanted, either to the legislature or any other office that he aspired to. He abused his influence, and in several cases took bribes to decide the cases before him—in two or three cases. He would order wild young colored men to take their guns and go and arrest white men without a warrant. And all this kind of thing caused the reorganization of these county governments. The leading republicans desired it in many instances, and preferred the legislature to appoint the magistrates. It was the desire to get back to the old system before the war, because it was necessary to all who owned property to have it fairly assessed and taxed, and the money applied to legitimate purposes.

Q. My desire is to ask you if there are not differences of opinion between some people of the State on that subject?—A. Yes, sir; there are.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. I observe that you stated there was no discrimination between the races in the courts.—A. No, sir; there is no discrimination.

Q. You do understand that there is a very substantial difference between the penal laws of North Carolina and most Northern States in regard to the punishment of offences?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Do you understand that in Indiana the stealing of seventy-five cents is punished in the same way as in North Carolina?—A. If you had such loose moral characters.

Q. No, no; I am simply asking if it is so.—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Is it so that the penal laws of Indiana and the Northern States generally are more favorable to petty offences than in North Carolina? —A. Yes, sir; I believe so, and yet our courts have as much to do as they can in trying these cases.

Q. I am not asserting that your laws are not necessary there, but I am speaking of the fact that there is a great difference between the laws of your State and that of most Northern States.

Senator VOORHEES. I will save you the trouble, Mr. BLAIR, of questioning Mr. Bonitz with regard to the laws of Indiana. We have plenty of evidence here at hand upon that subject, and I will save you the trouble of examining him upon it.

Senator BLAIR. How many instances have you seen of men sent to the penitentiary five years for stealing seventy five cents worth of property? What do you know of anything of that kind?

Senator VOORHEES. I will prove that the same thing is done in Indiana just as soon as you get through with the witness. I will prove that petit larceny is punished with as severe penalties almost in the State of Indiana as in North Carolina. There are plenty of witnesses to prove it; two prosecuting attorneys will prove it.

Q. (By Senator BLAIR.) What was your understanding upon this subject before you got your understanding now from the chairman? —A. I know nothing about the laws of the Northern States, except what information I received by reading reports in my exchanges of trials and convictions there. Of course I admit there is a diversity of penalties inflicted upon the same offences throughout the United States. I have seen in the New York courts where a party has stolen thousands of dollars and gotten off with one year in the penitentiary, but in our courts where penalties are very severe they are generally penalties inflicted on old offenders. If they are first offences probably they will be let off on the payment of costs. If we had less severe penalties in our State I do not see how we could get along with our courts.

Q. I was not asking you as to that. I am getting at the state of mind of the people there. Isn't it the understanding that the punishments are less severe in the Northern States than in the Southern States? —A. The colored people have been made to believe that, and that is the reason some of them are going to the North.

Q. That would be a reason which would operate on white as well as black, would it not? —A. Yes, sir; of course it would.

Q. Still you say there is no discrimination between the races? —A. No, sir; there is no discrimination.

Q. But the belief is that the laws are more liberal in Indiana than in North Carolina? —A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that accounts for the exodus to some extent? —A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is all.

THE WITNESS. While I want to protest that I am not a Republican, yet I also want to protest that when you speak of the disfranchisement of the parties for larceny in my State as being a law that operates harshly on the Republicans I want to say that the Republican party of my State are not all rogues.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Who was the prosecuting attorney in the second district? —A. He was a colored man named Collins.

Q. Who is the prosecuting officer now? —A. Swift Calloway; he is the first prosecuting officer who is a Democrat that we had in our district.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN E. LAMB.

JOHN E. LAMB sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Terre Haute, Vigo County, Indiana.

Q. You were born there, I believe?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. Practicing law.

Q. How long have you been practicing law?—A. About five years.

Q. State what official positions you have held in your profession?—A. I was prosecuting attorney in my district for three and a half years.

Q. What counties were embraced in your district?—A. Vigo and Sullivan.

Q. You were three and a half years prosecuting attorney?—A. Yes, sir; once by appointment and once by election.

Q. That is of the circuit court?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State, Mr. Lamb, whether your acquaintance is very general in the county in which you live, and especially in Sullivan County?—A. Yes, sir; I know them very well, perhaps as well as anybody in Sullivan County, and especially do I know the people of my own county.

Q. State what town you live in, in the city of Terre Haute?—A. In the third ward.

Q. What proportion of the colored population of the city reside in that ward?—A. Not quite one-half.

Q. There are more in that ward than in any other ward of the city?—A. Yes, sir; twice as many.

Q. How many colored voters are there in Vigo County?—A. Between four and five hundred.

Q. Making the population about how many in that county?—A. Making, I believe, five—to count but one voter, and a great many of them are young men—I should say two thousand colored people in the county.

Q. Mr. Lamb, the examination of the last witness closed on questions concerning the penal laws of Indiana and North Carolina; state if you are familiar with the penal laws of Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. State what penalty can be inflicted in our courts for petit larceny?—A. Well, sir, petit larceny in our State is an offence defined by statute, and consists of stealing any property of any value not exceeding \$15, and is punishable by fine not exceeding \$500 and confinement in the penitentiary not more than three years, or in the common jail for any time less than one year.

Q. How about disfranchisement?—A. They can be disfranchised for any purpose not more than fourteen years.

Q. For petit larceny they can be imprisoned for three years and disfranchised fourteen?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State if you, as prosecuting attorney, have seen any cases of that kind in your experience.—A. I sent a white man to the penitentiary for two years for stealing a bottle of whisky and an old hat.

Q. The value of those articles was not equal to seventy five cents, was it?—A. No, sir; I don't think it was. But if you will allow me to say it, I think the man went to the penitentiary on general principles.

Q. He was a bad man?—A. Yes, sir; everybody was ready to send him there whenever they got a chance.

Q. There is no trouble, however, about sending a man to the penitentiary for stealing seventy five cents if he is convicted?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there any disfranchisement?—A. I think two years, the same

as the term in the penitentiary. That was in Sullivan County, where the Democratic majority is 1,300.

Q. The man was tried by a Democratic jury?—A. I cannot say as to the composition of that jury, but I do not believe you can get a jury in that county without two-thirds of them being Democrats.

Q. He was a Democrat himself, wasn't he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was a Democratic court?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you yourself are a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you sent him to the penitentiary for two years and disfranchised him for two?—A. Yes, sir. Mr. Kelley has corrected me as to that; it was for two years.

Q. So if these North Carolina people think they are going to a land where there is a more lenient penal law than they have in North Carolina, they are mistaken?—A. Yes, sir; unless the penalty can be increased to five years down there, as one of the witnesses stated.

Q. Now, I want to know what you know, if anything, on the subject of these people coming into our county; how many have been brought there?—A. Well, I should say, up to the time I left home, Monday afternoon, there had come into Vigo County between one hundred and fifty and two hundred people, men, women, and children. Besides this number, there have been perhaps forty or fifty come to Terre Haute, and taken to Parke County and Rockville, twenty or twenty-five miles above there.

Q. Who took them up there?—A. I cannot say who took them. I know who sent them. It was Mr. Walker, the mail agent at Terre Haute, at the depot.

Q. Who is Mr. Walker?—A. He is the mail agent at the depot.

Q. Is he a prominent colored politician?—A. He is the most prominent man among them.

Q. Where are those people who have been brought to Vigo County?—A. A number of them are standing on the streets, young men, and there are a number of boys among them; there are men, women, and children—men who are the husbands of women, I suppose—who are quartered now in what is known as the new African Methodist Episcopal church, down in the third ward.

Q. How many of them are housed in that church?—A. Well, I think on that day there were forty or fifty.

Q. How were they being fed?—A. By the charity of the people round about there.

Q. What measures were taken to raise money for them to buy them something to eat?—A. Ten days ago there was a meeting of the colored people to do something about it. I do not know the purposes of the meeting further than it all ended in a row in trying to raise a committee. They failed to do so. The better class of colored people in our State are opposed to the movement. Nobody but Walker has taken any prominence in it since they came there without food or means. I think there is some sort of organization gotten up on Sunday, some sort of relief society to help them. Some of them came there on Friday night and some Saturday and Monday. I saw some of them, with baskets on their arms, looking for food; I saw several of them who stopped me and asked me for money. Some of them were rather well dressed and well-behaved looking people, but they had no money and nothing to eat.

Q. What proportion of those who have reached Terre Haute have received employment?—A. Very few. I know that some of them have been employed. Mr. Walker has interested in getting them employed; I do not think that others have. The wages for colored people are so

low, and there are enough of our own people to fill all the positions, that they cannot make more than ten to twelve dollars with board. You know of cases, and so do I, where they have been paid in good families that much, but never more. They cannot get work, and several of them told me that they had been told they would have to wait until spring to get work on the farms.

Q. I know your full acquaintance with nearly everybody in Vigo County; from that acquaintance with the farmers of Vigo County, will you tell this committee whether there is any demand for these people or for any laborers in that county at this time?—A. I am well acquainted with the farmers of the county and in our township, and I never heard of any such demand, and I think if there was such a demand I would know of it.

Q. What could a laboring man get to do starting out to get a day's work, white or colored, at this season of the year, especially in Vigo County?—A. I do not see how he could work at all, unless he worked for nothing; of course he might work for his board; if there was any work for him to do, maybe he would get fifty cents a day for a day's work. There are plenty of men, I believe, in Vigo County for \$10 per month, and glad to get it in the winter time.

Q. Did you happen to trustee Abbott before you left home?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. What is your information and knowledge of people wanting employment there and not being able to get it?—A. I do not know as I can say, except that men have been coming to me for the last six months asking for help and for work, and if they could not get work they needed charity.

Q. Isn't it a common and a constant thing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State in regard to our county, whether it is an old, well-settled and cultivated county, or a new county demanding labor to clear it up and put it under cultivation.—A. It is an old county, a good agricultural county, and well populated, and I suppose in the seventy or ninety counties of our State there is not one as densely populated as it.

Q. It was settled in 1812, I believe?—A. Yes, and has about 30,000 people in it.

Q. Do you know what became of those emigrants who were taken up into Parke County?—A. No, sir; I don't think they got employment, and for those I think they made arrangements up there in the Quaker settlement, up near Annapolis.

Q. That is a heavy Republican county, is it not, Parke County?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say they took fifty or sixty up there?—A. Yes, sir; but they were not all voters.

Q. You stated that there were not more than fifty or sixty who had gone to Vigo County?—A. I have heard of only a few; some may get a day's work, but I do not know as to that. I know there are six or seven employed by Republican politicians there.

Q. Who are they?—A. There are two or three men and women employed by Mr. Beauchamp, a Republican politician, who was consul at Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. He has not been back long. Another politician, Mr. Boudinot, I think has one.

Q. You may give such evidence as you have, that this is a political movement, so far as the State is concerned, or any other facts that you may have concerning the exodus.—A. I do not know what reasons they have for immigration to other parts of the State; but it has impressed me as a political movement for the reason—that when the

people came there they were not met by people regardless of politics, or by the better classes of people, even of the colored people, but they were met by these United States officials who have been active in getting them to come there, and getting places and taking care of them. I heard of this man Walker sending a circular to the South some ten days ago.

Q. Did you see this circular?—A. No, sir; I did not read it. But I know that those Republicans who are going about in Terre Haute trying to get employment for these people are favoring the movement; and I know the further fact that a gentleman, a very prominent Republican from Terre Haute, told me last Saturday that Walker came to him and said they should make room for a large number of them. It is a desideratum for them to come there. They are trying to get them in Terre Haute, so located as to carry my ward at the spring elections. From these facts, and others that I knew, and because I knew they would not fare as well there as they would in North Carolina, after they told me that they were getting from ten to twelve dollars a month in North Carolina, and that they were well treated, and that none of them had any complaint against their treatment in North Carolina, I thought they had better stay there than come to Indiana. I will state that I never heard of any railroad company being interested in the movement at all before I read the evidence before this committee the other day. I did not know of any motive of that kind for the exodus.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You say you were a prosecuting officer for three and a half years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. For the entire county?—A. For two counties. We have a district, and mine is the fourteenth judicial district.

Q. What county do you live in?—A. The county I live in is Vigo, and has fifty thousand people.

Q. What of the other county?—A. I should say Sullivan County has twenty thousand people. I should think there are seventy thousand in the district.

Q. Your district comprises some large places. What is the population of Terre Haute?—A. We polled five thousand votes in Terre Haute, and I suppose the population, according to the ratio allowed for votes, would be about twenty-five thousand people.

Q. Are there any other large places in your district?—A. No, sir; Sullivan has about two thousand to twenty-five hundred voters.

Q. I understood you to state the population at two thousand, for the negroes, in Vigo County?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there as many there as in other counties?—A. No, sir; there is not a hundred in Sullivan County.

Q. Was your practice very extensive while you were prosecuting attorney?—A. Yes, sir; we have a criminal court in our county, in Vigo County, and causes are tried in the criminal court by the criminal prosecuting attorney; so the bulk of my practice, as public prosecuting attorney, was in Sullivan County.

Q. You had a good knowledge, however, of the criminal practice in the district?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose I had, for I was prosecuting in Sullivan County, but that did not prevent me from defending a man before the criminal court at home.

Q. You were appointed prosecuting attorney when?—A. When I was twenty-one years of age. I am twenty seven now; that was six years ago.

Q. Your observation of affairs in that part of the State runs from that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have stated the law for the punishment of petit larceny, such as stealing an amount under fifteen dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have said that it was punished by imprisonment for three years?—A. Three years; yes, sir.

Q. And disfranchisement for two years?—A. No, sir; I was mistaken about that. Mr. Kelly has refreshed my mind. It is disfranchisement for the same time as the term of imprisonment.

Q. And a fine not exceeding three hundred dollars?—A. Five hundred, sir.

Q. And that is the extreme of the penalty?—A. That is the extreme of the penalty.

Q. Have you ever known, in the whole of your criminal practice or observation, a man to be put into the State's prison for stealing a chicken in Indiana?—A. Yes, I think I do; I am sorry to say it, but I think I do, Senator.

Q. You think you recollect a single instance, and you think that instance was a dishonor to the State?—A. Yes, sir. There was another case which exercised the people of Indiana, and that was where a colored man was convicted of marrying a white woman.

Q. Do you know of any case of a man's being put into the penitentiary for stealing property of a less value than a dollar?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I mean with the exception of that man who stole a bottle of whisky and an old hat?—A. Yes, sir, I do. I know a man who was sent to the penitentiary for stealing an old coat.

Q. What was the proof as to the value of it?—A. I saw the coat, and some said it was worth sixty cents and some said it was worth a dollar.

Q. Was it a jury case?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there any particular circumstances about it to aggravate the offense?—A. No, sir; I think not; I think he was tried by a jury, and Mr. Kelly prosecuted the case.

Q. What was the length of the sentence?—A. One year.

Q. Was there no fine?—A. Yes, sir; I think there was a fine, and disfranchisement too; but that, Senator, is only a formal thing; I will say that, as to the laws of Indiana, if a fellow gets out of the penitentiary he goes elsewhere and votes all the same.

Q. You mean that he was imprisoned in a penitentiary or a jail?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is one case which you know of; did he serve his term out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there any others that you can give us?—A. I say, Senator, it is not a common occurrence with us to have a man convicted in that way.

Q. But such cases occur, and you think they are disgraceful to the State?—A. Really, I do not like them; but the fact is where they are sent to the penitentiary for offenses of that kind, it is generally because the party is a bad man and the people want to get rid of him.

Q. That is because he is a hard, common character?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You spoke of labor being hard to find; do you know of any threats by Democrats against people employing these immigrants from North Carolina?—A. No, sir; I do not know of anything of the kind; so far as my county is concerned nothing has been said to them; in my county the Democrats are friendly to them; they vote the Democratic ticket in my ward, I know.

Q. You are in politics yourself?—A. Yes, sir, somewhat; but in speaking of that fact I was not speaking of the people who came there; I am speaking of those in Terre Haute, who have lived there nearly all of their lives; I object as much as anybody to people being imported there to take charge of my State.

Q. Don't you think that after a while they will fall in with the others and be as prosperous as they are?—A. I think the only influence that they would fall in with now, in their condition, is money, and that the Republicans have most of that.

Q. What is the Republican majority in your county?—A. Our county is in rather a different position from what it has been; last fall the Republicans were demoralized and they were beaten five hundred by the Greenbackers, and we beat the Greenbackers six hundred and the Republicans eleven hundred.

Q. Where did these people who came there come from?—A. They came from North Carolina, from about Goldsborough, so far as I could learn from those of whom I asked the question.

Q. Did you know of any coming there from other places?—A. The first of them came from another place, but I cannot recollect the name.

Q. As a politician, do you not think that if the Republicans of the State were trying to colonize it with negroes they would take them from some nearer place than North Carolina?—A. I think it is the biggest fool thing I ever knew any party to do.

Q. Do you think, as a matter of expense, that they would take them from Kentucky, for instance, before they would from North Carolina?—A. I think probably they would. It would be reasonable for them to do it.

Q. Do you think there is any political movement in this exodus?—A. I cannot see any other reason for it, except it be a political one.

Q. You think the Republican party would go to North Carolina, at a cost of \$20, to get a voter, and have him bring his wife, children, and all with him, when they could go to Kentucky and get voters at a much less price?—A. Well, sir, I have heard Republicans state that it was a very foolish thing, but that they were going to bring enough in there, into Indiana, to carry the State.

Q. Who did you hear make that statement?—A. I think the Republicans around Terre Haute have made it, and Mr. Langsdale, the editor of the Greencastle Banner. I think there are parties here who have heard him say that.

Q. Do you think that they would bring these men from North Carolina merely for the purpose of making voters out of them when they could be gotten in Kentucky or Tennessee at a much less cost?—A. I think so. The men who are doing this sort of thing might do very foolish things in connection with it.

Q. Isn't it much easier to get men from across the river than it is to come around by Washington and go to North Carolina for them?—A. Of course it is easy enough to get them across the river and vote them and let them go back, and I think they do it sometimes.

Q. You have tried it on yourself, haven't you, with Democratic white voters?—A. I have seen something of the kind stated in Republican newspapers.

Q. Don't you know that that has been done?—A. I have not done anything of that kind. I have had it charged, but I never knew of any such thing being done.

Q. You say from one hundred and fifty to two hundred have come

into Vigo County; how many of them were voters?—A. I should say, perhaps, forty or fifty.

Q. You think, in all, there are some forty or fifty voters?—A. Yes, sir; a great many of them don't seem to be voters. But the trouble with colored men is, that you can't tell anything about it. A great many of them vote before they are twenty-one years of age. My judgment is that there are forty or fifty who are over twenty-one years of age.

Q. Well, do that forty or fifty create any consternation in the Democratic party out there?—A. No, sir; but they create a great deal of discussion, because the people out there don't agree that people should be brought there in that condition.

Q. How do you know they are brought there?—A. I know they were brought there.

Q. You don't think they came there of their own accord?—A. Well, sir, we can't think so when they tell us that their fare was paid.

Q. You spoke of some government officer of Terre Haute who was assisting these people, a Mr. Walker; is he white or colored?—A. He is a colored man.

Q. He was just looking after them and taking care of them, wasn't he?—A. I do not think he is doing much for them. When I left, the most that was being done for them was by some colored barbers, men who belong to our own people.

Q. Who is this man Walker?—A. He carries the mail from the depot to the post-office and back. He is appointed under the government, and receives forty or fifty dollars a month.

Q. Did you ever talk with him about the exodus?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is his name?—A. James H. Walker.

Q. What other Republican have you heard talk about this as a Republican political movement?—A. I have given you the names of all that I have heard.

Q. Just give them to us again.—A. As I stated, you asked me for my reasons for believing this was a political movement. I stated, from the first place, considering that there was no need of these people there, and they could do no better there than in North Carolina, and from the fact that nobody took any interest in them, in our State at least, and in my county, except the Republicans and office-holders, I thought it was a Republican movement. These people were brought there, and had no money to live on when they got there; and I thought these facts justified the belief that they were induced to come there on account of their votes.

Q. Who are these Republicans and office-holders who have taken an interest in them?—A. Well, sir, these things are done in such a way and so much more secretly than anything else, that you cannot exactly state who is doing it. What I have said, I suspect more than anything else. I saw Walker and Beechum consulting about it, and I find that men and women are down at Beechum's working; and putting this and that together, it looks very much to me like a scheme.

Q. It is a sort of matter of imagination or suspicion, then?—A. Well, yes, sir. I have given you all the facts that I have.

Q. And all your information is that the Republicans and officials there are the only people who have been taking an interest in it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have they done anything more than to find places for them when they got there?—A. Yes, sir; they have done that for some of them; but so far as supplying them now is concerned, there was none of that being done when I left home.

Q. Don't you know that it is generally considered that the Republicans are more friendly to the negroes than the Democrats, and that they naturally go to them for help?—A. I do not think it is true in our State.

Q. Then the Democrats treat them the same as the Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are just as well treated by the Democrats as by the Republicans.

Q. Where do the complaints against the exodus come from mostly?—A. From the Democrats; but I say I have yet to see a man—a white man—either Democrat or a Republican—who favors this movement.

Q. Isn't it mostly favored among the colored people?—A. No, sir; the colored people do not like this man Walker. They are against him, and don't follow him, because they did not approve of his being appointed there.

Q. They had a meeting there, did they not, to take measures for getting places for these people?—A. Yes, sir; and it broke up in a row.

Q. What grounds have the Republicans for being against them?—A. They say there is no employment, and that it is a common and thriftless class of people who are coming there.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT J. KELLY.

ALBERT J. KELLY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Terre Haute.

Q. What is your profession?—A. Practicing law.

Q. How long have you been a practicing lawyer?—A. I was admitted to the bar in 1869, and have been practicing for ten years.

Q. State what official position you hold at this time in Indiana.—A. I am prosecuting attorney in the criminal court of Vigo County.

Q. State how long you have been in that position.—A. Nearly six years.

Q. How often do you have the grand jury together within the year in that county?—A. The first Monday in every month.

Q. How many times is the grand jury drawn?—A. Twice; at the April and October terms—every six months.

Q. How much of the time every year is the criminal court in session trying criminal cases?—A. Perhaps two-thirds of the year.

Q. Your county has a large town—the city of Terre Haute—in it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have a large amount of business in your court?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State the average number of convictions in your court.—A. Well, sir, about a year ago, when I was a candidate for re-election, I made a statement of the average number of convictions in our court, and it averaged a hundred a year.

Q. Do you mean for felony?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what penalty is in Indiana for felonies.—A. For petit larceny it is fifteen years; it used to be five, but it has been enlarged since that time.

Q. State what you know of convictions for petit larceny.—A. I know that I have been criticised, and the court has also, for sending people to

the penitentiary. We sometimes have a man up for grand larceny and whom the jury does not convict, so that he can be sent to the penitentiary. Sometimes the State consents to a *nolle* for grand larceny, and it takes a verdict for petit larceny, and the offender is sent to jail; but it is possible to send a man to jail or to the penitentiary for petit larceny.

Q. Where the sentence is reduced from grand larceny to petit larceny it is generally on account of the previous good character of the defendant?—A. Yes, sir; and sometimes the stealing is of something very trivial; but there are people whom the whole community are against, and when they steal and are caught they are sent to the penitentiary.

Q. That not being their first offense, and it being to the interest of good society to have them out of the way, they are sent to the penitentiary?—A. Yes, sir; and in our State when they go on the witness stand we put in evidence their moral character.

Q. And when they are men of bad character the jury are liable to give them the full extent of the penalty?—A. Yes, sir; and in Vigo County especially.

Q. It has been attempted to be shown here that these people were faring badly in the courts in North Carolina; that they would have an easier time in Indiana; what do you think about that?—A. Well, sir, I can illustrate. There was a darky who lived in the sixth ward, known as Bagdad, and who nobody could keep chickens for. You would buy them one day and they would go the next morning; but he was caught with some chickens in a bag that he had just stolen, and was sent to the penitentiary and disfranchised, I believe, for two years.

Q. That was for stealing one or two chickens?—A. I think there were several in his bag.

Q. You do not think it was a disgrace to the State to send that man to the penitentiary?—A. No, sir; but I thought I should do my duty in the case, and the Republican papers there in the town thought it was a good idea to catch him and send him to the penitentiary. We got rid of him in that way, and I think everybody, white and Republican, were glad of it.

Q. Can you give us any other instance of the same character?—A. Another instance was the sending of a fellow to the penitentiary for stealing a coat. There were some difficulties in proving the value of the coat, but I believe it was an old soldier or army coat.

Q. You sent him to the penitentiary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. For what length of time?—A. We sent him for a year.

Q. What was the value of the coat?—A. It was proven to be worth about a dollar, I believe.

Q. Why did they send him to the penitentiary for stealing a coat that was only worth a dollar?—A. Because he was a bad man, and everybody thought he ought to go to the penitentiary.

Q. In the administration of the law there, Mr. Kelly, do the whites and blacks get the same consideration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these people from North Carolina will have to take the same penalties as other people?—A. Yes, sir; not only that, but the fact of their being from North Carolina I think would be a little against them.

Q. Did you ever see a colored man on a jury in Vigo County?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever see one on the grand jury?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever see a colored justice of the peace in Vigo County?—A. No, sir; never.

Q. And Vigo County is one of the counties in which for our State

there is a large colored population?—A. Yes, sir; and there are some very good people among them.

Q. Are there tax-payers and men who own their own farms?—A. Yes, sir; they are people who are respected by everybody, who attend to their own business and make their own living. I will say further that there are four or five colored men in the penitentiary for life for murder, and I expect an equal number of white men. There have been some sent from Vigo County in the last few years.

Q. What are the long terms of confinement, if any?—A. There was one man, for manslaughter, sent for 18 years just last summer. There was a fellow, a negro, charged by a woman whose character was brought in question. He was tried and convicted and sent for seven years.

Q. That was for trying to commit a rape on a woman of his own race and of doubtful virtue?—A. Yes, sir; and I think he was sent to the penitentiary more on account of his bad character than on account of the aggravated nature of his offense. If he had been a man of good character I do not think he would have gone at all.

Q. You may state what you know, if anything, of a colored man being sent to the penitentiary for marrying a white woman?—A. I had five colored men indicted for intermarrying with white women. One was convicted. A woman, one of them, came in and said she had a little negro blood in her. One of them could not swear that she had any negro blood in her veins; she had red hair and that made it impossible to be mistaken. Nobody who saw her would mistake that she was a white woman. Our law says that any person with one-eighth negro blood shall not be allowed to intermarry with whites. He was the only one that we could convict.

Q. What was his name?—A. His name was Nelson.

Q. What about his pardon?—A. It has been favored and asked for. There has been an effort to get him pardoned.

Q. What about myself?—A. Yes, sir; you went to Governor Williams and tried to get him pardoned.

Q. Governor Williams refused?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he will not be pardoned?—A. No, sir; I think not. There was a good deal of difficulty in these cases. I think some physicians came in there to examine these women and felt their skins and said they were colored. That was done to save these men, and was approved of, because the people generally felt that they ought not to go to the penitentiary.

Q. Have you a very large acquaintance in Vigo County?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you canvassed it several times?—A. Yes, sir; I have been elected three times, and have been canvassing among the people a great deal.

Q. Have you mixed with the people from the country?—A. Yes, sir; I examine many of them on the witness stand every month.

Q. What do you say as to a demand for laborers at this time in Vigo County?—A. I say there is none at all at this time.

Q. Did you ever hear of any out in the country?—A. No, sir; they complain a great deal of the large number who come to their houses for work, and who impose upon them for their charities.

Q. What township?—A. At Terre Haute, in Harrison County.

Q. Do you know the trustee?—A. Yes, sir; it is Benjamin Abbott.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He is a National.

Q. What are his duties?—A. It is his duty to oversee the poor, keep up the roads, public buildings, and bridges, and he is the general book-keeper for the township, and attends to all their business.

Q. What is his duty as to the poor?—A. When he is satisfied that persons are residents of the township and are in a destitute condition, he has power to relieve them.

Q. State if you saw Mr. Abbott before you came on here, and give us his statement, so that we need not send for him.—A. I had a conversation with him one day, and it was not had with the expectation of my having to testify here. We were speaking about the weather, and he said it was a good thing for our people that the winter was mild, and that if it had not been so the distress would have been very great in Terre Haute. He spoke of one family in particular that was suffering, that the man had been working at a dollar a day, that his wife was sick and his children also, and that he was aiding them; that the man had a little piece of property, but was unable to make a living on account of the lack of labor and the poor wages paid, and that his action had been assailed because he had been aiding them when they had property.

Q. What did he say as to persons in the township being idle?—A. I will state this, that the street commissioner in working the streets has so many applications from idle men of our own town that he divides it up, and lets one man work this week and lie off the next, so as to give another man a chance for a week's work.

Q. And that, you say, is done in behalf of our own people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was done before these people came there?—A. Yes, sir; we have only two seasons in the year when we need a large supply of laborers; that is the harvest and the corn-gathering season, and we have plenty of labor from among our own people to supply that demand.

Q. You say we have plenty of our own people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Please state any messages sent to you by any farmers of Vigo County on this subject.—A. I talked to Mr. Stewart of Otter Creek Township; he is a large farmer.

Q. What did he say to you to tell me?—A. He said to tell you that the county was overrun with laborers, and that there was not a day but that eight or ten came to his house and wanted work. I also talked with Mr. Butts, in Sugar Creek Township, and James Bolton, in Fayette Township, and they told me of the great number of people coming to them demanding and seeking for work.

Q. Did you acquaint yourself with the condition of these emigrants before you came on here?—A. My information is not very great on that subject. I talked to people about them, and I heard they were down at the African Methodist Episcopal church. I heard a colored man standing on the corner of Third and Ohio streets talking about it. This colored man was a stranger, and I expect he came on with them. He said they were all piled up in one room together, and it was not good for them; that if they staid down there some of them were bound to die.

Q. Were they in the church then?—A. Yes, sir; eating and sleeping there. Some of them, too, were well-dressed people, and looked as though they might do well if they had an opportunity.

Q. What proportion of them got work—employment?—A. I do not know. Lawrence Heindle and Mr. Dickerson have taken two, and this case of Mr. Beacham's—that is all I know of.

Q. Do you know this colored man Walker?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Did you see the circular he had published in the city papers there after Judge Carleton came on here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have the interview in which he acknowledged it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what number of families he advertised for.—A. Fifteen or eighteen hundred.

Q. Do you not know that that is a fraud of the greatest possible character?—A. Yes, sir. I do know it; and I know that the best colored people of our State condemn it.

Q. You know that his course is condemned pretty generally by the people in our section without respect to party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen any Republican paper that condemned it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did the Terre Haute Express condemn him or stand by him in this fraud?—A. No, sir; it rather supported him, and abused me and everybody else who came here to testify.

Q. And the Indianapolis Journal and all of them do that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And none of them condemn this movement and fraud on the colored people?—A. No, sir; but simply abuse this committee and all who come here to testify.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You don't like the Republican papers much, anyhow?—A. No, sir; I am not particularly fond of them, and I have reason for it.

Q. You read the Democratic papers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And vote it early and often?—A. I generally vote it once every election.

Q. And you are an ardent Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think all the good in the country is centered in the Democratic party?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Well, a larger part of it?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. So far as the Republican newspapers are concerned, you do not think they speak for their side of the house?—A. I suppose they do.

Q. Have you seen any of them encourage it as a Republican movement?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of anybody who has?—A. No, sir; except what I see of the matter and judge for myself.

Q. What do you judge from?—A. From the Republicans solely taking part in it; or defending those who have taken them out there.

Q. Do the Democratic papers denounce those who have been receiving them when they came there in a destitute condition?—A. Yes, sir; they have been denouncing the movement.

Q. Do the Republican papers approve of giving alms to the destitute?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think that is Christian conduct?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is.

Q. Do the Republican papers approve of the work of those people who brought them there?—A. They have approved of the acts of Walker by defending and not disapproving of them.

Q. Have you seen where they condemned it?—A. No, sir; I hear that when some of these people came here and testified, they have been denounced, and the papers said they knew nothing of Vigo County, or of the State. That was said about one gentleman whom I know knew a great deal about it.

Q. Have you heard anything of mobs to burn the houses that had been rented to North Carolina negroes?—A. I have heard of threats of that kind, but I do not know anything about them.

Q. Have you heard threats that they should not come there?—A. I

have heard them say that they did not want them there, and that they should not continue to come.

Q. Don't you think that would decrease the demand for these laborers?—A. I should think so, as a man would naturally take care of his property.

Q. Well, anyhow, you heard of these threats being made by Democrats?—A. I did not say that. I heard that people had said that.

Q. You have talked to Republicans about this movement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they objected to it.—A. Yes, sir; but they were colored Republicans.

Q. Who is Stewart? What are his politics?—A. He was a Nationalist.

Q. What was Butt's politics?—A. He was a Democrat.

Q. And Bolton's?—A. He was a Democrat.

Q. They were all Democrats who sent the messages to Senator Voorhees?—A. No, sir; I do not know of any messages sent to Senator Voorhees by anybody except Stewart.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT VAN VALZER.

ROBERT VAN VALZER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Terre Haute.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am a dentist.

Q. What position do you hold from Vigo County?—A. A member of the legislature.

Q. Are you at this time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you elected in 1878?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State if you have a general acquaintance with the people in that county, being their representative in the legislature.—A. I have a large acquaintance in the county.

Q. State if there is any demand that you know of for labor there, either from the inside or outside of the county.—A. None, sir. There is no demand for labor there now.

Q. I will ask you if there is not a surplus, and if people are not suffering for want of employment?—A. There is no surplus of laborers.

Q. I mean, Mr. Van Valzer, are there more laborers than can find employment?—A. O, yes, sir. I misunderstood you. There are many more laborers than can find employment; and that includes persons who have lived there, and are citizens of that town.

Q. And I understand you that many are suffering for the want of employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Doctor, have you noticed this immigration that has been coming in there?—A. I have.

Q. What is the condition they are in?—A. There seem to me to be a great many of them in want of something to eat. A great many of them have been to my house begging. I live in the second ward, close to the negro church where they are quartered; and they came over there frequently to ask for something to eat.

Q. Have you been down to the church yourself?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. Have you had any conversation with any of them about why they

came there?—A. No, sir; not with the immigrants, but I have with our own colored people.

Q. What is the general sentiment about it among your own colored people?—A. One, Samuel Archer, told me these people are offered from a dollar to two dollars and a half a day for their labor, if they would come to Indiana. This promise, he said, could not be fulfilled, and he was sorry they had come.

Q. What is the general price of laborers, per month, in that section?

—A. Farm laborers get from ten to twelve dollars per month.

Q. What are day laborers paid?—A. From a dollar to a dollar and a half.

Q. Not where they are boarded; what, where they board themselves?

—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They get from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day, and are boarded?—A. Well, sir, farm laborers get from ten to twelve dollars a month. There is very little hiring by the day.

Q. What do you know of meetings being held to secure employment and assistance for these people; did you attend any of the meetings?

—A. I did not.

Q. All classes out there have given something to help them?—A. I don't know anything about that.

Q. Have there been any appeals made in the papers for help?—A. I saw one appeal.

Q. Did you see this man Walker's circular?—A. No, sir; I did not. I saw him himself last Thursday night. He visited my office to have a tooth extracted, and he said that nineteen more of these negroes had come. I said, "Are there any others expected?" and he said that on Saturday they expected one hundred.

Q. That was last Saturday?—A. Yes, sir; and he indicated to me that he was the receiver of them. He said that some of those people were very old and some were very young.

Q. Did you have any political talk with Walker?—A. I did not.

Q. State whether you had with any other colored people there?—A. I had with another colored man. I wish I could call his name. But he was advertising for a clothing house there; I cannot remember the name; but he told me these people were brought there under misrepresentations; that they were promised two and two dollars and a half a day; and that nobody could get these wages there; that he had been living there some time and could not get it himself. I said, "Do you think they are brought here to vote for the Republican ticket?" and he said he thought so.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. He said he thought so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Not that it was so, but that he thought so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you expressed any opinion yourself upon that subject?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. He gave no reason for his opinion?—A. No, sir; but that is the way the colloquy ran.

TESTIMONY OF M. T. LEWMAN.

M. T. LEWMAN sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Lewman, give your name and residence to the reporter

—Answer. M. T. Lewman, Greencastle, Putnam County, Indiana.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am at this time sheriff of the county.

Q. How long have you been sheriff?—A. I have been the sheriff for three years last fall—October perhaps.

Q. You are serving your second term?—A. I am in my fourth year, yes, sir.

Q. To dispose of one point that has been made here before we go further, please state to the committee what you know of persons convicted of felony, and sent to the penitentiary for petit larceny, and give the amounts?—A. One case that was called to my mind was that of three parties, I think, or two of the parties were sent to the penitentiary for stealing fifty cents, which they took out of a man's pocket at the fair grounds, making it a robbery that they were sent to the penitentiary for.

Q. The larceny consisted in taking fifty cents?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you took them to the penitentiary?—A. I am sure that I have taken nobody to the penitentiary for that low amount myself.

Q. But that was the amount in this case?—A. Yes, sir; it was fifty cents.

Q. What did they say was done with them?—A. They were taken to the penitentiary for two years.

Q. They were white people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was no great outcry made about it as to any great injustice done them in that, was there?—A. No, sir; they were taken as pick-pockets in the community, and were caught slipping round the fair ground.

Q. Was there any emigration of that class of people on account of that conviction?—A. No, sir; not that I heard of.

Q. Now, I want you to go on and tell what you know of this emigration of negroes from North Carolina to Putnam County. How long have you lived in that county?—A. I have lived in the neighborhood fourteen or fifteen years. I have been in Greencastle and the county off and on for twenty-five years.

Q. Have you an extensive acquaintance in that county?—A. There may be some people there who have more acquaintances than I have, but I believe I know every prominent man in the county.

Q. It is one of the rich and highly cultivated counties of the State, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; it is what is called the center of the blue-grass region, and we raise a great deal of stock in the county, and a great deal of it is in grass.

Q. State whether there is any demand amongst the farmers or anybody else in that county for labor beyond what can be supplied there at home.—A. The only demand that we have had there during the winter at all was a demand for mechanics. We had a little demand for house carpenters for a while, as there were several good buildings being put up in the town, but in the country there is no demand for labor now at all. During the planting and harvesting and gathering of the grain there is some demand, but now we have idle men there in large numbers who supply that and more than fill it. You can look out on the street at any time in Greencastle and see there white and black standing on the corners. There was a gentleman in my office not long ago who came from North Carolina to take two negroes back who had written for him to come after them. He asked me the same question, and I told him just to look out of the window or door into the street, and he, I think, counted six who were in sight, and who belonged there

By Senator VANCE :

Q. What was his name, that gentleman from North Carolina?—A. Fields, I believe ; I am pretty sure that was his name.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you know Mr. Langsdale, the editor of the Greencastle Banner?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what the politics of that paper is.—A. It is a Republican paper.

Q. What is Langsdale's politics?—A. Republican.

Q. What office does he hold under this administration?—A. He is postmaster.

Q. Where at?—A. At Greencastle.

Q. What sized place is Greencastle?—A. Well, sir, they claim 6,000, but I do not quite think there are that many, but I think there are 5,000, probably.

Q. It is the seat of the Indiana Asbury College, is it not?—A. Yes, sir ; we have the colleges there.

Q. And the Indianapolis and St. Louis and the Vandalia roads, which are parallel roads, and the Louisville and New Albany roads cross there?—A. Yes, sir ; the two first are parallel lines and the other crosses the two.

Q. Have you noticed any publications on this subject of the migration of negroes from North Carolina to Indiana in Langsdale's paper, and if so state when it was?—A. I do not know as to the time of them. The first I noticed on this subject I gave it at the time very little attention. I just thought it was one of his foolish ideas, as Langsdale was one of the extreme men in his party. We have extreme Democratic editors and extreme Radical editors out there, and so I paid very little attention to what he said. I cannot give the contents of the article, but it was in reference to the Republicans carrying the State of Indiana, either that it could be or would be carried by the importation of negroes from the South. It seems to me now that it was something of that kind. I paid no attention to it at the time, and not until some time afterwards. This first article was in italics, but I can not give the contents of it.

Q. Have you any articles that appeared in his paper with you?—A. I have a copy of a letter that was put up at his office, so I understand. The party I got it from was a negro, who said that Mr. Perry or Mr. Williams, colored gentlemen from North Carolina, gave it to him. I understand from a party who knows that it was put up in Langsdale's office. I know the party who put up the type.

Q. What is your information as to who was the party who wrote it?—A. Mr. Langsdale.

Q. Whose name is signed to it?—A. Mr. Clay, the pastor of the church, a colored church there in our town. (The witness here passed the paper to the chairman). One of the gentlemen stated that he helped to set up the type and that it was written in Mr. Langsdale's handwriting, and the name of Clay signed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Just wait a moment, Mr. Lewman, until I ask Mr. Warnock a few questions.

TESTIMONY OF ——— WARNOCK.

Mr. WARNOCK sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. (Passing the paper to the witness.) State if you ever saw that paper before?—Answer. I did.

Q. Where at?—A. In the Greencastle Banner office, while I was employed there.

Q. Are you a printer?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. Did you help to set it up in that office?—A. No, sir. I saw the young man set it up.

Q. Whose handwriting was it in?—A. The handwriting closely resembled Mr. Langsdale's.

Q. Would you have taken it for Langsdale's handwriting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think now that it was his handwriting?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say it was in his handwriting?—A. No, sir; I say it looked like it.

Q. Do you know the printer who set it up?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. George W. Moreland.

Q. Do you know that it is the custom of editors to frequently write letters for their customers?—A. I do not know as to that.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Langsdale had a very peculiar handwriting, had he not?—A. Yes, sir; you could not mistake it.

Q. And you say it was his?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Who was your employer?—A. Mr. Langsdale.

Q. Are you there with Mr. Langsdale now?—A. No, sir.

Q. When did you leave there?—A. In September.

Q. What time did you say this was set up in that office? When did you see it there?—A. It was two months, I suppose, before I left—during the excitement over the exodus to Kansas.

Q. Why did you leave Mr. Langsdale's employment?—A. I was offered more money at another place.

Q. Who by?—A. Mr. Arnold, of the Star office.

Q. What are the politics of the Star?—A. It is Independent Greenback, I believe.

Q. Are you still there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you state whether the paper is for or against the exodus?—

A. I suppose it is opposed to it, as most of the people are.

Q. You have had no trouble with Editor Langsdale, have you?—A. No, sir.

Q. You simply made an exodus to the Star office to better yourself?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF M. T. LEWMAN RESUMED.

M. T. LEWMAN recalled to the stand.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Do you know Mr. Warner?—Answer. Yes, sir; I have known him since I was a boy.

Q. You may state what his standing and character are.—A. I never heard anything against him in my life, and I do not think he had any knowledge of being subpoenaed here until he got the dispatch to come.

Q. You say you got this document from a negro?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember his name?—A. Mr. Mace, I believe.

Q. Where is he now?—A. At Greencastle.

Q. Is he an agent of this emigrant business?—A. No, sir; he is a resident negro there, and has been there some time. A short time after those letters were set up, perhaps a month afterwards, I got from Mr. Arnold an inkling that there had been such articles as these distributed through the South, and that none of them were left there, so I could not tell where to get one. I spoke to Mr. Mace after the first batch, I think of fifty-six negroes, came there with the first lot. They were all men, I believe, and there were no women with them but one, and I talked with Mr. Mace and asked him to get me one of these letters, and he got that from Mingo Simmons. It came from him, and I think he came from about La Grange, North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. (Senator Voorhees) then read the following to the committee:

INDIANA.

This is a rich State of fertile lands, with abundant timber of every variety. The climate is healthful, and is not too cold for me, although I was raised in Georgia. It is just right.

Free schools are maintained from three to six months each year in every neighborhood. The blacks are admitted to these schools on the same terms as the whites, or, as is usually the case in cities, they have separate schools with good teachers.

Our people already have numerous churches, and more are being built every year by the help of our white friends, so that our church privileges are all that can be desired.

In Indiana all stand equal before the law—the black man being protected in his contracts, property, and person the same as the white.

Those of our race who come from the South and locate here have greatly improved their condition, especially those who have engaged in farming. Thousands of good farm hands and house servants can readily find employment at remunerative wages, and when you have earned your money the law will compel payment, should it be refused, which is not likely to be the case. What we want is honest, industrious men, who know how and are willing to work on farms, and the same class of women to do housework. Loafers are not wanted.

Don't sell your horses and wagons at half price to pay your fare on railroads and steamboats, but hitch up your teams and come overland to Indiana, like the children of Israel marched out of Egypt. It will only take a short time to do so. All who intend coming should do so during the present summer and ensuing fall, so as to get located in time to make their contracts with the farmers for next year. Such contracts are best made before Christmas. Colored men already here will assist those who come in obtaining work or situations. Persons who desire further information can obtain it by addressing me. But don't wait to write; gather up what you have and come at once, so as to be safe when the fifteenth amendment is repealed, for the purpose of returning you to a condition of slavery if you are found south of the Ohio river.

JOHN H. CLAY,

Pastor Bethel Chapel, M. E. Church, Greencastle, Ind.

Show this to our people in your neighborhood, and then keep it for future reference.

The WITNESS. This is an article (producing a paper) that went with that, I understood, and they were distributed together. I have understood, from the negroes who came from North Carolina, that the two were distributed together.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. This was all printed in the paper?—A. No, sir; that circular signed by Clay was not; it is a private circular.

Q. When did this first one come into your hands?—A. Not more than a month ago.

Q. Did you learn how long it had been printed and put in circulation?—A. Only from Mr. Williams.

Q. What did he say?—A. He came to my office, perhaps two or three weeks ago, and I was in the auditor's office at the time. My son brought him in there and said there was a man who wanted to see me. I said to him, "What can I do for you?" and he said, "I wanted to see you to get the use of the court-house for to-night." I said, "What for?" and he said, "Your people here do not seem to know why we have come up here to Indiana"; and he said they wanted to hold a meeting in the court-house to explain their objects. I said to him that I did not think it was of any use to do that, and asked him, "Where do you live?" He says, "I live here," and I said, "Where did you come from, and how long have you been here?" He said he came from North Carolina, and had been here three or four days. I said to him, "I do not think you are a citizen enough to be treated as such," and that the county board did not allow the court-house to go to the use of anybody but to citizens. I said, "What is your name?" and he said his name was Williams. I said, "Are you P. C. Williams?" and he said, "Yes." I said, "Are you the man who sent these circulars out in the South among the negroes?" and he said, "No." I said, "There is no use to deny it for I have the evidence, and you are an intelligent man and a preacher, and I know you did do it. You were here in September, and you and Perry took them; they went out of the office with you, and you took them to North Carolina." I was looking at him very straight; and then he said, "No, sir; I did not, but Perry took 400 of them." That was admitted to me by him in the presence of Mr. Edwards.

Mr. WARNOCK was called to the stand for a question.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Warnock, do you remember when this circular was set up in the Banner office?—A. It must have been July, I think, but I cannot remember exactly the time.

Testimony of M. T. LEWMAN resumed.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Go on, Mr. Lewman, with your statement.—A. I understood from Williams that Perry took them from there about the 1st of September, but I may be mistaken as to the time.

The CHAIRMAN (Senator Voorhees) then read to the committee the following from the printed circular:

INDIANA AND THE EXODUS.

[From the Greencastle (Indiana) Banner, September 25.]

A party of colored refugees from Kentucky passed through here Thursday on their way to Kansas, under the care of N. R. Harper, of Louisville. They arrived at 5 p. m., and remained until 11, when they took the western train. While here they were taken in charge by Rev. J. H. Clay and his congregation and entertained in Bethel Chapel. They presented an intelligent appearance, and realized in every particular the importance of the step they were taking. The ruling idea with them was to buy land, and this they think they can do more easily in Kansas, where lands are cheap, than they can in the older States. At the same time they concede the fact that it will be better for those who haven't money to buy land to stop in Indiana, Ohio, or Illinois, where their labor on farms is in such demand at remunerative wages. They have an impression that they will be safe from persecution in Kansas, and they were both surprised and pleased to learn that they would be equally secure in the more enlightened portions of Indiana. They stated that all the negroes in Kentucky who are industrious and have an ambition to better their condition will leave for the North during the

present fall and winter, except the few who are led by deceptive promises from the whites to remain.

We do not believe that they can do better than to come to Indiana. We need their labor on our farms and in our households, and will pay them the cash for it. There are no stores owned by the farmers here to cheat them out of their earnings. Here they will have precisely the same opportunity and privilege that the whites have to win fame and fortune, and they cannot do better than to settle among us. There is scarcely a farm in Putnam County but that would be the better for their services. In some parts of the county this year fields have been uncultivated for the want of workmen. If the colored exodus from the South brings those to us, it will be better for all concerned.

Three gentleman, living twenty miles away, came to town Thursday after colored families to live on their farms, under the impression that the colored people to arrive that day were to remain. When they learned that Kansas was their destination, their disappointment was very great. They each stated that they would be willing to furnish a man with a house to live in, a garden, a cow to milk, firewood, and pay him \$15 a month cash. They further stated that the female members of colored families could find constant employment in the neighborhood at good wages.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Go on and state to the committee what you know of that kind of literature being sent South?—A. I understood from the man that these circulars had both been distributed very generally down there. After I got hold of this first one (I had to pay \$7 for it) they told me they both went together. I was anxious to get hold of it. It does not look like it was worth the price; but I wanted to see it and I bought it. Simmons said he took an oath never to part with it except to Mr. Langsdale or Mr. Clay. I do not know whether that is true or not; but I have only his word for it. I will say here that, in reference to that \$15 a month, I am pretty generally over the county from time to time, and pretty well acquainted with the farmers. My business before I went into office was building, and employing a good many people. I have been following the building business all my life, and I know the prices of labor, and I have talked to a number of farmers since this exodus has been coming into the county. It created quite a furor among not only Democrats, but Republicans; but we have some extreme men in our county, like Langsdale, who favor it. I have talked to farmers about wages, and they told me that \$10 would be the average price in the county; but these negroes said they were promised \$15 in the winter and \$20 in the summer.

Q. What do you know about the truth of the statement that a party employing one of these emigrants would give him a house to live in, and a cow and a calf, and probably drive the cow up for him to milk, and give him his food; what kind of a statement does that look like?—A. That is very overrated, I think. I do not think there is a laboring man in the county who is getting anything like that.

Q. That is a very greatly overdrawn picture, is it?—A. Of course it is.

Q. What do you put the daily wages at which men get, ordinary laborers, where they board themselves, and what are the monthly wages?—A. With farmers, if they go to work on a farm, now, they get 50 cents a day, or \$10 per month; \$12 is the pay for a very good hand. Those negroes who came there—and there are a good number of them that have landed in the county—I have made some inquiries of as to what they were getting. Dr. Stevenson is a gentleman living just east of our place and having 1,600 to 1,800 acres of land.

Q. He is a very rich man?—A. Yes, sir; worth half a million, I think.

Q. He is a Republican, also?—A. Yes, sir. Well, he had a lot of them making rails for him. I understood he had 24 on his place at one time, and that he had displaced some white men to put them in. I do

not know as to the truth of that; but I heard it; and he got them to go on his place and make rails at 25 cents a hundred. I heard a negro say so himself. I overtook one of them on the road and asked him what he was doing. He said he was making rails for Dr. Stevenson, and making them out of hickory wood.

Q. How many rails can a man make a day out of hickory wood?—A. I do not know, sir; I think not more than a hundred, anyhow. I also heard them laughing about shucking corn for 20 cents a day.

Q. Then you think that they would be doing well there to make 25 cents a day?—A. I do not think those that are there have averaged 25 cents a day.

Q. How many do you estimate have been lauded there in the county?—A. I have put it at the lowest estimate at 250. I kept an account of them pretty well until they got so many that I lost the run of them.

Q. When did the last lot come to the county?—A. I think there were a few of them last week. The last lots have been very small.

Q. Then the exodus seems tapering off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of those who have come there do you think have got employment?—A. I expect a half of them have; I suppose not more than that. I know I was down at the Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette depot the other day, where I saw 21 of them in a room not larger than this (about 18 by 20 feet).

Q. Where was that at?—A. Near the north depot. They were living in there at the railroad crossing, and were mostly women and children. There were some men about, I believe.

Q. Did you see any stove in there?—A. I did not see any stove in there. How I came up there, I received letters almost daily from parties down in La Grange, North Carolina, asking me if I would buy them tickets and see that they got on the road back to North Carolina; but I know very little about that part of the business, for I was busy, and I told Mr. Allen, my deputy, to take out my letters and answer them and attend to them for me. He knows all about it and can tell you.

Q. Was it in consequence of these letters that you were down there at the depot?—A. Yes, sir; I was trying to see a woman that a gentleman wrote for, and as I was in that part of the town I just looked in there to see if I could find her.

Q. Did you find the woman?—A. Mr. Allen did. She was down there, but out of the room at the time I called.

Q. Tell us about whether they want to go back home to North Carolina.—A. I am fully satisfied that quite one-half and possibly two-thirds would gladly go back if they could get there. I have talked to one or two, for they have been coming to my office to see about getting letters written, but I turned it all over to Mr. Allen.

Q. Is he a deputy in your office?—A. Yes, sir. Mr. Fields took two of the negroes back, and he told me that every one that he had seen from his place wanted to go back with him.

Q. When did Mr. Fields come to Greencastle?—A. I cannot tell you; it may have been three weeks ago, more or less.

Q. Where did he come from?—A. La Grange, North Carolina, I think.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He came into my office one evening and said, "Are you the sheriff of the county?" And I said, "Yes." And he said, "I want to ask you some questions with reference to those negroes coming from our country up here," and said he had been over to the Banner office, and also said, "I do not want to deceive you; I am a Republican." I felt a little suspicious about talking to him, and I simply

told him the facts, as I understood them, that there was no demand in our county for labor; that a great many of our people were out of employment, and a great many were just living from hand to mouth and almost starving. I told him that I had frequently of an evening let 6, 8, or 10 men go into the jail to keep them from freezing; that they were traveling through the place, going about and looking for work. We have not had so many this winter, as it has been quite mild. I gave him the situation. He said he had seen several of his hands who had left him, and he said they were anxious to go back, and said, "I have had a mind to come and take every one of them back that left me." He seemed to have a plantation down there in North Carolina.

Q. Did he take any?—A. He took one. I went out to the plantation with him after him.

Q. These were women or men?—A. They were men.

Q. Do you know whether he got reduced rates to bring them back?—A. I do not know, sir. I got a letter from a party in Carolina, asking just what amount of money it would take to bring them back. He told me where he was to be found, and I knew him and where he was located. I went to the railroad, and they said the lowest rate—I did not go myself, but I sent Mr. Allen—was \$20 from Greencastle to this point. I said, "How is this; that it is only \$16 from Indianapolis and \$20 from there?" And they said it was because of the local rate.

Q. How much did you pay coming here?—A. I paid \$16 from Indianapolis.

Q. What was the rate from Greencastle?—A. Twenty dollars. I could not get a low rate for them to the points where they wanted to go.

Q. How many of these people have gone back?—A. A number of them from our county. There was one from the northern part of the county, in Russellville Township; he started to walk, and Mr. Allen saw him nearly to Indianapolis.

Q. Did you receive a letter from Mr. Wootten or the Messrs. Wootten Brothers?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not know the contents of it.

Q. Were there any of their employés who had left and gone up there in that county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any of them come back?—A. I do not know.

Q. Did you see anybody about their coming back?—A. I do not know myself about that. Mr. Allen saw them, I think.

Q. What do you know of their health? Are they not all huddled up there in very close quarters?—A. Well, sir, there have been four or five deaths in our town among these people; three children and one woman, and I heard there was a man at Dr. Crow's who was likely to die when I left.

Q. You say that Dr. Stevenson, who was a prominent man in the county, and at one time a candidate for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket, has employed some of these people; how many did he have?—A. He had 24, as I understood it.

Q. How many did the Crows have?—A. They had several families, 5 or 6.

Q. Who was this—which one of the Crows?—A. It was Joe.

Q. What are Joe's politics?—A. He is a ward politician.

Q. What are his politics?—A. Republican.

Q. Do you know of any person not a Republican who has taken any of these people to their places?—A. I do not know, sir, of any. I have the names of some 50 or 60, and every one is a Republican except Bridges. He has been a Democrat, and went off on this greenback idea,

and is now, I think, up for nomination as trustee on the Republican ticket in his township. He has been a Democrat, but I think has now entirely left the Democratic party. He is much of a gentleman, nevertheless.

Q. What do you know of white men being discharged to make room for these negroes?—A. Only this: On Dr. Stevenson's place is a Mr. Welcker, who is very much of a gentleman, and who had been up to Bainbridge and made an arrangement with Mr. O'Hara for a house on the gravel road to live in, and when he went after it to occupy it he found that they had let two negroes have it.

Q. You think, taking the average, that these negroes have not made more than 25 cents a day since they have been in Indiana?—A. No, sir, I think not. Some of them may have made more, but I have had a good deal of information about them, and I do not think that they have made on an average 25 cents a day.

Q. Did you make the acquaintance of Heath when he was out there?—A. No, sir; but I met him when he came there.

Q. Where at?—A. At the Vandalia depot; one night at the South depot.

Q. At Greencastle?—A. At Greencastle, sir. General Manson, auditor of the State, sent word to me that there would be a colored man there that night or in the morning, who was the advance agent looking out places to locate colored people, and I went down there to the depot that night, and when he got off the train I had a talk with him. He told me where he was from, and said he had been here to Washington and stopped here awhile, I believe two weeks, with a gentleman of the name of Adams, 1338 V street, northwest. He said he had been there as much as two weeks, and had been at Indianapolis three or four days; maybe more. I gave him to understand that I was in favor of the exodus. I do not know that that was strictly right, but I did that. I am frank to say that I told him I was sympathizing with him very much. He said they expected to have enough darkies in the State by the 1st of May to carry the State for the Republican party. He said that one of their objects was to get them from North Carolina before the 1st of May to lessen the Republican vote there and increase it in our State. He did not hesitate to talk about it, and to say that it was a political movement.

Q. Why did they want them there by the 1st of May?—A. His idea was that it should be before the 1st of May, and before the census was taken.

Q. Was anything said about its bearing on the vote in Indiana?—A. He said that Adams and the parties he had been with here said they would have enough to go to Indiana to carry the State, but that they could not pay their way. I said, why is it that you do not pay your own way? Cannot you get here without your way being paid? And he said they could not; that those who had horses would not leave them, and did not want to come away; that it was only those whose way would be paid that could be gotten to come. By the way he said, too, that he went from here to Indianapolis in the mail car.

Q. Did he go from Indianapolis to Greencastle in the mail car?—A. I think he did.

Q. Did you see him get out of it?—A. No, sir; I did not, but I think he told me he had got out of it.

On motion, at this point the committee stood adjourned to Saturday, January 31, 1880, at ten o'clock a. m.

SEVENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Saturday, January 31, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment.

Present, the chairman and all the members of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF M. T. LEWMAN, RESUMED.

M. T. LEWMAN, testimony of yesterday resumed.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. When we adjourned yesterday you were speaking of an interview with a colored man of the name of Heath, and I think you remarked that you thought he came there in the mail car on the railroad? —A. I think so; he told me he did. I told you that I did not see him get out of the mail car myself.

Q. Who is the mail agent on that road?—A. I do not think I can answer as to that road.

Q. What road was it on?—A. The Vandalia.

Q. Did he give you any reason why he traveled on the mail car?—A. I do not know that I can state that he did.

Q. How did he come to tell you about it?—A. He was speaking of how kind they were to him; and speaking in the same connection, I think he said he went over from here to Indianapolis in the mail car.

Q. Did he tell you whether he paid his fare while traveling in the mail car?—A. He said he did not; that is my impression.

Q. He was carried through as mail matter, then?—A. He simply said that he came over in the mail car.

Q. And traveled free?—A. He told me he traveled free.

Q. Did he not tell you that anybody franked him or deadheaded him over the road?—A. He told me he came free, but I do not remember his exact language.

Q. Did he tell you that he came free from Washington?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And had the accommodations of the mail car?—A. I do not know that he said anything of accommodations; he said he met a gentleman in Indianapolis named Reynolds.

Q. That is a violation of law, is it not, to ride in the mail car?—A. I do not know, sir; I am not posted on that.

Q. Where is that man Heath, now?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. How long did he stay in and about Greencastle?—A. I understood until next morning at 9 o'clock; I saw him no more that evening.

Q. Do you know where he went?—A. The last I saw of him was at a hotel in the north end of the town.

Q. Do you know where he went when he left Greencastle?—A. My impression is that he went to Kansas, from what a gentleman there told me, a Mr. Goodrich.

Q. Do you know whether he came back?—A. I do not know.

Q. What do you know of his leaving a written statement on this subject at Indianapolis?—A. I never saw it.

Q. Did he tell you he made it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you understand that it is in existence from information?—A. The gentleman with whom the paper was left, Mr. Baker, I understand, has it yet.

Q. What Baker is that?—A. Mr. James E. Baker.

Q. What was the appearance of this man Heath? Was he a full-blooded colored man?—A. He was a dark mulatto, but not a coal-black man.

Q. What degree of intelligence did he manifest?—A. Nothing extra.

Q. You may repeat, as you did last evening, what was said of the purposes of this movement, so far as Indiana was concerned.—A. He told me that his first object was to get to Kansas; it is a matter I have not thought much about since, as it was long before this committee was in existence or thought of; but he said that his intention when he left home was to go to Kansas, but said he was sent out by friends at home to look out homes for them, and he came to Washington and remained one or two weeks, and gave the names of the parties with whom he staid.

Q. One was the man named Adams?—A. Yes, sir; he said they treated him kindly and asked him to stop at Indianapolis; and he said he had letters to Mr. Martindale; I am not positive as to whether he said he had any letters to Holloway, but I am certain as to Martindale; he said he staid there several days, and they asked him to come to Greencastle, and that he would find better accommodations down there in Putnam County than he could find in Kansas; he asked me about the county and chances for their getting labor, and I asked him why they wanted to leave North Carolina; he said one reason was to better their condition, and another, he said, was that their friends here, Adams and others, desired as many as possible of them to get out of North Carolina and into Indiana before the census was taken, so as to decrease the representation in North Carolina, and increase it in Indiana; this was the substance of his language.

Q. Did he tell you how many it was contemplated to transfer in this way by the 1st of May?—A. I think he did, but I cannot say how many it was.

Q. Give the best impression on your mind, if you have one?—A. I think it was fully as much as 10,000, but I am not positive.

Q. He talked to you freely, supposing you to be a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; that is true.

Q. Did he state who those letters were from recommending him to Martindale and Holloway?—A. I think he only called one name here, and that was Adams. If there was any other in Washington City, I do not remember it.

Q. Were you aware at that time that Adams was secretary of the Emigrant Aid Society?—A. No, sir; I was not.

Q. Did this man say anything at the time as to what Judge Martindale and Holloway said to him about going there to Indiana, and about raising money for them?—A. I am not certain whether the conversation was as to Holloway or not, but he said they proposed to pay half of their way. That was what he said in the conversation with me.

Q. This was all in the said conversation?—A. I never had but one with him.

Q. Judge Martindale is proprietor of the Indianapolis Journal, the leading Republican paper in the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Holloway is postmaster at Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir; he is.

Q. And is a leading and prominent Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Lewman, have you ever seen any Republican newspaper published in Indiana condemning this emigration of North Carolina negroes to our State?—A. I do not recollect of seeing one.

Q. Have you ever seen that they failed to condemn this committee for investigating the reasons why they left North Carolina for Indiana?—A. I do not know that I have. I think they all of them go for you and the committee.

Q. What is the tone and position of the Greencastle Banner on this subject?—A. It has been opposing the investigation all the time.

Q. Now, sir, I want you to state the manner in which that lot of 50 or 60 negroes came to Greencastle? What citizens of the town went to see them, to meet them, and marched up to town with them?—A. I did not see them myself, but I understood that word was brought that they were on the road. I had it from Mr. Thomas Hanna, an attorney of our town, and who is ex chairman of the Republican county central committee. He was chairman some time, but has been succeeded by another gentleman.

Q. What office is he a candidate for now on the Republican State ticket?—A. For the nomination of lieutenant-governor, I believe. In conversation with him—and I heard others state it—he stated to me this—that is, in speaking about the first batch; I stated yesterday that it was 56; I believe it was sixty-odd—that batch of fifty-odd or sixty-odd, Mr. Hanna telegraphed to Mr. Langsdale to come to Indianapolis to make arrangements for them. Mr. Langsdale did not get the dispatch in time to go on the Vandalia train, and he took the northern road, and when he got to Indianapolis I understood that arrangements were already made to get them to Greencastle. I do not know what amount was arranged for, but Mr. Hanna said the money was arranged for, and Langsdale came down to Greencastle with them, and when they got off at the south depot, as we call it, Mr. Langsdale and Mr. Clay, pastor of the church there, marched them up to the church and quartered them there.

Q. You say they marched them up; do you mean that Langsdale marched up with them?—A. As I understand from those who saw him, he marched at the head of the procession.

Q. Were they on foot?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How far is it from the depot to the church?—A. Fully half a mile.

Q. Where is the church located?—A. It is near the college.

Q. And your understanding is that Langsdale marched up at the head of them?—A. I heard a number say so, but I did not see that.

Q. Were they put into the Methodist church?—A. They were, sir.

Q. And remained there all the time, did they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there any of them there now?—A. Not of the first squad, I reckon.

Q. But any, I mean?—A. No, I think not; I think there are none in the church now, nor when I left home, but there were a good many about town.

Q. You spoke of 20 of these emigrants being in a room not as large as this; do you know of any others in the same condition?—A. Not to my personal knowledge; others know that better than I do. I have heard of it, but don't know it.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Mr. Lewman, you say you are a resident of Greencastle?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been a resident there?—A. Well, sir, I believe I have been there 14 years, a little over that permanently.

Q. What is the population of that county?—A. What is the county?

Q. Putnam. What is the population of Putnam County?—A. The last census was 23,000, I think, along there somewhere.

Q. Then it is about 23,000?—A. Yes, sir; about that.

Q. What is size of the county of Putnam?—A. It is longer north and

south than it is east and west; it is perhaps 30 miles long and about 17 or 18 wide. I do not know it exactly without making a calculation. I may be mistaken about the width of it.

Q. How many square miles would that be?—A. I never made a calculation of that, and without figuring it I would not say.

Q. That would be 510 square miles, if you have it right?—A. Yes, sir, I suppose so, but it is a matter I never figured over at all.

Q. That would be 326,400 acres; it is all good land?—A. No, sir; not all of it.

Q. What proportion is?—A. I suppose three-fourths is what we call good land; then there is some hilly land in the southeast and southwestern parts.

Q. Is that portion settled?—A. The hilly portion, yes, sir; it is all settled; the best part of our county is the north, northwestern, and west and east portions.

Q. Is all the county settled?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it all improved?—A. Well, sir, there are some bodies of land that are not under cultivation; there is a good deal that is in timber.

Q. What portion of the county is under cultivation?—A. I cannot tell you exactly, but I should think one-fourth is under cultivation; a great deal of the land there is in timber and in grass.

Q. What is the principal product of the county?—A. It is termed the "stock county" more than anything else, but we raise corn, wheat, grass, and hay.

Q. Do you require a great deal of corn for your stock?—A. Yes, sir; but it is not unusual to buy corn from Illinois, but that is not so this year; there is a good deal of wheat sown this year, two or three times more than I ever saw before.

Q. You say there are four or five thousand population in Greencastle?—A. Yes, sir; in that neighborhood; our men claim more than that, but I don't think there are more; I don't know what the last census of the county was.

Q. Are there any other towns and villages in the county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Please name them.—A. There is Bainbridge.

Q. What is its population?—A. I suppose something from 1,000 to 500.

Q. Which would you say?—A. 500 to 800 I could say.

Q. Name the next.—A. Cloverdale.

Q. What is its population?—A. Not over 500.

Q. What is next?—A. Reelsville.

Q. How many are there?—A. A couple of hundred.

Q. Are there any others?—A. Fillmore.

Q. How many are there?—A. The same number, about 200, maybe 300 and a few more.

Q. Are there any other towns?—A. There are some small places, very small post-offices, &c.

Q. What are the people in these towns mostly engaged in?—A. They are merchants, blacksmiths, carpenters, and laboring men.

Q. Are none of them farming?—A. Some of them live in town and farm outside.

Q. Are they mostly railroad towns?—A. Bainbridge, Reelsville, Cloverdale, and Fillmore are.

Q. You are very much crowded there in your State and county?—A. I don't say it is crowded.

Q. You said there were a great many people without employment?—

A. But I stated we have three seasons when there is a demand for labor.

Q. What are they?—A. The planting, harvesting, and corn-gathering seasons.

Q. That would take up nearly all the summer, would it not?—A. No, sir; we don't take all the summer to raise a crop of corn out there.

Q. What do they do in the spring time?—A. They are planting corn.

Q. Then there is the tending of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does not that take pretty much all the season?—A. The corn planting and tending and harvesting run up to August; then October and November they are gathering corn; there is not so much demand for labor after.

Q. Is there no demand for persons to take care of stock in winter?—A. Yes, sir; some.

Q. What do you mean by being overcrowded?—A. My judgment is and I am confident that we have no demand, certainly no extra demand, for labor at this time.

Q. There is no demand for laboring people in your county?—A. No, sir; I say we have enough permanent citizens who are able to do all the work and still leave others idle.

Q. You don't want any more emigrants in your county?—A. No, sir; I won't say that.

Q. If you are overcrowded and in a smothering condition we want to advertise that to the world?—A. I say I don't think we need any more laboring emigrants there.

Q. Does the Democracy want emigrants to come there or do they want to keep them away?—A. I don't think that is the feeling of the Democratic party.

Q. Do they want them to come there?—A. I think they do if they come as regular citizens.

Q. Then you want these colored people to come there if they come in that way?—A. Let me explain to you; the trouble seems to be that there are people—or at least a dissatisfaction seems to be because they are shipping these people there by the car load, and dump them down upon our people, when they are not able to support themselves. There is no objections to negroes coming there from the Southern States if they come as other people, with means to support themselves, and do not become a public burden.

Q. It is this immense number that you object to?—A. Yes, sir; the feeling has been excited by that.

Q. It is intense there, is it not?—A. I cannot say it is.

Q. It is strong then?—A. There is a good deal of it.

Q. When did this dumping begin?—A. I think the latter part of September, or it may have been in October.

Q. October, November, December, and January, four months; now it was October when it began; they have been dumping them in there by the car load since October?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then when did they dump them?—A. The first lot that came there were fifty or sixty; then there was forty, and they have been coming in as low down as fifteen.

Q. This immense number that have been dumped in there, as you say, by the car load is 250 all told?—A. I think so.

Q. And this you think an immense number to come in there in four months?—A. But it has created a good deal of excitement, and I think it is a large number to come into a county in so short a time.

Q. I see by the newspapers that a great number of Irish people are

likely to come to this country in a destitute condition; do you object to them coming to Indiana?—A. I think that would be like the others; if they come there as others do I think we would not object to it, but if they come as these negroes I think they would be treated the same as they are.

Q. Even if contributions taken up are used to help them?—A. No, sir; I don't think they are similar cases. I don't think I would object to them, as it is an act of charity.

Q. Then it is an act of charity to the Irishman and not to the negro?—A. Yes, sir; it is an act of charity to the negro, too.

Q. Then why do you make a distinction?—A. Because I understand they are not bettered by coming there to Indiana.

Q. Do you think the Irishman would be bettered by coming there?—A. If they are starving over there in Ireland, it would be an act of charity for them to come to this country where they could get relief.

Q. But you have nothing for them to do in your county.—A. No, sir; we have nothing for them to do at this time.

Q. As I understand you, you have no work for them in Indiana?—A. No, sir; if they wish work they should go somewhere else.

Q. Then you would say to them to keep out of Indiana?—A. I think there are better places for them. I am candid when I say to this committee that I do not think there is a demand for labor in Indiana at this time.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. You mean at this season of the year?—A. Yes, sir; principally. I stated awhile ago that there was, during the winter, a fair demand for mechanics in our town.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Then, Mr. Lewman, when we say that America is the land of the free and the home of the brave, and an asylum for the oppressed, we must say with Indiana excepted?—A. No, sir; I do not say so.

Q. You say you have no work there for people coming into the State?—A. No, sir; there is no work at this time.

Q. Will you then advise this committee to say to the world, to these people coming here from whatever point, that they should keep out of Indiana?—A. No, sir; I would not think of advising this honorable committee as to what it should do. I do not state that we are overstocked in Indiana, but I do say that there is no demand for labor there now. I say there are times in the year when there is a demand for labor.

Q. Do not you think that if there is no demand for labor, and no work for people to do going there, that they had better keep out of the State?—A. No, sir; but I do not know that I can explain it any better than I have done.

Q. Your conclusion is that there is no demand for labor there, and that people emigrating had better keep out of Indiana?—A. I think I have stated the fact that there is no demand for labor there.

Q. Then you would say to people emigrating to the West that they had better keep out of your State?—A. That is true, sir; if they want work and are destitute in their condition now.

Q. You said, I believe, that a great many of these people wanted to go back?—A. I do not know that a great many of them want to get back, but I said a number of them did, and I say so yet; there are a number there who want to go back to North Carolina. This gentleman from North Carolina, whom I spoke about awhile ago, stated that all he

had seen from his place wanted him to take them back; and all I have talked to myself, probably two dozen, said they would be glad to go back, or intended to go back as soon as they got the means to go on.

Q. How many have you talked to on the subject?—A. I think probably two dozen. I do not recollect of one that I talked to who did not want to go back.

Q. What reason did they assign for wanting to go back?—A. They said that they could do better in North Carolina than there.

Q. I suppose you have heard of no threats and mobs and violence to keep people from hiring these emigrants?—A. There was some talk of that kind in the northwest corner of our county.

Q. Was anything done of that kind?—A. There was something of the sort, some talk, but I think no more, except that two houses were burned there in Russellville Township, one of the largest townships in the county.

Q. Was there anybody in either one of those houses when they were burned?—A. No, sir; not at the time. One of them was owned by Mr. Wilson, who is a Republican, and the township itself is a very strong Republican township.

Q. Were there any negroes on his place?—A. I think he had arranged with them to come in there, and the house was burned several days afterwards.

Q. Was there any understanding as to whether that had anything to do with the burning?—A. I made some inquiry about it, and there are facts in connection with it that I would rather not state. I should not like to say anything definite now about the burning of the house, as we want to get at the fact of who the house was burned by. I do not think, though, there are any Democrats living within a mile or two of the house.

Q. They were living near enough to get there if they wanted to, were they not?—A. Yes, sir; they might have burned it, I suppose. I was not claiming that the Democrats out there in Indiana are saints.

Q. I had no such impression.—A. We have as good Democrats as Republicans, and as good Republicans as Democrats there.

Q. What were the politics of these people who were making the threats to burn the houses? Did you hear of any Republicans engaged in that?—A. Only through others. I have heard that the laboring Republicans in that township threatened to do it.

Q. What about the other house? Had that man anything to do with hiring these negroes?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was he a Republican?—A. No, sir; he was a Democrat.

Q. Did he have any connection with this emigrant business?—A. No, sir; I have heard it said why the house was burned, but that is all. I do not know anything about it.

Q. What was the nature of the threats about which you testified?—A. Well, sir, we have men there who are reckless, Democrats and Republicans alike, and I have heard threats from both sides. They are men of a low class generally, and I paid no attention to what they said.

Q. Did you ever read any Democratic newspapers in which such a thing was hinted at?—A. I think I have, some little sketches.

Q. So it was not a low class of people that made these threats, but some good people were concerned in them?—A. I think I have heard of such a thing.

Q. How far is Shelbyville from Greencastle?—A. It is 75 miles from our place.

Q. What do you know of that mob that was reported down there?—

A. I do not know anything except what was in the papers. I do not know that I have talked with any gentlemen about it.

Q. You said yesterday that you did not know of any person, save one, who had employed any of these people who are not Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; I mean the new ones. The resident colored men are employed there by our people indifferently.

Q. I understood you to say that that man was a Democrat, but is pretty nearly a Republican now?—A. He used to be a Democrat, and he went off with the Greenback party, and I understand is now a candidate for nomination as trustee on the Republican ticket.

Q. From the character of your people there, as you know them from being their sheriff, what do you think would be the effect of threats of violence and these house burnings and mobs on the demand generally for colored labor?—A. We have had no such general threats and mobs in our county.

Q. It was understood, was it not, in the county that the house was burned for that reason?—A. Yes, sir; and I will say that two or three colored men left the county on that account.

Q. Would not such threats and the general understanding that houses were being burned that were prepared for colored emigrants have a natural tendency among the people to discourage them from employing these emigrants?—A. I think probably it would.

MR. WINDOM. It would in most countries, I think.

THE WITNESS. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your opinion as to that now?—A. I think I assented to your proposition. I think certainly it would have that tendency.

Q. And it would rather have a tendency to make some of these people want to go back home?—A. Yes, sir; I think it would, but do not understand, Senator, that that condition of things as you put it is the case in our county.

Q. You stated that they burnt one house a day or two after a man rented it to a colored man; that was in your county was it not?—A. Yes, sir; but all that excitement has subsided now.

Q. And you have seen the same sort of suggestions in the newspapers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And heard these threats from the lower classes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think all these things would have a tendency to discourage the demand for their labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say that Williams wanted the court-house to hold a meeting so that these people could state why they were coming to Indiana, and you would not let them have it because you did not think it was necessary?—A. That was one cause, sir. Then we have a county board of three commissioners, and they have instructed me only to let parties have the use of it on public occasions, and then only to residents of the county. I did not think that Williams was a resident of the county, and he is not now.

Q. Certainly that was a public occasion, was not it, when they wanted to hold a public meeting?—A. You might term it a public occasion. Another thing was that I did not know him any way. I told him if he would see Mr. Langsdale and Mr. Clay, and they came round, and they certified him as a citizen, he might get it.

Q. Did not Mr. Clay afterwards make application for it?—A. I understood he did.

Q. And to your deputy?—A. Yes, sir; to Mr. Allen.

Q. Did Mr. Langsdale join him in the request?—A. I understood so.

Q. Do you know why they did not get it?—A. No, sir.

Q. What paper is it that you said you paid \$7 for?—A. For both of them.

Q. You said that the paper that you had there and produced to the committee did not look like it was worth what you paid for it?—A. I do not know as it is.

Q. Then you were cheated?—A. No, sir; I do not know that I was. I was trying to get at the secrets of this matter. I had a curiosity to know what these articles were.

Q. These secret articles here were all of them published in the newspapers, were they not?—A. I think they were.

Q. And there was nothing secret about them?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you heard that these others were lying around loose in the Greencastle Banner office?—A. No, sir; I never heard of it, if they were. We never could get hold of them, if they were.

Q. And you paid \$7 to get hold of this one?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To gratify your curiosity?—A. No, sir; I wanted to see what it was. There had been a great deal of excitement among our people over the coming of these North Carolina negroes. I have not been examined before committees of this sort much, and I am in the habit of stating facts while on the witness stand; but I would say there has been a good deal of excitement about the negroes coming into our county, and it is pretty generally believed, especially among the Democrats, that it was a political movement. I had heard about these papers or letters or circulars, and I felt a curiosity to see them, and thought that if it was a fact that there was a political purpose in bringing these negroes there it was important not only to the laboring men of our county but to the laboring negroes of the South that they should know of it.

Q. You did what you did as a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir; as a Democrat and a citizen.

Q. Have you not been very active in this, Mr. Sheriff?—A. I do not know that I have been overly active. I have been active to get at the facts.

Q. You have not been opposed to this exodus movement, have you?—A. Yes, sir, I have; and have denounced it wherever I could. Laying all politics aside, putting them entirely out of the question, I have denounced it and called it a fraud.

Q. It is not a very easy thing for you to do, is it, to lay your politics aside?—A. I suppose I would be in that matter like yourself; I am a Democrat.

Q. Well, I understand that you Democrats out there are opposed to their coming?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now do you find anything in that paper to interest you after paying \$7 for it?—A. I do not know, sir, that I did particularly.

Q. What is there in it except a little exaggeration?—A. I think there is a great deal of exaggeration in that last article about the amount of pay and the inducements to be given to these people. I know all that is exaggeration.

Q. How about the secret one signed by Clay?—A. There is matter in that about the fifteenth amendment being repealed; that is all exaggeration. I do not think there is the least danger of that in the world. I never have and do not think so now.

Q. Do not you think that in some localities it is possible to nullify it quite as much as if you were to repeal it?—A. I do not think, Senator, it will ever be touched in the world.

Q. I think I have your objections to these two papers. You told us

something about meeting a certain Mr. Heath; what time in the day did you meet him?—A. It was in the night, I think near one o'clock.

Q. Were you at the depot when the train arrived?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he alone?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the first thing said between you and him?—A. I spoke to him and said good evening.

Q. You were looking for him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who told you to look for him?—A. A gentleman named Baker—James Baker.

Q. He had come down from Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who did he bring word from?—A. John Manson.

Q. Who is he?—A. The auditor of the State.

Q. Is he a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he tell you why he and the auditor had been following this colored man over the State?—A. Yes, sir. He said that this man had come on to make arrangements for locating these exodusters, and was coming to our county for that purpose.

A. And you were requested to look after him?—A. Yes, sir; and have an interview with him.

Q. You said good evening to him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did he say?—A. He asked if I could show him to the post-office, and I said I was going right there.

Q. Did you go with him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You took him to the post-office?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Did he ask you to show him the postmaster?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't you tell him that you were the postmaster?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't you tell him that you were a Republican?—A. No, sir; I don't know as I told him I was; but I asked him if he was named Heath, and he said, "Yes"; and I said I was looking for him, and he asked me how I knew he was coming, and I said I heard it from Indianapolis.

Q. You said you led him to believe you were a Republican?—A. I did, sir, from my conversation.

Q. You deceived him about that?—A. Yes, sir; I am compelled to say, in truth, that I did.

Q. Did he bring any letters with him?—A. No, sir; he had some little slips of paper, on which were the names of parties he was to see.

Q. Who were they?—A. These are the papers; I have them here. (The witness produced several slips of paper.)

Q. Did he give these to you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At what point in conversation did he give you these papers?—A. I suppose we had been talking three quarters of an hour when he gave me those papers.

Q. You had been talking a half an hour at least?—A. Yes, sir; three-fourths, perhaps.

Q. And he asked you to show him the way to the post-office?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you take him?—A. I took him to a hotel after he left my office.

Q. Did he suppose, at the time, that he was in the sheriff's office?—A. I don't know, sir; I don't think he did.

Q. Did he talk to you as though you were the postmaster?—A. No, sir; I told him I had been selected to meet him; that the postmaster was not in at that time of night.

Q. You and him talked together freely?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was anybody else there?—A. No, sir.

Q. To what hotel did you take him?—A. To Sage's, down at the north end of the town.

Q. You say nobody saw you and him when you were holding this conversation?—A. No, sir; there were two or three parties at the depot. The night porter, Mr. Floyd, and two policemen there, and a young man named Richardson.

Q. Did they hear the conversation?—A. No, sir. Mr. Baker was there too.

Q. Did he hear it?—A. Mr. Baker may have heard the first words that were spoken. I don't think either of the others did.

Q. At what time of night did you leave him at the hotel? It must have been between three and four o'clock in the morning?—A. Yes, sir; but I am not sure as to the time. It might have been three or four o'clock.

Q. You were with him from the time he got into town until three or four o'clock in the morning?—A. Yes, sir; about two hours altogether.

Q. He was with you in your office, you say, one hour?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do with him when you took him to the hotel?—A. I told the proprietor to give him a room.

Q. Did you pay for it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know who did?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether it has been paid for?—A. I think I have heard Mr. Sage say it has been paid.

Q. Do you know who paid it?—A. No, sir; I think it was paid by some Democrats, but I don't know that it was.

Q. What time did he leave?—A. I think he left about nine o'clock the next morning.

Q. Was not that the understanding between you, that he was to leave the next morning?—A. No, sir; he was to see me the next morning.

Q. Did you see him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know anybody who did?—A. I think I do.

Q. Who was it?—A. Mr. Bridges.

Q. What is he, a Republican or a Democrat?—A. He is a Democrat.

Q. Didn't you say to him that he had better get out of town pretty quick or the ku-klux would get after him?—A. No, sir, I did not, for I promised to see him the next morning.

Q. Did you hear of anybody who did tell him that?—A. No, sir; not a word of it.

Q. He did leave pretty suddenly?—A. Yes, sir; he went away on the nine o'clock train.

Q. You were to meet him the next morning?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear of any intimidation of this man, or any intimation of what frightened him off?—A. Yes, sir; I heard that Mr. Bridges told him he had fallen into the hands of a Democrat instead of a Republican.

Q. Did you hear that Mr. Bridges said anything to him about ku-klux?—A. No, sir; if he had done so I think he would have told me.

Q. Didn't you, as the Democratic sheriff, get up a good deal of a conspiracy with him to flood the State with these negro voters?—A. I told him they were needed by the Republican party, and asked him how we were going to get them, and how many. I told him how much we needed, and he said there was no doubt about our getting them, if we would pay half their expenses.

Q. You rather pledged the Republican party to bring them on there?—A. No, sir; I think not; I asked him if they could not pay their own way; and he said that maybe some of them would. I think the lan-

gnage he used was that those who had horses and places would not come; and that those who did not could not get the money to come on.

Q. You stated, I believe, that it would take about ten thousand voters to turn the scale in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; but I wish to state, in order to do him and myself justice, that he was first going to Kansas. But I think he said he was advised to stop there by people in Indianapolis.

Q. You don't know who those Indianapolis parties were?—A. No, sir, except from him; and he only named one party.

Q. You are sure he said something of that sort, before you intimated to him that they needed colored people to secure the State for the Republican party?—A. I think he did.

Q. Don't you think that it was your suggestion that you could carry the State that way?—A. I think not.

Q. Was it you who mentioned the ten thousand voters to him?—A. I think it was him. I think he said that he could get any number that was wanted; and they wanted ten thousand.

Q. Didn't you say that he suggested it?—A. No, sir, I don't think he did. He said he could get any number if you would pay half their fare.

Q. You communicated this conspiracy to Governor Hendricks, did you not?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Do you know who it was that communicated it to him?—A. No, sir; I don't think I have had any communication with him since then.

Q. Do you know whether this interview between you and Heath reached the governor's ears at all?—A. I cannot tell you.

Q. How long was it before he made his speech that there was a conspiracy between the Republicans to flood the State with colored voters that you had this interview with Heath?—A. I am not able to state that.

Q. Were you surprised when you learned that Heath had gone? And did you go around there to see him?—A. No, sir. I learned he had gone before I went down there.

Q. Who told you that he had gone?—A. Mr. Bridges.

Q. What reason did Mr. Bridges give you for his going?—A. I do not know that I can state just what was said on that occasion.

Q. Can't you remember it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Don't you remember the substance of it?—A. He said he told him he had fallen into the hands of a Democrat; and that he seemed anxious to go away, and that he jumped on the train and left.

Q. Did he tell him that you was a member of the ku-klux?—A. No, sir; Mr. Bridges did not say so.

Q. The fact that you were a Democrat was enough to make him go?—A. Yes, sir; it seems so.

Q. Have you seen him since?—A. No, sir.

Q. He was rather an ignorant man, was he not?—A. Yes, sir. He was not a low nigger, but rather of a medium character.

Q. These are all the papers that he showed you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just these little slips?—A. Yes, sir; that is all.

Q. State what he said as to his interviews with people in Washington?—A. I think he said his first intention was to go to Kansas; but he stopped here, and, meeting this man Adams, he was persuaded to stop at Indianapolis, and from Indianapolis he was sent to Greencastle; and that parties told him they wanted a certain number of negroes from North Carolina in Indiana to lessen the number of Republican votes out there and increase it in Indiana.

Q. You stated, I believe, that he did not tell you who they were who said that?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever heard anything since of this man Heath?—A. I have seen an article in the Banner purporting to be from him; but I do not think it is from him.

Q. What is that?—A. It purports to be a letter to the editor of the Banner and the postmaster; but I do not think it is from him, from the language used in it.

Q. You haven't got that, have you?—A. No, sir; there was only a mention of it in the Banner.

Q. Has Mr. Bridges ever heard of him?—A. No, sir; I think not. If he had, I think he would have told me.

Q. Did you and Mr. Bridges think that was the right sort of way to do, to meet an old darkey and frighten him out of your county in that way? Are those the Democratic tactics in your county?—A. Not as a general thing; but this seemed to be a desperate case.

Q. What was the character of that affidavit that he left at Indianapolis?—A. I only heard of it, sir.

Q. You had nothing to do with the getting of it?—A. No, sir.

Q. You only heard of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You don't know where he is now?—A. No, sir.

Senator WINDOM. I do, and I want him summoned.

Senator VOORHEES. Where is he?

Senator WINDOM. In Saint Louis.

Senator VOORHEES. Then I will summon him whenever you desire.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You stated that his object was first to go to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that he was induced by Adams to stop at Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir; by Adams and others.

Q. You went out of the conspiracy business with him. You have not heard anything more of him?—A. No, sir; except what I heard of him in this article in the newspaper.

Q. Who had anything to do with this dreadful conspiracy besides yourself?—A. I was not in any conspiracy. He was giving his object, and I was agreeing with him for a purpose.

Q. But, so far as he understood it, you and he were in a conspiracy together?—A. He may have so understood it.

Q. You were working up a conspiracy to flood Indiana with negro voters?—A. No, sir; there was nothing of the sort said in the conversation I spoke of.

Q. What did he say that Mr. Martindale said to him?—A. I do not know as I can give you any more than that he was one of the parties who directed him to Greencastle.

Q. Who was the other party?—A. I think it was Mr. Holloway, but I am not positive as to that.

Q. Did he say anything more about raising money, except what you said to him?—A. There was nothing of that sort said, except that he said they would have to have half their way paid. He said they could not be brought there without somebody paid half their fare.

Q. Did he, in this confidential conversation with you, mention any one who was raising money for this purpose?—A. No, sir; I do not think that I could state that he did.

Q. You say you talked together two hours?—A. Yes, sir; I was trying to get this information.

Q. And you had his confidence, thoroughly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he talked freely with you?—A. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Q. And you, while trying to get this information, and having his con-

fidence, did not get the names of any parties who were raising money for this purpose?—A. No, sir; he mentioned the names of parties here, and said they would help; but I do not know that he mentioned anybody who was raising money.

Q. Did he express any hope of getting it from any source?—A. Yes, sir; he seemed to think they would help him.

Q. Where were those people?—A. Some were here, and some were in Indianapolis.

Q. Did he tell you who they were?—A. Yes, sir; I asked him about Indianapolis, and my impression is that he spoke of Martindale and Reynolds.

Q. Who is Reynolds?—A. He is the mail agent there.

Q. He did not mention these names as the names of men who were going to furnish money, did he?—A. No, sir; I don't think he did.

Q. Did he seem to think those people could be brought without money, in this conspiracy you and him were raising?—A. He said they could not come without half of their way being paid.

Q. He looked to you to help him, did he not?—A. He looked to the Republican party.

Q. You did not understand that he had made any arrangement with anybody to bring them?—A. No, sir; I do not think he had.

Q. But he expected you to help him?—A. Yes, sir; I think from the questions he asked that he expected help, because he said they could not get there without we paid half their way.

Q. From all he said, you inferred that he had no arrangement for money to get them there?—A. I am inclined to think that he had none.

Q. Where is the gentleman who saw him after you did?—A. He lives in our town.

Q. Have you had frequent conversation with him since?—A. I have talked to him some since.

Q. Did you talk to him pretty freely, after this colored man left there so unceremoniously?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did he say he told him in the conversation that frightened him out of town?—A. I think it was a very short conversation he had with him.

Q. It was short, sharp, and decisive?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Was he very much amused as to the effect his conversation had upon this man?—A. I think he was a little amused.

Q. Did he mention or describe the effect that alarming statement, that he had fallen into the hands of a Democrat, upon Heath?—A. He may have done so, but I do not remember.

Q. You say that you do not recollect hearing any Republican newspaper that denounced the exodus; how many do you read?—A. I do not read very many Republican newspapers. I read the journals occasionally, and the Cincinnati Commercial, and our county papers; sometimes the Terre Haute papers, and sometimes the Saint Louis papers.

Q. You don't confine yourself very much to Republican intelligencers?—A. No, sir; I don't take but one Republican paper regularly.

Senator VANCE. You don't think you could stand two of them?—A. I do not know; but probably I could.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say, in the first batch, there were fifty or sixty who came?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. And you talked to Mr. Hanna as to how they came there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He said that money was raised to take them to Greencastle, but did he say where they found them?—A. He said to me, in conversation, that somebody had telegraphed to Laugsdale to come there and meet them in Indianapolis; but that they had started from there before he had arrived.

Q. Laugsdale, you say, was a radical man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He held that the negro was not well treated in the South, and ought to come to the North?—A. Yes, sir; that is his idea.

Q. Then it was very natural, was it not, to telegraph to so pronounced a friend of the colored people to help them?—A. I don't know, sir; but I know he had written a letter, which was published in the Indianapolis Leader, stating that he would find homes for all who came.

Q. Then that is the reason, probably, that he was telegraphed to?—A. I don't know, sir; I know I read his letter.

Q. Do you know of any connection between Republicans and this movement, except that which is of an industrial and charitable nature?—A. Not from what I know, except from my conversation with Heath.

Q. That is all the information you have?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You know of no direct connection of any prominent Republican with it?—A. I do not know of it directly; but it is the general talk.

Q. You mean that is the general suspicion in your party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But when you get down to the facts there is nothing in it?—A. I have given you all I think about it.

Q. You know of no money that has been raised for these immigrants, except for temporary support?—A. I do not.

Q. And that money was for stranded people who were in need?—A. Yes, sir; I think there was some money raised by them for some who wanted to start back home.

Q. That was Democratic money, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Do you know anything of Democratic efforts to get women and children to go back, so as to leave the impression that the Republicans wanted to keep them there to vote?—A. I know that they are very destitute, and that our Republicans said that they would not raise money to help them to get back.

Q. Did you hear anything of a large number of Republicans who said anything about there being no employment for these people?—A. I expect I have heard two hundred say that.

Q. Give us the names of as many as you can?—A. It would be a hard job to give you the names of a good many.

Q. Give us all you can?—A. There were two of the Williamsses, Mr. Welker, the man I spoke of yesterday. I believe I have heard Mr. Hanna, in his way, speak of there not being employment for them all. There were two or three of the Crows who were not, I think, in favor of the movement.

Q. Are those all?—A. No, sir; Mr. Will Fipps I have heard speak of it to a number of men down by the mill. I heard them also speak of it; but I don't know that I could give you the names in full.

Q. They were mostly people about town?—A. Yes, sir; but some of them lived in the country. I mentioned some who lived there.

Q. You say you saw a squad of twenty in a room no larger than this?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they recent arrivals?—A. No, sir; they had been there some time.

Q. Did they find employment?—A. I think some of the men did.

Q. What proportion of the two hundred and fifty who arrived there were women and children?—A. It would be difficult for me to state.

Q. Ar'n't they people who generally have large families?—A. I think the first lot of fifty or sixty were all men but one. Then of the balance I think one hundred and twenty-five—well, probably not that many, were men.

Q. How many of them have not found employment?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. How many do you know have found employment?—A. I know where probably fifty or sixty have been located.

Q. Do you think you know all who have been employed?—A. I think I do. Those who are not employed are about town, and may get a day's job now and then. When I speak of employment, I mean steady employment for those out in the country. There are forty or fifty, perhaps sixty, who are living with parties in the country.

Q. You say that Heath talked about improving his condition by coming to Indiana; what did he say?—A. He said that his idea was that they could better their condition by coming West.

Q. Did he make any complaint as to his treatment in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; he said they could not get money for their work, and had to take their pay in orders out of the stores.

Q. He complained about the order system?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he complain of any other bad treatment, political or social?—A. I think, perhaps, he did.

Q. Did he complain of any discrimination between the whites and the blacks in the administration of the laws?—A. If he did, I have forgotten it.

Q. Did he say there was general dissatisfaction among his people?—A. He stated that a large portion of them would come if they could get North; and you may term it dissatisfaction or not. But I believe he said nearly all would come if half their fare was paid, except those who had teams and property.

Q. Wasn't it a fact that when so many of those people came a long distance in such a condition, and with so many women and children, it sort of mollified your party in its ideas as to the political character of the movement?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Hasn't it occurred to you that if the Republican party was doing this as a political movement, they would not go so long a distance and bring such large families all the way from Indiana in order to get one man to vote the Republican ticket?—A. I think I have argued that out. The reason was to keep the men there, who would not stay there without their families.

Q. Couldn't they have brought them cheaper by the Mississippi river and your Vandalia line?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Couldn't they have brought them by the Vandalia line for five dollars a head?—A. I don't know as to that.

Q. You know there is a good deal of satisfaction down there in Mississippi and Louisiana among the colored people?—A. That is the newspaper report, and that is all I have heard of it.

Q. Don't you think it is an unwise policy in the Republican party for them to colonize the State by taking the people from North Carolina, and not from Mississippi and Louisiana?—A. I don't know, sir, as to their objects.

Q. Assuming the idea of your party, that this movement has been created for political purposes, do you not think it would be better policy to take them from Louisiana and Mississippi than from North Caro-

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ina?—A. Unless the reason is as has been stated here, it would be better; but it has been said here by colored Republicans that North Carolina is a safe Republican State, and they can spare them from there.

Q. Couldn't they spare them from Kentucky?—A. I don't know.

Q. Don't you know that Kentucky is a large Democratic State?—A. You know it has been going down some here of late.

Q. Don't you think it is an absurd proposition that the Republican party should go to North Carolina and do this thing to the disgust of its own people in Indiana?—A. I do not think the Republicans are disgusted with the negroes; but they are disgusted with this system of bringing them out there and putting them on the tax-payers without anything to support them. We have to feed them and to shelter them, and so they are objected to by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Q. Do you think their coming is likely to change the political aspects of the State?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Your people have no fears on that point?—A. Some of them have; but I have not.

Senator BLAIR:

Q. You said there is no demand for these people now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There are three seasons, you say—planting, harvesting, and corn-gathering. When does the demand spring up?—A. Well, sir, they commence plowing about the first of March, and sometimes not till April. This winter has been very open, and if it dries out they will begin plowing in April and plant in May.

Q. From the time they commence planting up to the time the crop is in they do not labor?—A. We have such improvements in machinery now that one man attends to as much of the crop as ten men used to do. We use double plows, reapers, and binders, and it requires less labor than you would suppose to run one of our farms.

Q. When is the most demand for labor?—A. In the summer.

Q. You need help most from spring time through to winter?—A. Yes, sir; we need most of them through the crop season.

Q. How long a time does it take to get those crops in?—A. I don't know that I can say, as I am not a farmer.

Q. In our State we hire about the time you do and get through in October. We hire up there for six months.—A. I don't think they hire that long in Indiana. They have large stock farms, and I know one man who has a thousand head of three-year-olds; it is a blue-grass region, and the best in the State, and the best stock county in the State.

Q. I suppose the portion of the year that an ordinary laboring man can get work in Indiana is about the same as in any other State South or North?—A. I don't know, sir. We have had a great deal of idleness in our State the last three or four years.

Q. I am speaking of it as a general rule. Now here is a colored man or an Irishman, and he proposes to emigrate to some State in the West; won't he get as much work in Indiana as in Illinois or Missouri?—A. I would hardly think so. I would think that in Illinois, or in Missouri, where they have more wooded land to clear, he would stand better than in Indiana.

Q. You know that in nearly all parts of the world, agricultural people must for a while be unemployed?—A. Yes, sir; that is so.

Q. So that immigrants to Indiana would find no more luck of employment there than elsewhere?—A. I am inclined to think he would. I

know we have been overrun by idle men in our State for several years—these people who are called tramps. In fact, we have had an unusual amount of idle men tramping through the country.

Q. An emigrant, going from any quarter to a new country, would expect, would he not, to undergo some hardships?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Q. Don't you think these people would rather prefer to go in a dull season, and take advantage of any rise in the demand for labor in the spring, than otherwise?—A. I don't know, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Do you know whether this gentleman who saw Heath paid his way where he went?—A. I think he did, but I do not know.

Q. If he did, he was contributing to the exodus to some other State?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator VOORHEES:

Q. Now, you say these three pieces of paper Heath gave to you at that night interview; just read that one.

The WITNESS read as follows:

"Postmaster Langsdale, and Mr. Clay, colored, at Greencastle, Putnam County, on the Terre Haute railroad. Private. Tell these gentlemen more are coming."

Q. Please state what is on the back of that paper.

The WITNESS. "Holloway. P. M."

Q. Did you ever see Mr. Holloway's handwriting?—A. I do not know that I know it.

Q. Look at this piece of brown paper, which you furnished on cross-examination by Mr. Windom, and state what is on the face of it.—A. (The Witness reading,) "Union depot, mail office, Reynolds."

Q. State whether you have any means of identifying who Reynolds is, by your information or personal knowledge.—A. I understand he is the mail agent there.

Q. Where?—A. At Indianapolis.

Q. At the Union depot?—A. Well, sir; I never made any inquiry about him.

Q. This third paper; what is it?—A. That is "J. M." at the top, but I take that to be "J. M. Adams, 1338 V. street, N. W."

Q. And these are the papers he handed you when he was talking to you, and supposed you were in sympathy with the movement?—A. That is true, sir.

Q. In your office, as sheriff, I will ask you whether it does not often become necessary, to discover the purposes of parties, to appear to be for the time in sympathy with them?—A. We rarely ever succeed if we tell the world what we are doing. I mean in pursuing a criminal, or anything of that kind; we cannot get at the facts, whether it be arson or theft, successfully without practicing some deception.

Q. Mr. Windom examined and cross-examined you in reference to the feeling there on the subject of immigration. Now, take your own county, and, if I understand you, there are objections to these people coming; but it is on account of their being paupers coming there without a demand for their labor, and consequently becoming objects of charity; but there is no objection to immigration into the State of self-supporting laborers?—A. I never heard of any.

Q. But there are objections to paupers coming there in large numbers?—A. Yes, sir. Will you allow me to state right here that the greatest

amount of dissatisfaction seems to be with the laboring classes of people. They seem to be more dissatisfied with it than any others.

Q. You have heard some grumbling among them which amounted to threats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was some disturbance on account of it, was there not, over in Hancock County?—A. I heard of it, but I do not know anything about it.

Q. These threats, you say, came generally from the laboring classes of people?—A. There was some from leading Democrats; but the largest portion of them came from the laboring people.

Q. These irrespective of party?—A. Yes, sir; I think there are some few laboring men who are Republicans who are sympathizing with it.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say you rarely succeed in finding a criminal without practicing deception. Do you think it is criminal for a quiet citizen to come into your county as this man Heath did?—A. Senator Voorhees asked me about criminals.

Q. But you admit you took your criminal tactics in dealing with this man?—A. Yes, sir; I did in this case.

Q. Why?—A. Because it was rather an unusual case.

Q. You say that house was burnt because of the man's hiring a negro?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If they had let this man hire the negro, he would have been self-supporting, and found work enough to do?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now don't you want to correct this answer?—A. No, sir.

Q. I thought I would call your attention to it.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WARNOCK.

Mr. WARNOCK sworn and examined.

By SENATOR WINDOM:

Question. Did you see these circulars around the Banner office (referring to circulars signed by Rev. J. H. Clay)?—Answer. No, sir; as soon as they were done, they were put into packages and sent downstairs.

Q. Who did you first mention it to?—A. I said nothing about it at all. I heard that Mr. Lewman had one, and there was going to be an investigation of it.

Q. It is not usual, is it, for printers to tell about what is done in their job offices?—A. No, sir; not unless they are asked.

Q. It is not usual for them to tell all they know?—A. No, sir; but I supposed the committee wanted all the facts.

Q. State whether it is considered honorable among printers to tell things occurring in their offices, unless they are called upon regularly to do so?—A. Well, sir, I supposed that I was.

Q. Did Mr. Lewman call upon you regularly?—A. No, sir; but Mr. Warren asked me about it, and showed me a copy that Mr. Lewman had, and I remembered it.

On motion, the committee adjourned until Monday, February 2, 1880.

EIGHTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Monday, February 2, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to its order of adjournment and resumed the hearing of testimony. Present, the chairman, and all the members of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM B. TINNEY.

WILLIAM B. TINNEY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside ?—Answer. Indianapolis, Ind.

Q. What is your occupation ?—A. I am agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at Indianapolis.

Q. How long have you been acting in that capacity ?—A. At Indianapolis ?

Q. Anywhere ?—A. A little over five years I have been in the employ of the company.

Q. How long since you have been at Indianapolis ?—A. Ever since I was employed by the company.

Q. Are you a native of Indiana ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you from Maryland ?—A. I am a Kentuckian.

Q. Did you go from Kentucky to Indiana ?—A. No, sir ; I went from Ohio.

Q. You are the agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Road, but there are agencies for different purposes ; what is yours ?—A. I am passenger agent.

Q. Did they ever have more than one passenger agent there ?—A. No, sir.

Q. What position does Louis C. Morrison hold ?—A. He is general passenger agent of the Vandalia line.

Q. Do you know him ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Tinney, tell the committee whether you know of any money being raised in Indianapolis, as you understand, for the purpose of carrying negroes from this place to Indiana.—A. I don't know.

Q. State all you know in regard to the telegram addressed to yourself asking that money be raised to send negroes from Washington to Indiana.—A. Well, sir, I think some four or five weeks ago—I cannot give you the exact date because I have not it with me—I was absent from home when an open telegram was sent over the wire to me at Indianapolis instructing me to collect \$625 to pay the transportation of negroes from Washington to Indianapolis.

Q. What do you mean by an open message over the wire ?—A. I call it an open message because it came over the private wire of the railroad, I presume over the I., C. and L. wire.

Q. What do you mean by an open message ?—A. One not inclosed in an envelope.

Q. Is that the habit of the company in telegraphing to its employes ?—A. Not generally so, unless, as in this case, they are not accessible to any envelope.

Q. But it came here over the private wires and came into your office ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And fell into the hands of another party ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who saw it and read it ?—A. I presume so ; I did not see it for two days after.

Q. And that party handed it to you?—A. When I came home I think I found it under the inkstand on my desk.

Q. It had been placed there by somebody?—A. Yes, sir; I presume so. Mr. Morris made the remark that there was a telegram for me in addition to my mail.

Q. What Morris was that?—A. Levy C. Morris.

Q. Have you that telegram with you?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did you do with it?—A. I destroyed it after attending to my business.

Q. Is it in existence?—A. I presume the original could be got from the office here.

Q. State the contents of it.—A. The substance of the message was for me to go to certain parties there and collect \$625, upon which being done, transportation would be furnished to the negroes for the money so deposited with me; then they would be given tickets.

Q. Be good enough, Mr. Tinney, to state whose name was signed to this dispatch.—A. I think our agent here in Washington, whose last name is Koontz.

Q. Do you know Mr. Koontz?—A. I have met him twice since I have been here. I asked him if he had the original telegram, and I said to him that it might be called for. He said to me at another time that he had found the original.

Q. In conversation with him did you refresh your recollection that the dispatch was from him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is his position in the company?—A. He is general agent at this place.

Q. Tell us the names of those parties he requested you to see and from whom to collect this money.—A. There were three colored men.

Q. Name them.—A. Message read, in substance, collect from Professors Bagby, Broyles, and Elbert this money.

Q. Are these men of large means?—A. I don't know, sir; I never saw but one of them.

Q. Did you collect the money from them?—A. I did not.

Q. Did you go to see them?—A. I went where I expected to find them.

Q. Who did you see?—I saw the leaders of the negro church there.

Q. Did you see either of these three men?—A. No, sir.

Q. What leaders did you see?—A. The minister's name, I think, was Trebine.

Q. Did you see either one of them afterwards?—A. I saw Bagby.

Q. Did you get the money from him?—A. Not a cent.

Q. What did you tell him?—A. I told him I had called to collect \$625, according to this telegram, and that it was two days old and I did not know what had been done in the mean time. He remarked that they did not have \$625 there that night, and I said I do not want your money myself; I don't propose to go about with \$600 out of that church and keep it over night at my house. I said to them that you had better take the money to some bank and get them to telegraph to Koontz to furnish the tickets and that the money is there subject to a draft.

Q. Was that the course taken?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. That is, you went no further with it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you know whether the money was raised?—A. I don't know, sir; I presume more than likely the money was sent or tickets would not have been furnished.

Q. They were furnished, were they not?—A. I don't know; I know the negroes came to Indianapolis and we don't haul people for nothing.

Q. You haul some of them for half price, anyhow?—A. Yes, sir; and white people too.

Q. Do you charge these people full price?—A. You are right, we do.

Q. You saw Bagby when?—A. It was between 9 and 10 o'clock.

Q. And he said the money was not raised?—A. I won't be positive he said that when I went into the church; I asked him where I would find these parties and they pointed me to the executive committee room, as they called it, and I went in and found some 20 or 25 there. I never had seen Mr. Bagby before that time, and I showed the message and he read it the second time; they took counsel about it; they came to me, somebody did, and said they had not that amount to-night but they would raise that amount to-morrow so as to let the negroes come.

Q. You naturally supposed that they had raised it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the negroes came over the road?—A. I met Mr. Bagby several times afterwards, but I did not ask him about it. I told them who were at the church that I did not want the money myself; their best course was to deposit it in a bank.

Q. Did any one want you to wait until they raised the money?—A. Yes, sir; and I know I was positive about not taking it.

Q. You thought that some of them might be moved by pious zeal to interview you?—A. I don't know, but I thought there might be somebody to do that.

Q. This you say was five or six weeks ago?—A. Yes, sir; as long as that.

Q. How soon after that was there heard the arrival of these people?—A. Two or three days.

Q. Do you remember how many came?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you keep account of them at that end of the line?—A. No, sir; nobody would know that fact probably, except the officers of the Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette Road; the general ticket agent if he knows his business, ought to know how many people go over his road, for he gets one coupon for each fare.

Q. Do you remember how many car-loads came?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Did you see some of them when they came there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have not taken a very lively interest in it yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did not carry anything into your pocket?—A. It does not add anything to my salary at all.

Q. You have no politics to interest you in the matter?—A. No, sir; we will carry them dead or alive either way.

Q. Do you know the political prominence of Mr. Bagby?—A. I am rather inclined to think that this gentlemen spoken of in the dispatch must have been rather influential. I think Mr. Bagby is at the head of one or two colored institutions there.

Q. Is he a prominent Republican?—A. I don't know his politics, but he is quite influential among his people.

Q. Do you know Broyle's politics?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know Elbert's?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have not mixed in politics out there much?—A. I vote very seldom.

Q. Do you know where this money was deposited, what bank?—A. No, sir; I don't know that it was raised.

Q. You told them the best way was to put it in a bank and telegraph

to Koontz to furnish tickets?—A. Yes, sir; to let tickets issue and then the money could be drawn from the bank; they did not know me and I would have had to receipt to them, and probably had to go around and get somebody to identify myself, which I did not propose to do that night.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You do not know whether it was raised or not?—A. I do not.

Q. You do not know whether it was raised here or there?—A. No, sir.

Q. The only reason you suppose it was raised was that the negroes came there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It might have been raised here?—A. No, sir; I don't say that; naturally on that telegram I thought it was to be raised there, or he would not have telegraphed as he did. I take it that way as it was usual in some cases to get us folks, and telegraph, as in that way we would save the money, and we had the privilege of the wires.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You necessarily would notice the arrival of colored people there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have seen a good many of these people arrive?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Reynolds that is the mail agent at the Indiana depot?—A. I have seen him, but I am not acquainted with him.

Q. You would not be likely to know of his selling tickets in this business?—A. I don't think he was ever in the list to sell tickets from our road; we don't recognize anybody whose name is not on our pay-roll.

TESTIMONY OF VIRLING K. MORRIS.

VIRLING K. MORRIS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You say you reside at Indianapolis?—Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Williams, a colored man, who has been connected with this emigration movement?—A. Yes, sir; I have met him a time or two.

Q. Where did you meet him?—A. I believe the first time was in my office.

Q. Where is your office?—A. Number 58 East Market street.

Q. What business are you engaged in?—A. The real estate business; and then we have been acting as agents for Western railroads having a land agency. I think there was the first place I saw him.

Q. Why did he call on you?—A. I think he called to see if he could get transportation to Topeka, Kans.

Q. Are you agent of roads leading into that State?—A. I have been of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad, but not for several years past.

Q. Are you related to Levy C. Morris?—A. Yes, sir; he is a brother of mine.

Q. He is an agent of the Vandalia line, is he not?—A. I will explain that to you. We have an office up on Market street, and one at 164 South Illinois street. He has charge of that while I am up at the Market street office. That down there is our Western business; while Mr. Mills is associated with me at my office, which is up town.

Q. Do you have the privileges of his office down town ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At which one of your offices did Williams call on you ?—A. The uptown office.

Q. Do you know whether before that he had seen your brother ?—A. I don't.

Q. You say he wanted transportation to Topeka, Kans. ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how long he had been in the State when he called on you ?—A. No, sir; I did not know he was there until he came into the office.

Q. At what time was that ?—A. In the fore part of October.

Q. Did he get transportation to Kansas ?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Did he get it from you ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether he went to Kansas ?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Q. What did he say about remaining in Indiana ?—A. I don't remember his saying anything particular. He wanted to know what the fare would be to Kansas. He was in there but a little while.

Q. Could he not have found that easier down town than up at your office ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How came he to come to you ?—A. I don't know, sir. I think one of these colored men came with him. You see we have been advertising considerably over that country as land agents, particularly of the Iron Mountain road; and persons visit our office in town to see what rates they can get to various points.

Q. You don't remember the man who came with him ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was it Perry ?—A. I think Perry came to the office first, and in a few minutes Williams came. I believe it was Perry that the other gentleman was with.

Q. Had Perry been to your office frequently ?—A. Several times.

Q. Is that him [pointing Perry out in the committee room] ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say he came first with another gentleman, and then Williams came in ?—A. Yes, sir; in five or ten minutes.

Q. Did they state anything about settling in Indiana ?—A. No, sir.

Q. They said nothing to you about settling in Indiana ?—A. I think we had some little talk about it, but I don't know whether it was at that time or afterwards.

Q. Was he there afterwards ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any talk with him ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he finally conclude to stay there ?—A. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Q. What did he say as to the others ?—A. He said that others were coming.

Q. Did he give you an idea of how many ?—A. No, sir; he didn't mention the numbers; no, sir.

Q. Did he say about what time they would come ?—A. No, sir. I think the next time there were some of them there at the Union depot, and I went down to see them. The first time I don't recollect. I don't remember how soon he told me any of them were coming.

Q. I mean, did he say they were coming this winter, or next summer, or when ? Did he indicate when they would come ?—A. No, sir; he didn't indicate any particular time.

Q. What reason did he give for their coming ?—A. Well, he thought they didn't have the privileges in North Carolina that they would have in Indiana and in Kansas.

Q. How long had he been in Indiana at that time?—A. I cannot say.

Q. Do you know where he is now?—A. I don't.

Q. What do you know of his making a trip to Washington afterwards?—A. I don't know anything about it, except that he came, and there were some colored people with him at the Union depot. I think there were two or three colored men with him when he came to the office.

Q. Do you mean when he was returning to Washington?—A. No, sir. He came here and then came back to Indianapolis.

Q. What did you do to help him purchase tickets?—A. I assisted Mr. Perry.

Q. State what that assistance was?—A. He came in and wanted me to assist him about getting tickets, and he gave me the money, and I went down and gave it to my brother. I suppose he ticketed them through. I returned to the office, as I was busy that day.

Q. You say Perry gave you the money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Could he not have gone and bought them himself?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Q. Then why did you do it?—A. Because he asked. People very frequently do it who are going west.

Q. Was he going west?—A. He was going east.

Q. Why didn't you tell him to go and buy the tickets for himself?—A. Because we get a commission out of tickets we sell over some of the roads, and that was the case in this instance.

Q. How much commission did you get on these tickets?—A. I think two dollars in each case.

Q. Did you divide that with Perry?—A. No, sir.

Q. You took two dollars commission on each ticket?—A. Yes, sir; but we don't get it all; we report the tickets and the report is sent back by the officers of the road.

Q. Am I to understand that if I were in Indianapolis to-day I could give you the money to buy my ticket and you could buy and keep two dollars of that money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, I think I will help some of my friends out there the next time I travel. But, Mr. Morris, do I pay no more than the regular rate in such case?—A. No, sir; and I wish, Senator, you would help us out.

Q. Suppose that I am a traveler and I met you at the depot in Indianapolis and gave you the money for two tickets, you would buy the tickets for me at the same price that I could buy them, but you would get two dollars by that transaction, and I would pay nothing more?—A. Yes, sir; I will have to explain that to you. The laws of the city there are very stringent, and have driven all the scalpers out, and we have to be very particular. When parties want tickets we generally take them to the Union depot ticket office and we help them in purchasing their tickets as much as we can, and in that we manage to sell tickets east and west.

Q. Did Perry have any benevolent desire to help you by applying to you to purchase his tickets?—A. No, sir.

Q. Could not he have gone and bought his tickets for himself quite as well?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is not an idiot, Mr. Morris?—A. No, sir; I should not take him to be one.

Q. Is that the only ticket operation you had with these people?—A. Yes, sir; I bought two tickets only for him and Williams.

Q. How much money did he give you?—A. Twenty-five dollars, I think.

Q. Was that to pay their fare from Indianapolis here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did they get tickets for twelve dollars and a half?—A. It was not first class fare, it was emigrant rates.

Q. Do they have an emigrant rate coming east?—A. I believe they have.

Q. Who bought those tickets?—A. My brother took the money and he went and bought them.

Q. Then you got four dollars out of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the road got twenty-one dollars actually?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was a pretty good commission, wasn't it, for waiting on a couple of North Carolina emigrants?—A. Yes, sir; but it was the pay that we were after.

Q. You had no other feeling in this matter except to make the money? You have no particular sympathy or charity for these folks?—A. Yes, sir; I had charity for them just as I have for other people who are in a suffering condition.

Q. I don't want to ask you an unpleasant question, Mr. Morris, but isn't it rather queer that you took four dollars from these people out of twenty-five when they were in a suffering condition?—A. I don't consider these two people in a suffering condition; I don't wish to be understood as saying that these two people were suffering.

Q. Do you know Mr. Jorden, the register in bankruptcy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is quite a leading Republican politician there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he in the office when this transaction took place?—A. I don't know that he was.

Q. What do you know about his giving this money to Perry and Williams?—A. I don't know anything, sir.

Q. Didn't he say in your presence that he would guarantee more money at the same rates?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who was present when Perry came and gave you that twenty-five dollars to buy the two tickets for himself and Williams back to Washington?—A. Perry and myself, and I remember there was some two or three other customers in the office, but I don't recollect their names.

Q. Try and recollect; haven't you told your brother, Levy Morris, that Jorden gave this money to Perry and Williams and said he would guarantee more in the same way?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was Mr. Mills present at this transaction between you and Williams and Perry?—A. I am not sure; he might have been.

Q. Did you ever have any conversation with Colonel Jorden on this subject?—A. I think I did some days after.

Q. What was that?—A. I was asking just as a matter of conversation about this exodus business. I casually made the remark myself.

Q. What was the remark about it?—A. This exodus business, and the people coming in there.

Q. What remark did you make to him? Did you tell him that you were making a little out of it yourselves?—A. We were reading something in the paper about it, and it had then been a couple of weeks after the first lot came in there.

Q. What did Jorden say?—A. Well, sir, we were talking about what Indiana could do for them in the way of lands, and I said there was lands enough for them down among the hills in the southwest of Indianapolis.

Q. Where are there any lands that are available to these people in Indiana?—A. In Morgan County, in the southwest part of the State; there are some hilly lands down there.

Q. Was that all that you talked about?—A. That was the principal matter of talk. That, and our business transaction.

Q. Did you have some knobs down there to sell them?—A. Yes, sir, I had some that I wanted to trade them so as to make a commission thereto.

Q. What do you think you could sell them for per acre?—A. I thought 5 or 6 or 8 dollars.

Q. Did these immigrants seem to be in a condition to purchase those lands when they arrived there?—A. I had some information—I don't know whether I got it from the newspapers or otherwise—that some of them had some means laid up.

Q. Where have you got lands at 5 to 8 dollars per acre?—A. I have several thousand acres in Mouroe County.

Q. You have none of those knobs and hills and ridges where anybody can live?—A. Yes, sir; I think there is some pretty good lauds down there.

Q. Monroe is an old county, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; and pretty well settled.

Q. And they have cut off most of the timber, have they not?—A. A good deal of it, sir.

Q. And you thought if you could get some of those knobs off on these North Carolina emigrants, it would be a good thing?—A. Yes, sir; but I don't know that I took any particular pains to do it. It was a business matter as we talked of it.

Q. You thought it would relieve their condition and better them, as they term it, to put them down there on those limestone ridges, where nobody else will venture to live?—A. I don't know, sir, that there is much limestone down there.

Q. Does not that county lie on a limestone bed almost?—A. I don't know, sir. I think I have the advantage of you in a knowledge of Indiana, although you are a real-estate agent.

Q. Yes, sir, you may have. Do you now remember whether Mills was present at the time of this conversation, or not?—A. I don't know.

Q. You don't know of Jorden raising any money other than this?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never raised any yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor contributed any?—A. No, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Do you know whether many of those people have found employment who stop at Indianapolis?—A. I think some of them have.

Q. Do you know many who have found employment?—A. I think most of those who came in first have.

Q. Where?—A. They are scattered about over different parts of the State. I think some of them went over to Terre Haute or north of that, to the county north of Vigo County.

Q. Did you hear much complaint of their not getting employment?—A. I have not heard a great deal, for I have not been among them much.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You are pretty well acquainted about Indiana, as to its soil and all that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have been in the real-estate business how long?—A. Since 1872.

Q. What proportion of the State are you pretty well acquainted

with ?—A. Take it from the vicinity of Terre Haute, through Richmond, and all of the north.

Q. Is it one-third or one-half of the State ?—A. Yes, sir ; from one-third to one-half.

Q. Do you consider Indiana full to the extent of her capacity to support people ?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. It has about two million of population now ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think in that vicinity.

Q. You think she has capacity to support five million, do you not ?—A. I think the population could be easily double what it is now.

Q. From your observations and knowledge of the resources and character of the State, and the employment for labor, present and prospective, what do you say would be the effect of an emigration to that State of ten to twenty thousand colored people with their families, say five or six thousand laborers—would it be a disadvantage to a State, or would they just drift and be absorbed in the population ?—A. I think they would find employment. I used to be a farmer myself, and found it difficult sometimes to get good farm laborers.

Q. When were you a farmer ; just before going into this business ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether the demand for farm laborers is as great now as it was then ?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Do you think Indiana is as good a State to go to as any other State where you have got no government land and a laborer has to depend upon his muscle for his living ?—A. Yes, sir ; I do.

Q. Is it not a fact that such men do better in a State which has been settled some time and where employers are to be found among men with capital who want labor performed than a new State under the process of settlement—is it not a fact that such a State is better in a way to give labor to the penniless poor man ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything, Mr. Morris, of this being in any sense whatever a political movement ?—A. No, sir ; I do not.

Q. Do you know of any Republican or Democrat who has political ends in engaging in and promoting this exodus ?—A. No, sir ; I do not.

Q. You have heard some expressions of that sort ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do the Republicans admit or disclaim that charge ?—A. It is pretty well disclaimed by Republicans.

Q. Do you think that any Democrat is really afraid that the Republicans are trying to colonize the States in order to carry the election ?—A. It would seem that there are some who do.

Q. Do you know of any yourself ?—A. No, sir. I have heard rumors to that effect and seen such statements in the newspapers.

Q. Do you believe that is mere political twaddle, or do you think these people really believe it ?—A. That is my impression.

Q. What is ?—A. That it is mere talk for the sake of political capital ; that is what I think.

Q. Do you know of any fact going to show that Republicans are engaging in this emigration in order to strengthen themselves politically ?—A. I don't know of a single fact.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You stated to Senator Blair that you thought ten to twenty thousand people, with five to six thousand voters among them, emigrating into Indiana would not incommode the people of that State.—A. No, sir ; not if they were scattered about much.

Q. You are a Republican ?—A. Yes, sir

Q. A square one?—A. I try to be a square one.

Q. Well, Mr. Morris, the Republicans generally in Indiana are of the opinion, are they not, that fifteen or twenty thousand negroes brought in the State would not hurt us?—A. I don't know, sir; I am not a politician, and I attend to my own business.

Q. You are expressing your views here, and you have not heard any people belonging to that party express themselves differently from that, have you?—A. No, sir; I have not heard any different expressions.

Q. You have not seen any statements in the Republican newspapers condemning it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Some of them rather encourage it?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. They rather encourage the negroes to come than condemn their coming?—A. I believe so, sir.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You don't find the Republican party condemning the emigration of the Irish there?—A. No, sir.

Q. They rather encourage it?—A. Yes, sir; good Irish farm labor is desired. I have employed them myself.

Q. Did you do that for political purposes?—A. No, sir.

Q. But the Irish are pretty nearly all Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Will you say now, Mr. Morris, that you know of no Republican newspaper or speaker you have heard encouraging the Irish to come to Indiana?—A. I am not speaking, Senator, of the politicians; I am speaking of farmers and what my experience was at the time I was a farmer.

Q. Is there any expressions, or was there, among the farmers in favor of it?—A. I was speaking, Senator, in reference to the character of the labor; as far as my observation was before I left the farming, it was that the farmers wanted good Irish laborers, as they were good hands; they would employ good colored men, but it was difficult to get them; but if they could get Irishmen they always liked it.

Q. Where were you farming at?—A. At Six Points, twelve miles west of this place.

Q. When was that?—A. Up to 1872.

Q. You cannot remember any newspaper, you say, that rather encouraged Irishmen to come to Indiana?—A. No, sir; I cannot.

Q. Is it not true that your party is always condemning the Democrats for taking up the Irish and for adopting the present constitution that allowed a foreigner to vote after a residence of six months in the State?—A. Yes, sir; I believe they have.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Was that because he was a foreigner, or because they did not believe that was long enough residence?—A. I have heard objections on all those accounts, some on one account and some on another.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is your age?—A. I am forty-one; will be forty-two this summer.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS P. MILLS.

THOMAS P. MILLS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Indianapolis.

Q. What do you do there?—A. Mr. Morris and I are partners in the real estate and railroading business, and so forth, and dealing in Western lands.

Q. What do you know about the immigration of negroes into Indianapolis and Indiana?—A. I don't know as I know much about it. I know there have been a good many people go there.

Q. How many?—A. I could not tell you. After they once pass there I lose sight of them.

Q. Have you taken some interest in this matter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have been in favor of emigration?—A. Yes, sir; I was very much in favor of it. I told the boys when they first came there that we wanted 20,000 "bucks," buck niggers, in Indiana this year.

Q. You mean to say that you wanted 20,000 men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had no use for women?—A. No, sir; we had no special use for them.

Q. You had no idea of labor connected with this matter?—A. No, sir; I had no idea of labor. I was looking for votes.

Q. You wanted these 20,000 "bucks" to vote?—A. I wanted them to vote, of course.

Q. Are you a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. And you thought if you could get 20,000 "bucks" you would slay us?—A. I thought we would get away with you everlastingly.

Q. Have you mixed with them much since they came here?—A. The colored folks?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir; except at the depot. We have one office near the depot, and when a gang was coming in I would go down there and see them.

Q. Have they come in as fast as you desired?—A. They have not come in as I wanted them to.

Q. There have been rather more women and children than you wanted?—A. Yes, sir; they have rather overdone the thing in the women and children.

Q. Have you noticed, Mr. Mills, whether any considerable party of them have to be taken care of by charity?—A. Well, I could not tell you, Mr. Senator. I have not been at their headquarters much.

Q. Have you been called upon to contribute to their support?—A. Not largely.

Q. Were you raised on a farm as well as your partner?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of course you think these 20,000 "bucks" could be scattered around and get employment throughout the State?—A. Yes, sir; I thought we could get employment for them if we scattered them pretty thin.

Q. You mean in close counties?—A. Yes, sir; in close counties and where there are cheap lands.

Q. Then you mean to scatter them in close counties where there are cheap lands?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, when Mr. Blair asks you, as he will, whether you know of anything political in this movement, what answer will you make?—A. How do you want to put that?

Q. I want to ask you whether the Republican party, or leading Republicans, have anything to do with this movement? I will put it in a

different way—whether these views of yours which you have given to the committee very frankly, are shared in by the intelligent Republicans of your State?—A. I think they are, as individuals.

Q. You are pretty well read, Mr. Mills, in the newspapers of the State?—A. Yes, sir; I read them pretty generally.

Q. Now, will you tell this committee whether you have ever seen an article in a Republican newspaper opposing or condemning this movement of the niggers?—A. I have not.

Q. Do you read the Democratic papers too?—A. Yes, sir; and they everlastingly go for it.

Q. Then I am to understand that the Republican papers approve of it?—A. I should think they did from their tone.

Q. They have had a word or two to say about me for raising this committee to investigate the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; I have seen your name frequently in print.

Q. It does not agree with the Republican press to have the causes of this immigration shown up?—A. I think, from the tone of the papers, they think it is a joke, and that there is nothing in it.

Q. You say, so far as you know, you think your views are substantially shared in by the Republicans of your State?—A. I think they are, as individuals.

Q. Have you seen an article in a Republican newspaper stating as frankly the view of this exodus movement as you yourself stated it to this committee?—A. I don't know as I have. I was simply giving my own views about the matter.

Q. Did you ever talk with Mr. Martindale about this matter?—A. Yes, sir; several times.

Q. His paper is not disapproving of the movement?—A. No, sir.

Q. Rather encouraging it, is he not?—A. Yes, sir; I should say he was.

Q. He has always announced that there was plenty of room in Indiana for negroes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That they could get employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that there was good times there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that they ought to get out of Egypt?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Colonel Jordan, register of bankruptcy?—A. Very well, sir; I have known him for quite a while.

Q. You may state whether you heard any conversation that he had in your office, or anywhere else, in regard to this matter of the exodus, as it is called.—A. I do not think I talked with him in my office. I saw him in there one day, but I do not think I talked with him there; but I was at his office.

Q. Well, what was the conversation you heard?—A. Well, I took a party of these people there, and one of them—I would not be certain which—but I introduced them to Mr. Jordan in his own office. I called to him that they could tell their own story, and that I was in a hurry, and I took my departure.

Q. Did you ever talk with Colonel Jordan afterward?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. Did you ever talk with him about raising money and buying tickets for these men?—A. No, sir; I had no talk with Colonel Jordan in reference to this.

Q. What did he ever tell you in regard to his giving them money and buying tickets, and that he could raise more money for the same purpose?—A. I don't know as I could tell precisely. The day that they wanted these tickets they went up to Colonel Jordan's office, because I

stepped out of my place and showed them where it was. They were in want of means to come back to Washington, and I showed them where his office was, and they went up there, and when they came back they had the money themselves, but where they got it I don't know.

Q. What did they say as to their money when they first talked to you?—A. They were wanting help.

Q. And you pointed out the office of Colonel Jordan to them?—A. Yes, sir; they went to see Colonel Jordan and Colonel Dudley. They wanted to see Colonel Dudley, but I didn't know him very well, and I didn't introduce them to him.

Q. Dudley is United States marshal?—A. Yes, sir; but I didn't introduce them to him.

Q. After they went to see Colonel Jordan they came back directly and had the money?—A. Yes, sir; they came in time to make the train.

Q. Is there any other financial transaction in reference to this matter with which you are acquainted?—A. Yes, sir. There was money raised to send them to Greencastle.

Q. Do you know how much?—A. I don't know exactly how many went, but I know it was a grand day in the business.

Q. It was a pretty good day in the business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who raised that money to take them to Greencastle?—A. Well, I went down to see in reference to it, because, as Mr. Morris has told you, we wanted to get the number of the tickets, and I heard there was quite a number of them down there, and I went to see how many of them there were and where they were going. I went down there and saw about it, and I spoke to Mr. Reynolds about it.

Q. What occurred between you and Reynolds?—A. He reached me the tickets and I took the numbers; and I asked if they were fixed, and he said: "I have sent a man up town to get the money and fix them."

Q. Do you remember how many tickets there were?—A. There were from 50 to 75.

Q. Are you personally acquainted with Mr. Reynolds?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What position does he hold?—A. He is mail agent.

Q. Where?—A. At the Union depot at Indianapolis.

Q. If you understand it, what is his duty? To see that the mail is transferred from the depot to the office, and from the office to the depot?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is a very important office, then?—A. Yes, sir; I believe so.

Q. Is it an office of appointment by the government or by the postmaster?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is by appointment from the government.

Q. Do you know Mr. Reynolds' politics?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how he came possessed of those 50 or 60 tickets?—A. Well, sir, he bought them. I saw him buy them, but I don't know where the money came from. He said to me that he sent up town for the money.

Q. And you saw him buy the tickets?—A. Yes, sir. I saw him inside the office, and he came out and gave me the tickets and I took the numbers of them.

Q. Do you remember what the fare is from Indianapolis to Greencastle?—A. It is something over a dollar.

Q. A dollar and fifty-five cents?—A. Yes, sir. A dollar and fifty-five cents exactly.

Q. And he had money enough to purchase fifty or sixty tickets at that rate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you don't know where he sent for the money?—A. No, sir; I saw they were getting uneasy and it would not do to keep them there until the 11 o'clock train that night. I wanted to ship them off, for people were talking about there, and it would not do to keep them there.

Q. When, therefore, you heard them talking you wanted to send them off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. John C. New?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And a very nice gentleman, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Chairman of the Republican State central committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever have any talk with him on the subject?—A. No, sir; I have never spoken with him about it.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You are a strong Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Always have been?—A. Always have been.

Q. Always going to be, I hope?—A. Yes, sir; I hope so.

Q. And you say if these men come to Indiana and vote the Republican ticket, you are in favor of their coming?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. And you think every Republican living in the State wants every emigrant to vote the Republican ticket?—A. I think so.

Q. Do you know whether any Democrat in the State wants emigrants coming there to vote any other than the Democratic ticket?—A. Well, judging for myself, I should say that they wanted them to vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Do you know whether the Republican party, as a party, is engaged in organizing or using any systematic effort to stir up discontent among the negroes of the South to induce them to come to Indiana for political reasons?—A. I do not know of any such organization.

Q. Do you know of any such effort?—A. As a party, no, sir.

Q. Do you know of any prominent Republican from Indiana who has been to the South, or any portion of the South, as a political missionary, to arouse a desire among the negroes to come to the North, or to Indiana, to vote the Republican ticket?—A. I don't know of any persons who have been down there except our own De La Matyr, who represents our own district at home.

Q. You do not look upon him as a representative Republican?—A. He did not get the Republican vote.

By Senator VOORHEES :

Q. He got some of it?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. You spoke of certain tickets being purchased for the transportation of these negroes from Indianapolis to Greencastle?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the distance from Indianapolis to Greencastle?—A. Forty miles.

Q. You stated, I believe, that you had some connection with that business. Now, please state to the committee just what it was. What did you work for, and what interest as a railroad man have you in the transportation of these negroes?—A. I work for the Vandalia road.

Q. As against what roads?—A. The I., C. and L. or any other road that runs in competition. It was to our interest to get as many to go over that road to Greencastle at full rates as possible.

Q. Then it was business interests that you had?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What commission did you get per capita on those tickets?—A. We did not get any.

Q. You stated that you would like to have a large immigration into the State of Indiana. Now, will you tell the committee whether your interest was mainly a business interest?—A. That was not my only object and desire; my principal object was different from that.

Q. Then it was to get them to vote the Republican ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you done in order to advance that object?—A. Nothing, except to blow off a little wind.

Q. You have put no money into it?—A. Not to amount to anything.

Q. What have you given?—A. Well, \$3 or \$4 or \$5.

Q. That is to those who happened along?—A. Yes, sir; they would pass me and ask for a quarter or half dollar and I would give it.

Q. That is mere pocket charity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever sent any money South, or assisted in sending any money South or any agents; or have you printed or circulated any documents in the South to induce negroes to go to Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not suppose that you feel as active an interest as any Republican in the State in the emigration of these negroes?—A. I do not see how a man could feel any more than I do.

Q. You are as warm and ardent a Republican as any man in the State?—A. I believe I am.

Q. Now, then, Mr. Mills, since these emigrants came there, what has been their condition up to this date?—A. Financially?

Q. Yes, sir. How have they been disposed of; how taken care of?—A. There are some of them that I have heard about—I suppose you have heard about them, too—who went to Shelbyville. A great many of them went to Greencastle, and some to Rockville, and some of them to Senator Voorhees' city. Some of them, I believe, went to Greenfield, and some of them into Hamilton County, about Marion.

Q. Then they have been scattered pretty well through the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why have they gone to these particular localities?—A. That would be a matter of supposition.

Q. But you can say why, according to your understanding?—A. I suppose because they are invited.

Q. By whom?—A. By persons living there.

Q. Do they promise to give them employment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have not all of them substantially found employment?—A. I know nothing of that except what I have heard.

Q. Well, what is it?—A. I know those who have remained in the cities have not found employment.

Q. But you say most of them have gone to those other places?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then those have pretty generally found employment?—A. I have read contradictory statements as to Putnam County.

Q. But generally, you say, they were invited?—A. Yes, sir; and most of them have been employed.

Q. Of course individuals in certain cases will suffer, but what do you think of the most of them?—A. Yes, sir; individuals will suffer, but I think the most of them who are there now will fare pretty well.

Q. In Indianapolis, I understand you, there are some remaining?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many?—A. I could not tell you. There were a lot of them quartered in a church, but I could not tell you how many there were.

Q. Were they all at one place?—A. They were at two different places, and I think they rented quarters for them afterward.

Q. They are not proposing to go back, as I understand you, but to stay until the season opens?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, with all their hardships, they propose to stay in Indiana?—A. I have not heard of any of them who wanted to go back.

Q. Then with all their hardships, Indiana is better than North Carolina?—A. I do not know, sir; I have not spoken to any of them except as they came to Indianapolis.

Q. Then you know in a general way that these people who are there propose to remain until they find work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They do not propose to go back?—A. No, sir.

Q. There have been individual instances of these men returning home?—A. I do not know of seeing a single case.

Q. You do not?—A. No, sir.

Q. As you have come in contact with them, what is their expression generally as to their condition in Indiana as compared with what it was in North Carolina?—A. I never went into a general talk with them as to that.

Q. Then I understand that your contact with them has only been where it afforded you a dollar?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your contract has been in a business way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Wholly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your Republican feeling for them has been purely sentimental?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Do you know of anybody raising money to send to the South or to send agents South in the interest of the exodus?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then all the money that was raised, so far as you know, was to help the destitute?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your opinion or understanding, from general reports, as to whether colored men are allowed to vote their sentiments in North Carolina?—A. I have no mind on the subject; I can say from the reports in the Republican papers, that I do not think they have the right to vote as they please.

Q. Your opinion is, then, that they do not have a fair vote, and when they are allowed to vote, they are cheated out of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And as a Republican you wish them to come to Indiana and have the right to vote as they please?—A. Yes, sir; as Indiana is a little close State, you know.

Q. You spoke of some of these negroes going to Shelbyville. Do you know anything about that?—A. Yes, sir; I heard some of them landed there.

Q. Did you hear anything of a demonstration by the Democrats when they landed here?—A. I did in the papers.

Q. I understood you to say that you have heard of Republican papers criticizing Mr. Voorhees for raising this committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you not seen Democratic papers doing the same thing?—A. Yes, sir; I have seen a few slips from them.

Q. Then you have seen papers on both sides that thought there was nothing in it?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not think our own Democratic paper has said anything of the kind.

Q. What do you know of mobs and threats to prevent these people from coming into the State?—A. I do not think there is any opposition to them in Indianapolis.

Q. Do you know of any anywhere else in the State?—A. Nothing, except what I have heard from the newspapers.

Q. Then those facts you know nothing about?—A. No, sir.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Do you not understand that the Democratic opposition to the negroes coming to Indiana is because the negroes were expected to vote the Republican ticket?—A. Well, I think they claim that.

Q. Then the Republicans are in favor of it and the Democrats are against it. How do you account for that?—A. I think the main opposition is, as it is stated in the Democratic papers, that they think every colored man who is employed will throw the white man out of employment.

Q. I did not ask you how they put it.—A. Well, I think the way the negro votes is the main object with them in their opposition.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. But you say the negroes' vote was your main object in wanting them to come to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I am not specially fond of the negro for himself.

Q. You do not hanker after them?—A. No, sir; it was his vote that I wanted.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Is it not your opinion that a good colored man in Indiana is better, on patriotic grounds, for the country than a white Democrat?—A. I would not like to answer that. We have a very fine trade among the Democrats, and I have a number of friends among them, and I have a great many personal friends amongst the Democracy. If it would suit you just as well, Senator, I would not like to answer that question.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. You say you know this man Perry?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had any interview with him since you came here?—A. Yes, sir; he talked to me the other day down here.

Q. What did he say?—A. Well, he came up and he button-holed me and said he would rather I would not say anything about our buying those tickets back from Indianapolis to Washington.

Q. What did you tell him?—A. I told him I would do my own swearing.

On motion, the committee adjourned to Wednesday, 10.30 a. m., February 4, 1880.

NINTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Wednesday, February 4, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to its order of adjournment. Present, the chairman and all the members.

The taking of testimony was resumed, as follows :

TESTIMONY OF E. B. BORDEN.

E. B. BORDEN sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE :

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. Borden?—Answer. At Goldsborough.

Q. What is your business ?—A. I am a farmer and president of the bank at our town.

Q. Mr. Borden, the object of this committee is to investigate the causes of the removal of the colored people from North Carolina to the Northern States, particularly Indiana. Will you please state to the committee anything you know that has caused them to make this movement ?—A. I think the condition of our colored people is as favorable as that in any Southern State, especially in which I have traveled; quite a number of them are very successful farmers and own considerable property; there are no complaints heard among them now of any injustice being done them.

Q. Is there any complaint among them of injustice and discrimination against them in the administration of the laws ?—A. None that I know of.

Q. Can you state whether they have had the same chances to acquire property and the same enjoyment of their political rights as the white people ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They exercise them freely ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And without compulsion ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have any of these men gone from your county ?—A. I think very few have gone from our county. I know very few of the men who have gone. Some women and children have gone, but most of those who have left have gone from the county below us, the county of Lenoir. There was one woman who left my plantation. She left her husband and went out to Indiana.

Q. Her husband did not go ?—A. No, sir. I don't know whether she left to get rid of him or what motive influenced her to go.

Q. Do you know anything about the means taken to bring about this movement or this discontent—if the movement is due to discontent among the colored people ?—A. There are one or two colored men who I understand have been paid to influence them. I have been told by some of our men there that they have secret societies and they swear them to keep quiet about what they are doing. One of the draymen in our town, as man who used to live with me, I spoke to about it, and I learned from him that they are not leaving our place much, and they were excited throughout the country and did not know what to make of the movement. I asked him what he knew about it, the influences that were urging them to go; he said they had been told that they could get big wages; that they could get one dollar and a half and houses to live in and plenty of work. There was a man by the name of Taylor Evans who seemed to be active in soliciting them to go, but I don't know what inducement he held out to them. I asked the man whose wife left my place if he heard from her and, he said he had; that she had gotten a situation as a servant in a house. I asked him if he intended following her, and said he did not know; that she was to write home how she was getting along.

Q. You say that very few have left your county ?—A. Yes, sir; very few.

Q. You are a planter yourself, and of course you are well acquainted with the agricultural people in your section. There have been things said here in relation to the "landlord and tenant act." Will you please explain the operations of that act ?—A. Well, sir, I think its operation may be easily inferred from the act itself.

Q. It has been said that men were not allowed to have their gardens when working ?—A. That is a mistake; so far as I know, even those who

hire for wages have a house and wood free; have a garden-patch and are allowed to raise pigs and hogs.

Q. All these things are not allowed them free, are they?—A. Yes, sir; even those who rent have it. The customary rental with us is that the tenant pays one-third of the crop of cotton and corn. In some places the lands are not so good and the rent is lower, but at points not far removed from town we usually get one-fourth of the cotton and one-third of the corn.

Q. Don't they pay in portions of their other raising, such as hogs?—

A. No, sir; they pay no portion of anything else that they raise; they generally fatten their hogs off the crop.

Q. Then they only pay a certain proportion of the leading crops?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How is it when the landlord furnishes all the stock and implements and supplies necessary for the raising of the crop?—A. In that case I give them one-third of all they raise.

Q. That is, you say, when you furnish everything?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you explain the operations of the landlord and tenant act, as it is called, and state what it was intended to subserve?—A. It was only for the protection of the landlord in the collection of his rents. It goes that far and no farther. I have known of no oppression arising from it. I don't know that I have ever read it in full, but I know it gives the landlord a lien upon the tenant's property and crop so far as the rent goes and no farther, and after it is paid the tenants can do as they please with the balance of their crop.

Q. What is the personal exemption?—A. Five hundred dollars of personalty and a thousand of realty.

Q. If that landlord and tenant act were not in force it would be impossible for the landlord to collect his rent?—A. Yes, sir; and the tenant could go to the merchants and mortgage his crop and the landlord would lose his rent.

Q. That law operates on blacks and whites alike?—A. Yes, sir; and it prevents the landlord from being cheated if he has a dishonest tenant who would go and mortgage his crop, thereby giving the merchant a prior lien over the landlord. It only protects the landlord so far as his rent goes and no farther.

Q. What is the state of feeling between the white and black people in that country?—A. It is very kind.

Q. There are no asperities between the races?—A. No, sir; not particularly.

Q. Are there any race difficulties of any note?—A. None at all. The quietest days we have are the days of election. The colored people go and vote as they please, and generally vote first.

Q. They are good voters, are they not?—A. Yes, sir, and generally go one way; and of late years I think there has been very little effort made among the white people to get them to vote with them.

Q. What is the state of parties in your county?—A. Our county is very close. I think there is only one or two hundred difference, and it has gone Republican sometimes.

Q. By a small majority?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You speak of the removal of the colored people from your State. Please tell us to what extent any movement of the kind exists.—A. I only know of that from the statement of the ticket agent at our place. I think he stated that he had only sold some six hundred tickets.

Q. And you understand that is one of the principal points of departure?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there anything in it that you could possibly characterize as a removal, in general terms?—A. No, sir; not yet; but it seems to unsettle all the other colored people. There was a man there who came to me for advice. He had accumulated property and had a house and lot, and lived with me. He came and wanted to borrow some money from me as president of the bank to buy a lot from a man who was going to Indiana. I asked him why he was going, and he said he did not know. He said he could buy the lot very low, and it was a good investment. He came and I let him have the money. He came afterwards when this crowd of three or four hundred left and said, "I guess I won't buy that lot." I asked him why, and he said, "The colored people are all going to leave here, it seems, and I may have to go myself anyhow."

Q. When was this?—A. When the movement first began.

Q. How long ago was this?—A. Two months ago. I said to him, "You may have to go yourself?" and he said, "Yes; I do not understand it as it is." I said, "There is no compulsion about it, is there?" and he seemed to avoid the question.

Q. You speak of that case in particular; but don't you think there is a very general state of unrest among them?—A. Yes, sir; there was up to two or three weeks ago, but now they seem to have quieted down; but up to the first of the year there was a general feeling of disquiet.

Q. You do not think that at the present time there is anything to be alarmed at in the movement?—A. No, sir; they are quiet now, and quite a number of letters have been received from those who have gone, some of which are favorable and some of which are not very favorable.

Q. Those letters have a soothing effect upon them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any agitation and alarm there lest the labor system of your State should be broken up?—A. Yes, sir; there is some little uneasiness that if anything serious in the shape of the movement should take place it would affect the labor system in the farming districts.

Q. You say you see no cause for this movement?—A. No, sir; I don't know that there is any particular necessity for it.

Q. You say that the best class of your people have been alarmed at the prospect of losing their laborers?—A. Yes, sir; they have been, but I think they are not now.

Q. You think so far as North Carolina is concerned there was no necessity for a Congressional investigation into the causes of this removal?—A. I have not said so, sir.

Q. You have not believed it was necessary for these people to go?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any good people who believe that?—A. No, sir.

Q. You think some five or six hundred people just got up and went off without any cause?—A. Yes, sir; without any good cause.

Q. And the movement appears now to have subsided?—A. Yes, sir; they go now at the rate of about ten to fifteen at a time; at first there would be two or three hundred.

Q. You have a great many there, have you not, who might better their fortunes and the State by leaving?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But the great mass of the colored people there are contented?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. And you think they will be more and more inclined to remain as their condition improves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It seems, then, that it is not a very serious matter after all?—A. It looks as though it would be.

Q. In reference to this landlord and tenant act, and the system under which your farm labor is performed—A. I understand that the colored people are the tenant class; but that law would apply to white and colored alike.

Q. What proportion of white and colored are there in your vicinity?—A. In my vicinity the most of them are colored. After you get away from the city they are mostly colored. They also have a habit of congregating around the villages.

Q. What is the proportion of white and colored people who do work under this act; that is, to rent land?—A. I don't know the proportion; I should think three-fourths of them are colored.

Q. What is the proportion of colored people among those who rent land in the State, if you can form any judgment of it?—A. I could not, because I think in the western part of the State they are mostly white. A very large proportion out there is white.

Q. The western part of the State you think has a small renting population?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The law applies principally to the eastern part of the State and to the black people?—A. Yes, sir; it applies to some, but not to all.

Q. But as a rule a man who rents land is a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I understood you to say that the ordinary rule is that the tenant shall have two-thirds or three-fourths of the crop, and the landlord one-third or one-fourth?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And each takes of the proportion and the division of the crop?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The tenant of course handles it and harvests it, and the landlord has his lien on it. Who markets it? Who turns it into money?—A. The party to whom it belongs. After the man pays his rent he is at liberty to sell the remainder.

Q. He pays his rent first, does he?—A. Yes, sir; he saves out two or three bales for a horse crop.

Q. What is that?—A. That is for twenty-five or thirty acres.

Q. That is what a man can cultivate with one horse?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He has everything he raises except the bales of cotton he pays for his crop?—A. Generally the first picking. He pays his rent and then he is at liberty to do what he pleases with the balance.

Q. About what season of the year is this division made?—A. If you rent for a certain fixed rental it is made in October. They generally take enough out of that crop.

Q. He pays his rent in kind?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the payment consists of nothing but a division of the crop?—A. Yes, sir; where a man rents for four bales he pays for four bales, but he goes on the same land for a third time, and that is not divided until it is kept out.

Q. What is the occasion of any lien, then, by the landlord on the entire crop?—A. Well, sir, you know the cotton crop is about three months being harvested. The landlord, if he has got a trusty tenant on his place, makes him keep out four or five bales which the tenant tells him to take on his rent. The other he keeps to use for himself, and when he gathers again he divides again. Of course the crop cannot be divided until it is gathered. Going over it the first time he could keep out two or three bales. If there are three he takes two, and the landlord one if he knows he has enough to pay the rent. Two or three weeks

afterwards he goes over it again and picks out, getting two or three more bales, and then he divides it again, giving the landlord his portion and the tenant keeping his portion.

Q. I do not see under this operation any occasion for the landlord's lien?—A. Well, sir, suppose a landlord was not protected, and suppose the man who is on his land is a thriftless tenant and has used all his money and as much credit as he could get, he could mortgage his whole crop and thereby cut the landlord out of his rent altogether.

Q. Is there any principle of law in your State which would allow him to mortgage more than his interest in the crop?—A. Yes, sir; but understand me. Suppose the landlord does not live on his place, and the land he rents is 4 or 5 miles from his place of residence; the tenant might say to him, "I will pay you out of the last crop"; and if the landlord is not allowed to watch him and make him pay, he would market all of it, and the landlord would have to lose his rent.

Q. Then the law is to guard the landlord against a thriftless tenant?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is made a universal mortgage for that purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And on the principle that most of the people who labor are thriftless?—A. No, sir; I don't know as to that.

Q. Do you know any place in the wide world where the laboring classes are put in a condition of that kind except it be in North Carolina or elsewhere in the South?—A. I don't know the laws of other States.

Q. Is it not true that in the State of North Carolina the colored laborers are kept in a condition of poverty and not allowed to accumulate property?—A. I never heard any complaints of that kind.

Q. Do you mean to be understood that you never heard any complaints that this "landlord and tenant act" operated harshly upon them?—A. No, sir; I never did.

Q. You are a planter, I believe, sir?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know, from the public prints and other sources of information, that there is a burden of complaints about this act?—A. I know the politicians have been agitating it.

Q. I mean the public prints, too.—A. Well, sir, they are political sheets. I never heard of any complaints about from the negroes themselves.

Q. You have known of complaints on the part of the negroes?—A. Not in my section.

Q. I mean in the State?—A. No, sir; I don't know as to any in the State.

Q. Do you mean to say that there are no complaints about it?—A. I don't mean to say that there are not some complaints, but I don't remember to have seen or heard of any.

Q. Is it not pretty generally a fact that upon the interest of the laborer in the crop there is an order made and it is liable for it? There has been a good deal of talk here about these orders.—A. Yes, sir; but the landlord is responsible for them after they are given.

Q. You have given them yourself?—A. I never have.

Q. Tell me what one of these orders is like.—A. I don't know if I get at what you are driving at.

Q. But in case the tenant wants credit at a store, if the landlord is not a merchant, the landlord simply gives him credit, or rather an order on the merchant for five dollars' worth of goods; at the same time he charges him with it; in other words, although the tenant puts his work in the crop, it cannot be divided until it is gathered?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he must live all the time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he is without any property himself and cannot get any credit from the merchant and must fall back upon the landlord, and he gives an order?—A. Yes, sir; still there are a good many colored men who go and mortgage their interest in the crop.

Q. That is subject to any interest the landlord has?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He knows it is subject for the rent?—A. Transactions like that depend altogether upon the interest of the tenant, and in such cases it is optional with him whether he will get his supplies from the landlord or directly from the merchant.

Q. He is to pay just what they charge him?—A. He pays the same as any man who has no credit of his own.

Q. Under this law and its operations, as you explain them, must not these laborers be kept in that condition all the time?—A. I think its operations are the same both as to the whites and blacks.

Q. Is not this system one under which he must continually labor as hard as he can and live economically, and yet end every year without means to go on?—A. No, sir, I think not; anyhow, he has his labor.

Q. Yes, but has he not means of competing for fair wages?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can they earn more than enough to keep them in bare necessities of life?—A. Yes, sir; they can make money by practicing economy and save what they earn.

Q. Yes, but the point is, if I understand you, to get what he earns.—A. I infer from your question that you think there is a combination between the merchant and the landlord to cheat the negro.

Q. Is it not fair to assume that is what it is, if this statute assumes that the laborer will cheat his landlord?—A. No, sir; I have not said that.

Q. But here is the statute law of your State.—A. Yes, sir; but it applies to both alike.

Q. Well, to change the question a little, is there anything in this act—a power in the hands of the landlord, or of the merchant, or between the two—to keep the laborer poor?—A. No, sir; not at all. If he is economical and saves his crop, it only takes them one year or more to be independent.

Q. Then if the law does not operate that way it must be owing to the reason that human nature is better in North Carolina than elsewhere.—A. I don't know, sir, as to that.

Q. Is not the disposition of the hiring classes to make the best they can of their labor?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose it is.

Q. Is it not the disposition of those who hire them to make the best terms and profit possible from the laborer?—A. Yes, sir; the best they can honestly.

Q. In your State men look to their own advantage in making a trade with others?—A. Yes, sir; that is human nature.

Q. Would a landed man with capital, coming in contact with the laboring man, have an advantage over the laborers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, then, they would have that advantage any way, and, in addition to that, you have protected this all-powerful class by giving a mortgage—a statute mortgage—on all that the poor produces?—A. We have, so far as the rent goes.

Q. Is that not all that it gets?—A. No, sir; he gets two-thirds of the crop when he furnishes all the supplies himself, and one-third when they are furnished to him.

Q. And that is all he gets for his labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And meanwhile the landlord and merchant are creating indebtedness against that interest?—A. Yes, sir; if he runs his credit, they are.

Q. Don't you think in that they have an advantage which would make them get to taking all his productions as far as possible?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that.

Q. Cannot the merchant, taking a barrel of flour worth \$6, say to this man that is obliged to have it, that he must have \$10 for it?—A. He might say that to him, but I think the man would not buy it.

Q. Then he must starve?—A. No, sir; I don't think they will ever be brought to that condition.

Q. Don't they have to use their credit to the full extent that they can get it?—A. I think there are not more than one or two who get more than \$5 credit out of a merchant; of course the thrifty ones will go all they can.

Q. Where do they get their provisions?—A. Where they are not furnished with supplies, they get them as I stated to you, by raising hogs and cultivating a garden and small patch. A thrifty colored family can live on what they raise, very nearly. If they have a half dozen hogs they are not likely to eat them all up in a month. I think it is only those who are disposed to be thrifty who rent lands, and others hire out for wages.

Q. What proportion hire for wages, do you suppose?—A. I suppose nine-tenths.

Q. Then, all this talk about renters applies to only one-tenth of the population?—A. I suppose that is so small it would be nearer probably to say that seventy-five per cent. hire for wages.

Q. How are they situated?—A. I only know of them in my own section; there they get so much a month.

Q. How many months do they work?—A. I hire them from January to September for wages.

Q. Is that the ordinary rule?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. What do you pay them?—A. I pay eight to ten dollars per month and give them half of it at the end of the month.

Q. In money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That eight or ten dollars per month is his rations?—A. Yes, sir; the first of September is the commencement of our picking season, and they all make more money in the fall months than any other. They prefer to hire until September, and then they hire out to pick cotton by the hundred. Any good picker can make a dollar a day, and gets it every Saturday night. This is the universal rule, I think, in the cotton region.

Q. How long is the cotton-picking season?—A. From about the tenth of September to the latter part of December.

Q. That is about three months?—A. Yes, sir; but they cannot make these wages in the latter part of the season, because the cotton gets scarcer.

Q. How much do they average?—A. The first month they get, on an average, a dollar a day. I have known some boys ten years old to pick three hundred pounds in a day, while there are some men who won't pick more than two hundred.

Q. How much do they get for picking by the hundred?—A. Fifty cents. In picking cotton it depends more on skill than strength.

Q. How is it as to the remainder of the season?—A. As cotton gets lighter they don't get so much. They generally pick until cotton gets scarce and light so that they can only get seventy-five and a hundred pounds a day; then they only get about fifty cents a day. In the latter

part of the season it gets colder and they go to work later. They go to work any time they please, and generally late.

Q. Does this state of things apply to the average laborers; say three-fourths of the colored laborers of North Carolina?—A. In the eastern section of the State, I think it does.

Q. There is not a very large proportion of the crop, then, that is raised by these renters of land. The landlord and laborer must raise the most of it?—A. They raise the larger part of it, of course. Men in the community there farm different; some entirely under the tenant system and some by hired labor.

Q. Take this laboring class who hire for wages, and how is it with regard to their accumulating money?—A. My observation and experience is that they save a very little money.

Q. Why is that?—A. I suppose it is because they have no disposition to accumulate. They appear to be satisfied if they get a living.

Q. Don't you suppose that many of them think if they remained there they would do no better than that?—A. I think it satisfies most of them anywhere they go.

Q. Do you think those who went to Indiana were well satisfied?—A. I think not, or they would not have gone.

Q. What do you suppose they went for?—A. If you take the negroes as a class, they are migratory in their disposition. I don't think they have any local attachments, and it is very rare when you find them so.

Q. Then this exodus is simply a change of direction; they are going North instead of drifting around in the South?—A. I have not searched for the causes, but I suppose inducements were held out to go.

Q. They go to some places where they are told they would get better wages?—A. I have been told so; there was a man sent by the colored people, or rather money raised by them to send him out to view the land—he came back—and to report to them; he reported to them that he was treated very differently out there from what he was in North Carolina; that he was asked to ride around with white people and invited into their parlors and entertained by their daughters.

Q. You think these were the inducements to these people to go?—A. I think it is natural that they wanted to go there.

Q. They are not treated that way by the white people of North Carolina?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you see much change in the condition of these colored people, or any likelihood of a change for the better?—A. Yes, sir. If they have a disposition they can improve.

Q. Is there any such disposition among them?—A. Yes, sir; I know one man, a colored man, who started after the war with nothing, but whose note I would take for \$2,000 anywhere.

Q. Where does he live?—A. He lives twelve miles from Goldsborough.

Q. But you see no general disposition to improve?—A. No, sir; I think all they want is enough to live on.

Q. Don't you think a majority of their employers take from them in some way or other all that they don't need to live on?—A. I don't know, sir; I think the employers pay them all they can afford to.

Q. The question is whether the dependent classes do as well there as they would anywhere else under the same laws—don't you think that they believe they can do better when they leave?—A. I never heard the matter with them, but I don't think they would have gone out there if inducements had not been held out to them.

Q. You think parties go there and tell them they can do better in the

North, but you don't know, as a rule, that the information they received is correct?—A. I don't know anything about it.

Q. Do you know whether they took pains to find out about their right to vote, and schools, and the "landlord's and tenant act" before going—some of them are bright enough to do that, are they not?—A. I suppose so, but I don't think they have acted much on that information, as I believe it is only the most thriftless who have gone.

Q. You have no objection to that, have you?—A. No, sir; I don't object to it.

Q. That rather adds to the wealth of the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And so far as North Carolina is concerned she does not want this investigation?—A. I don't know what she wants.

Q. It is fixing these paupers if it stops the exodus?—A. I don't know that the object of this investigation is to stop the exodus.

Q. That is its effect, is it not?—A. If the effect of this investigation is to stop the movement, of course it keeps them where they are.

Q. Understand me, that a man may be a good laborer and still be a thriftless man and not save his money.—A. He may be a good laborer and still spend all he gets.

Q. If he spends it, though, he spends it for the benefit of the landlord, does he not?—A. No, sir; the landlord only gets his rent; the merchants get the balance.

Q. Then, really, these laboring men remain there as a benefit to the State?—A. Yes, sir; any man who produces is a benefit to the people.

Q. Now, have you not struck the very thing that gave rise to this investigation, and that is a disposition to keep these men there, even if they are paupers, and keep them as paupers?—A. No, sir; I think the people do not want paupers; I think the most of our people want to see them do well.

Q. They do work well?—A. Yes, sir; I prefer them to white labor.

Q. You say you prefer white labor?—A. No, sir; I prefer colored labor.

Q. Why?—A. I don't know exactly why; I believe, as a rule, they are better laborers than the poor whites.

Q. They are better laborers you think?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And are as poor as the poor whites, financially?—A. Yes, sir; they are poor everywhere.

Q. Most of them will remain poor?—A. Yes, sir; of course a laboring man getting eight or ten dollars a month cannot get rich when he has to support himself and a family.

Q. How many colored men out of a thousand in North Carolina own homesteads?—A. Very few.

Q. Are there five in a thousand?—A. I hardly think so.

Q. Well, one in a thousand?—A. Yes, sir; I think there are.

Q. Are there two in a thousand?—A. I cannot give the numbers.

Q. How do you suppose it is in Indiana?—A. I don't know, sir; but I expect it is different there, as there are very few colored people in the population.

Q. How many white men in North Carolina don't own homesteads?—A. A very large proportion of it.

Q. Then as a rule the laborers, white and colored, are without homesteads?—A. Yes, sir; by a large majority.

Q. Do you know how it is in Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there anything that makes a man feel independent like owning his own homestead?—A. I suppose that would make him feel so.

Q. Now, is it not a fact that in Indiana colored and other laborers

may earn and have a homestead, while in North Carolina for 15 years they have not been able to acquire one, a good reason why they leave North Carolina and go to Indiana?—A. I don't know that they have homesteads in Indiana.

Q. But if they understand it to be as I have stated is that not a fact to account for the movement?—A. I don't know. I have never been in Indiana in my life. I am not posted in regard to that State.

Q. You have no knowledge of the condition of the laboring people except about Goldsboro' and its vicinity?—A. I really don't know much about the condition of the laboring people outside of my State, except what I have seen in the newspapers.

Q. Are you unwilling to see men with the hope of getting homesteads? It operates very strongly upon colored laborers who live in North Carolina to go North?—A. I have no idea the majority of them have thought of it. I don't think they had any such idea in leaving.

Q. Your opinion of the tendencies and ambitions of the colored race are not very high?—A. No, sir.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Mr. Blair evidently does not understand the landlord and tenant act. It was made for the protection of the landlord?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you if its operation does not benefit the tenant?—A. Yes, sir; I think so; such as anything else.

Q. The fact that this lien there gives him credit?—A. Yes, sir; it gives him the opportunity of having something at the end of his time that he would not have had otherwise.

Q. Has it not had a tendency to improve them as farmers and increase their desire to farm?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It gives the landlord his rent and the farmer his supplies?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you such fools in North Carolina as to think they can make more money out of paupers than men with money?—A. I stated that I think the general desire of our people is to see them thrifty; they are worth more to us when they have property, and are better citizens and laborers.

Q. Mr. Blair also tried to get you to say that this act was passed upon the supposition and assumption that all the laboring class were dishonest, and the landlord needed protection against them?—A. I don't think that motive actuated the legislators to vote for it.

Q. They have laws in New Hampshire against stealing; do you think that all Mr. Blair's people are thieves because they have such a law against thieves?—A. No, sir; I do not think so.

Q. The man who is honest and who pays his rent does not feel the operation of the law; it is never enforced against him?—A. No, sir.

(NOTE BY STENOGRAPHER.—The testimony of T. C. GROOMES, of Greencastle, Indiana, was taken upon this and the next succeeding day, but owing to delay in the transmission of certain extracts to be included in his testimony the report thereof is added at the conclusion of the entire testimony.)

On motion the committee adjourned to Friday, February 6, at 10 a. m.

TENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday, February 6, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment. Present, the chairman and all the members. The taking of testimony was resumed as follows:

TESTIMONY OF C. S. WOOTEN.

C. S. WOOTEN sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. State where you reside.—Answer. In Lenoir County, North Carolina.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a farmer now.

Q. We want to know something about the causes of this exodus movement, if you have any knowledge of the movement.—A. Yes, sir; it is a movement started there on my plantation (mine and my brother's) last summer. I think it was some time in July that this man Perry made a speech at Kinston urging this movement. There was nothing said about it much then, and I did not know the colored people were going to take any steps in the matter; but he organized on my plantation a secret society, and he made each one pay him twenty-five cents to become a member. The first idea was to go to Kansas, and the next was to go to Indiana. And he made them believe that they would go free. He said the government was going to pay the expenses of it, and they told me so. I said to them that it was not so; that the government would not and could not pay their expenses; that it would not pay their expenses any more than mine; and I said to them that I would not let people know I was such a fool as to believe it, and I ridiculed it, so that I heard no more about it or this man Perry. We live about three miles from the railroad, and he taught a free-school there in the neighborhood. I and my brother had about fifty families on our plantations. He made that his headquarters and organized this society, and then would have secret meetings. They met in an outhouse there and put out sentinels to keep people away. It was going on all along in the fall, and I did not know anything about it until they were making arrangements to get off, and I got one of the boys to tell me all about it after they had left. The first crowd left my place about the middle of November. There was one man who had a wife, Allen Smith; he went on to make arrangements to secure a place about the middle of November. He wrote a letter back giving glowing accounts of Indiana, and telling them to come on. And the next two weeks after, I think about the first of December, on Sunday night, all of our negroes bundled up and went. They had an idea that on Monday a free train would run from Goldsborough, and they bundled up and went off.

Q. How many went?—A. Thirty families, and left us only eight or ten families on the place.

Q. How did they go?—A. They went away in wagons, and walked some of them—any way they could get to go. It was fourteen miles to Goldsborough; and after they got away, about ten o'clock, we got a telegraph dispatch from Allen Smith telling them not to come. It was too late, though, to stop them, but some of them didn't get off; some of them staid there two weeks, and my brother went and showed them the dispatch, and they would not believe it; they said we had manufactured it, because we didn't want them to leave. I said, "I hope you will give us some credit for sense, for, if we wanted to keep you by man-

ufacturing a dispatch, we would have had the dispatch here before you started off."

Q. Did all of them go away?—A. No, sir; some two or three families came back. They got to Goldsborough and could not get off, and they came back and asked if I would let them come back to work. I said, "If you have got well of the Indiana fever you can come, but if you propose to still keep up this idea I do not want to have you demoralize the other hands." And they promised that they would stop it, and they are there now at work. This fellow Perry made a speech there at Kinston, and went on to tell them that they were oppressed and cheated out of the fruits of their labor, and they ought to go where they would have their rights. The editor of the Journal there commented on his speech and denied it, and this fellow Perry came out two weeks afterwards in a letter and said that myself and brother and a Mr. Rouse were exceptions, and did not cheat our hands; but more of these emigrants left our place than went from any other.

Q. And Perry, you say, got twenty-five cents from each of them?—A. Yes, sir; Perry and Williams; they had lived there in our section.

Q. Do you know what they got from the railroad to work up this movement?—A. I heard they got a dollar for every ticket sold, but the negroes said they paid him to join the society twenty-five cents each.

Q. Where is this man Perry from?—A. He is originally from Chatham County, and came down there a few years ago to teach school.

Q. Describe your system of renting, Mr. Wooten.—A. Sometimes we hire for wages.

Q. How much do you pay?—A. On an average of ten dollars. On my plantation I and my brother farm together, and we work a good many hands. We allow every one of them to have as much land as he wants to tend for himself, as we have plenty of land, fifteen hundred acres of clear land and a thousand of woods, and we allow them that free of rent.

Q. Is that to those you hire?—A. Yes, sir; they work with us to Saturday dinner, and during Saturday afternoon we allow them to use our mules and plows in their own crops, and do not charge them anything.

Q. Do you pay your hands ten dollars a month, give them a house free and fire-wood, and land to tend?—A. Yes, sir; and if he wants ten acres he can have it.

Q. And half the day Saturday and your teams?—A. Yes, sir; and a good, thrifty, industrious hand will make \$50 to \$100 extra if he works.

Q. Do you hire them all the year through?—A. Yes, sir; from January to January.

Q. During the cotton season, too?—A. Yes, sir; but during that season we have to take in extra hands, and we pay fifty cents a hundred. The women and children pick out the cotton, and the extra hands join in ginning and picking.

Q. Is that about the general rule that you and your brother pursue?—A. Yes, sir; it is pretty general in our section in relation to hire.

Q. When you furnish a team and feed it, and furnish all the implements, you give one-third of the crop to the tenant and three hundred pounds of bacon to the mule?—A. Some give two-fifths, but I give them the choice. They can take two-fifths, or take three hundred pounds of meat and the fourth.

Q. And the tenant furnishes only his labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you give him one-third of the crop?—A. Yes, sir; of cotton and corn.

Q. That does not include his patch that he cultivates for himself?—

A. No, sir; that is all extra.

Q. And that, you say, is the general system through that country?—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do your average lands make to the acre?—A. Of course the lands differ somewhat. If you have small lots of good land, you generally make four hundred pounds of cotton to the acre, but we make an average of two hundred and fifty to three hundred pounds of lint cotton to the acre.

Q. That is about forty to fifty bales to the two hundred acres?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Suppose an industrious man rents land from you, how much can he make?—A. I require fifteen acres of cotton and twenty of corn to the plow, and that land, I calculate, manuring it as I do, would pay \$150 worth of cotton, and the land will make three to four barrels of corn; that would be seventy-five to eighty barrels, and he would get one-third, and that would be about \$225 that he would get, besides his supplies, house-rent, and fire-wood, and all that.

Q. Does one man tend that much?—A. He cannot do all the work; one hand cannot do all the planting and manuring, but he can do it all up to chopping time, when it wants four times going over; that would cost him seven dollars each time, and make about thirty dollars of expense; he would have to hire help in picking out, making his expenses probably \$60 in all, and he would make all the balance. The three hundred pounds of bacon I furnish would feed him, and he would be at no extra expense for food.

Q. Have you received any news from these people since they left?—

A. Yes, sir; I have received letters from them.

Q. Are they doing any better there than they were on your plantation?—A. No, sir; they want to get back. There is one letter which I got from a negro woman, written January 5, 1880.

The witness read the letter as follows:

BELL UNION, PUTNOM CO., IND.,
January 5th, 1880.

Mr. S. I. WOOTEN:

SIR, I am now in Ind. in the worst fix I ever was in and all the days of my life. I am out of cloes, and I have not got no where to go and no house to sta in day and or night and no boddly wount let me in with them and I have not got nothing to eat and nothing to dow to get not a cents worth for myself nor my childdran to eat no boddly wount implore a woman that have childdran and no husban brother Allen would let me stay with him but the man that he lives with dont want him to take no orther famlye with him and I am a snfren here please send me some money to get back with to your plantation and I will work with you till you say you are pad and never will leve again please send it to Bell union, Putnom Co., Ind. in the care of Allen Smith and I will come as soon as I get it.

Mr. Wooten please send me 25 dollars and I will worke with you till you ar well pad Mrs. Sarah Smith please write soon and let me know.

The WITNESS. Now, I received a letter from a sister of this woman, Chloë Smith. She wrote about the same thing; she wanted to get back, and I wrote to the sheriff of Putnam County making inquiries about her. This is the reply which I got from the sheriff.

The witness read the following letter:

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, PUTNAM COUNTY,
Greencastle, Ind., January 22, 1880.

Messrs. S. I. WOOTEN & BRO.,
La Grange, N. C.:

DEAR SIRS: Your favor of the 19th inst. is received, and contents noted. After quite a hunt I found Chloë, and the old woman is in a most deplorable condition. She

makes a most piteous appeal to your sympathy for help. I have just had a talk with our railroad agent in regard to the most available route and the cost, &c. They can only procure tickets as far as Washington City, and the cheapest rates are \$20.05 for each person over ten years of age. It will cost Chloe's son full fare, \$20.05. Sarah Smith has gone out to the country, some fifteen miles, with Allen Smith. Their post-office address is Belle Union, Putnam County. I think she can get through on one fare, her children being so small. Any assistance I can render you or them I will gladly do. Chloe will be at my office some time this evening to have me write you a letter for her.

Respectfully,

M. T. LEWMAN,
Sheriff.

The WITNESS. Last week I sent forty-two dollars to pay their expenses to this place, and I wrote to the sheriff to buy her a ticket, she and her boy, to this place, and meet me here last Wednesday. I had not heard anything from them, though, until yesterday evening. I telegraphed to the sheriff to know if they had started, and here is the dispatch I got from him in reply :

GREENCASTLE, IND.,
February 5, 1880.

To C. S. WOOTEN :

Chloe desires to take her daughter with her. Send \$11 more by telegraph, and I will send them all on to-night.

M. T. LEWMAN.

The WITNESS: This daughter of hers is a grown woman; her husband was on, and she wanted to come back. I said I would not send the money, but if he would go to work he could raise fifteen or twenty dollars to get her back; that I would help to get the old woman back, and he could get her back himself. Now, she wants to bring her with her, as she is in a critical condition, and does not like to leave her.

Q. That accounts for her not coming on Wednesday?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you got any others?—A. I have got a letter from Franklin Jones, a fellow who lived on our plantation. This man Perry was arrested there in our county for forging a school-order. His brother was a public-school teacher, and this fellow was charged with forging a pay order and drawing too much; and some of the citizens got out a warrant against him for forgery, and they sent for me to come out there and prosecute him. I used to practice law some years ago. I went and prosecuted him, and he had to give a hundred-dollar bond. He could not raise it, and the negroes raised the money and deposited it with the officers to aid him; and this man Jones was one of the ringleaders in doing this thing, raising this money. I heard that Jones was making threats that Perry should not go to jail, unless it was over his dead body; and when I went out there, there were a good many of them with sticks standing about, and I heard of these threats, but went on; and when Perry's case was taken up, they were there in force, but behaved themselves very well.

(The witness here read the following letters):

JANUARY the 17 1879 Greencastle

Mr to Woot

Sir I take my pen in hand to drop you a few lines to let you know that I am well at this time happen when the few lines reach you the will find you the same I is not sad-d hear and want to come home and want if you please help me to come home and if you will I will pay you as sune as I can tell Mr tom wootten that I wost be wood help me home and all off the boays pary want to come home Mr to Wooten have fond it just lake you sead these pepel hare dont not like black pepel as well as the whit pepel do thare I like old NC than enny stat I have seen tell all of my inqerren fred that the had better stay home tell Nanc Lucy Smith Smith dout come hear for

the cannot get anny work to do tell rolley wooten that wife wont him to send for hear as soon as he can tell will liam wootten to stay at home are passt off the pepel is not jot no pace to stay tell Nanc Lucy Smith that her morthor went to com home Children hav ben warry sick and diing Same porry tole lies in ever thing please excuse my bad hand writte north more to say I remane frend it will take 70 dollers to bring me home

FRANK JONES

JANARY the 27, 1879 *Greencas*

Mr to WOOTTEN

I take my pen in hand to wriat you a few lines to let you noow that I am weel at this time im hopping when thes few lines rech you the may fine you the same me

to Wootten Sir I wash you wood if you pleaz to send me some money to bring me home, and I will pay you wen I can get thar this is not no place for black pepel for the can not get anny work to doe men can not get vary mutch to doe and I dont want to stay her if you will sen for me I will pay you as swoon as I can my farther an his famley says if you will send for him he will pay you when ever he can get thare tell you brother that I wash he wood if he pleaz to help me home if he will help me I will pay bouth of you

wriet swoon let me nowe what you ame to doe north ig more to say

I remane as you fren

FRANK JONES

Sam perry out to be hung for telling such A falshod a grate meny pepel he read that work was plenty but it is Not so if the pepel had the riet understening the is not A man in the Stat off N C wood not come hear tell yoar brother that I wash he wood help me home to & tell all off the black pepel the had better stay at home womman that is got children can not get a place to stay my baby is dead she dide the 25th december give my love to all of my fren tell Caddery to stay at home for this is a bade State to get your liven the black pepel hear dnt want the N C pepel to come hear allen Smith send the that a disspatch to you an he want to Come home all want to Come home

Sam perry most cost that we all is out hear

FRANK JONES

tell peter wootten I have rot him a letter and is got no ancy

Here is a letter in his handwriting, and headed "Sheriff's office, Putnam County, January 26":

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, PUTNAM COUNTY,
Greencastle, Ind., January 26, 1880.

S. I. WOODEN,

DEAR SIR: Send some money to me and my family, so we can come back. Send money to sheriff of Putnam County, Ind.; send it by express as soon as you get this letter. It will take about fifty-four dollars to take us all home. Tell all the rest of the colored folks to stay home—not to come up here. I will work for you to pay you back if I live to get home. Everything you told me when I started I found to be the fact.

Yours, resp'y,

FRANKLIN JONES.

Q. Have you seen any who have returned, to talk with them?—A. No, sir; but some of them have returned, but I have not seen them.

Q. Do you know what they have said about it?—A. Mr. Fields, who is summoned here as a witness, went for those two and brought them back.

Q. Have you anything to state about this movement?—A. I want to say that this idea about their being oppressed among us is all a humbug. The negro has the best chance of any laboring man in the world, if he would just avail himself of his opportunities. They are the best that are offered to any class of laborers.

Q. You mean agricultural laborers?—A. Yes, sir. To give you an idea, one of those old fellows who left me, with a wife and five children,

got to Goldsboro' with ten cents in his pocket. He had an idea that he would go to Indiana free. I talked with him about it, but you cannot reason with them. He went there and had only ten cents. I went to Goldsboro' a couple of weeks after; his wife sent for me and asked to let them come back, and I went up there and let them come. When he left me he had a house and a patch, good wages, his firewood, and all that I give any of the tenants. But about his patch that I allowed him to cultivate free of charge, I wanted to rent it out, and I examined it, and there was between fifteen and sixteen acres that he had had for rent free for ten or twelve years. I am going to cultivate it myself, for it is fine, rich land, and make ten bales of cotton on it, yet he had it rent free, and planted only three or four acres in cotton, making forty or fifty dollars' worth of cotton which he would go to town and trade with. I say they have the best advantages given them if they would only avail themselves of those advantages. We have plenty of waste land which they can cultivate if they will only work.

Q. Who generally sells their cotton for them and markets it?—A. Some of them who had teams of their own rent land and pay me the rent—one-third of the corn and one-fourth of the cotton. The reason they do not get as much cotton is that they have to manure it, and that makes the difference. They gin it at our gin, and when it comes time to sell it, they have the right to go and sell it, but they tell us to sell it because they have an idea we get better prices than they can. We go and sell the cotton for them, and come back and pay them their price for it. We tell them to sell their own cotton, but they say, "No; you sell it." I know a good many white people used to get my father to sell their cotton for them because they thought he could get more for it than they could.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What is the feeling there now among the colored people?—A. I think it is rather abating; that is, right in our section I think there is nothing more said about it. Two or three weeks ago there was some little excitement over it in Wayne County, but I think that is rather dying out, too.

Q. Did you write to any of these colored people?—A. No, sir; never to one of them in my life. The first person I wrote to there was the sheriff, making inquiries about them.

Q. What did you propose to do in that letter?—A. I wrote to know what it would cost to get Chloe Smith and her little boy back. He is a little fellow, 14 or 15 years old, and he wrote that it would cost \$20.05; and I sent last week \$42 to pay their expenses here.

Q. You wrote to none of them on the subject?—A. No, sir; I wrote to the sheriff that I did not want this woman on account of her labor, as I had plenty of that, but it was out of charity to her.

Q. You read a letter from Sarah Smith and several from Jones?—A. Yes, sir; I had two or three from Jones.

Q. Have you had any letter from any other?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is Perry a man of much influence there?—A. He did have considerable influence with the colored people there—enough to stir them up and start them off on this exodus.

Q. What time did he come there?—A. He came down sometime since the war from Chatham County. I live at La Grange, 17 miles from Kingston, and 14 or 15 miles from Goldsboro'—between Kingston and Goldsboro'.

Q. Tell us about the 25 cent charge.—A. I heard some of the negroes

say they had to pay him 25 cents apiece to become members of this society.

Q. Did they tell you what the objects of it were ?—A. No, sir ; I never asked them particularly about it. I know it was to get them off to Indiana, and I asked what they paid, and they said twenty-five cents.

Q. It was originally organized, I understood you to say, to get them off to Kansas ?—A. Yes, sir ; and afterwards they changed their destination to Indiana.

Q. Do you know whether Perry told them their expenses would be paid to Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir ; I understood them to say that they expected a free train every Monday to carry them out there.

Q. Who was this man Smith ?—A. A colored man who lived there with me.

Q. Is he out there now ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did he say ?—A. He says he told them not to come.

Q. That was from Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir ; I received a dispatch from him on Monday after they had left, about 11 o'clock. They all left that morning, and went up to Goldsboro'. He said in his dispatch to tell all my folks not to come.

Q. You have not heard direct from him except through that dispatch ?—A. No, sir. These two women that I speak of are his sisters, and this letter from Sarah, I think, is in his handwriting. She cannot write herself. We have received no letter from him personally.

Q. Do all the negroes find ready employment in your section of country ?—A. Of course sometimes we are more busy than at others. Of course at this time of the year we are not so busy as in the chopping and picking-out season ; but it does not cost them anything to live, as they have a house and wood all free, and have this chance to make extra crops. Now this woman, Chloe Smith, had made enough that she had attended to herself to last her all winter, and had plenty of corn left.

Q. Do they have the same privileges on other plantations ?—A. Yes, sir ; it is a pretty general rule.

Q. You say the idea of their being oppressed is all humbug ?—A. Yes, sir. There may be individual cases where some of them are oppressed and taken advantage of.

Q. Do they vote freely ?—A. Yes, sir ; I have seen no intimidation in that regard except it was where the negroes intimidated one who wanted to vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Is there much of that ?—A. No, sir ; for there are not many of them who want to vote that way.

Q. What are the politics of your section of the country ?—A. My section of the country is a large Republican and negro district. They have 12,000 majority there. My county has always been Republican except in 1874, when they nominated a negro for the legislature, and the white Republicans would not vote for him, so a Democrat got in.

Q. With that exception it has always gone Republican ?—A. Yes, sir ; and so has my precinct, and I never heard of any intimidation there.

Q. Did you hear of any complaint that they have made of oppression ?—A. No, sir ; not any.

Q. You think they are satisfied and contented ?—A. Yes, sir ; except since this movement began. Since Perry went there and stirred them up they have not been so well satisfied. If he had not gone there and disturbed them they would have been there to-day perfectly contented and satisfied.

Q. Then you attribute it all to Perry ?—A. Yes, sir ; in our section I do.

Q. And as you understood it he was hired by the railroad company?—A. Yes, sir; I understood from the newspapers that he got a dollar a head for each one he sent off.

Q. What proportion of those who left were men?—A. There were thirty families, I suppose, averaging five children to a family. About twenty-five men left, and there were five or six women who were not married who left at the same time.

Q. So from your plantation how many went?—A. One hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty, including the children.

Q. And of these twenty-five were men?—A. Yes, sir; and some five or six boys, eighteen or nineteen years old.

Q. And of all who left you have heard of no dissatisfaction, except from Smith and Jones?—A. No, sir; I have heard of no others except of that man who wanted to get his wife on our plantation. They say there, at least I heard some of the colored people say, that it was all a plot on his part with a gentleman there on the place to get her off. I do not much believe he wants her to come back.

Q. You read from some letters that they do not like colored people in Indiana?—A. That was in Frank Jones's letter.

Q. We have had some evidence here of a man who had a house burnt down in Indiana because of employing them; do you think that would have a tendency to make them want to come back home?—A. Yes, sir. I read of that case.

Q. Do you think it is very general evidence of dissatisfaction that two or three want to come back?—A. Jones wrote that all of them wanted to come back. I have heard nothing else though. I will make a statement that on my plantation we have between forty and fifty families, and not a white family on it. They were all colored. The negro has the preference and all the best land for farming. He is preferred as a laborer and a tenant. I prefer them, and I had no white men on my plantation; but after they left, the day after, I had fourteen applications from white men who came in from poor places to get better land, and now I have ten families on my place, and I took them in. I did not know to what extent this movement was going.

Q. Would it not be an advantage to the white people of North Carolina to distribute them throughout the country; I mean the negroes?—

A. I do not think it would be a very great disadvantage to our State.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. That is, if the white laborers came in to take their places?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. On the whole, you think it would be an advantage?—A. Yes, sir; though it would disarrange the labor system for a while.

Q. Then you think there is a superabundance of labor there?—A. Yes, sir; there is plenty of it, and yet we have plenty of territory undeveloped. If we had capital to work it we would use it all. We have undeveloped territory for four or five times the population we have got.

TESTIMONY OF F. B. FIELDS.

F. B. FIELDS sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Fields?—Answer. At La Grange.

Q. In what county?—A. In the county of Lenoir, North Carolina.

Q. What is your occupation ?—A. I am a retail dealer and distiller of whisky.

Q. Do you farm any ?—A. No, sir; I have a small farm, but do not farm upon it.

Q. State if you know anything of the exodus of these colored people from our State.—A. I do not know anything of the cause for it.

Q. Do you know anything of it at all; did you go out to Indiana to see some colored men who left your section ?—A. One of them wrote to me to get back and another telegraphed.

Q. What were their names ?—A. Nathan Wade and Amos Dawson.

Q. Did you go ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what you heard and what took place. Tell us about that trip.—A. Well, I went to Indianapolis and found Amos; left him there, when I went to Greencastle after Nathan and brought him back to Indianapolis that afternoon, and the next day they came home.

Q. You brought both of them back ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they wanted to come home ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why ?—A. They were not satisfied out there.

Q. What did they tell you about their condition out there ?—A. They stated it was very poor.

Q. Did they give you any of the particulars ?—A. They stated they could not get work enough to satisfy them and make a living. I asked one of them what he had been doing, and he said he had been shucking corn; he said they called it husking out there.

Q. He said that he could not get work enough to make a living ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did both of them tell you so ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had they their families with them ?—A. Amos's family was there with him; Wade had one in North Carolina.

Q. You say Amos had a family there ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he bring them with him ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he leave them there in Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did he leave them ?—A. He did not want them to come; he left them; there had been some general dissatisfaction in the family; they left him first and went on, and he left and went out there to look after them; when he went away he said to me, if I want to come back I want you to help me, and I said I would do it.

Q. Which one was that, now ?—A. That was Amos Dawson.

Q. Did you talk to any others ?—A. Yes, sir. Some of them said they were doing well, had plenty of work, and were getting fair pay. I don't know whether it was true or not, but I did not see them at work. Some of them said so and some did not, and some of them wanted to go back with me. Six of them asked me to bring them back, but I would not do it.

Q. Six of them wanted you to bring them back ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some said they were doing well enough ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you to say of the condition of these people in Lenoir County ?—A. It was good.

Q. Is there any oppression of them there ?—A. None that I know of.

Q. They always vote freely there ?—A. Yes, sir; in our section they always vote their sentiments, so far as I know.

Q. What are the opportunities of an industrious, sober colored man to make a living compared with the poor white man ?—A. They are the same; any man can make a living who tries.

Q. What are your politics ?—A. I am a Republican.

Q. Is your county a Republican county ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And has been since reconstruction?—A. Yes, sir; since the war.

Q. Have you received any letters from colored people out there since your return?—A. No, sir. If I have I don't remember it.

Q. When did you go to Indianapolis?—A. I got there the last day of December, at night.

Q. Have you any information from them since your return?—A. I can only state that from reports.

Q. You have a right to speak of what you have heard.—A. I heard it remarked that this man Perry was at the head of it.

Q. Do you know of his making any speeches in your county?—A. I think I did. I think he made several in La Grange one Saturday evening, when there was a good many colored people there. I did not hear him. I heard Peter Williams and a man named Barker.

Q. What did Peter say?—A. I don't remember.

Q. Do you know what inducements were held out to these people as to the wages?—A. Only from reports. I heard they said the wages were better than in North Carolina.

Q. What are the average wages of a good hand in your section?—A. They run from six, eight, ten, to twelve dollars a month, according to the hand.

Q. What lands do they get?—A. They get a little garden patch and house rent free.

Q. And fire-wood?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is the general rule?—A. Yes, sir, I think it is; it has always been the case on my little farm.

Q. You have always given them that?—A. Yes, sir. This man Dawson lived on my plantation thirteen years.

Q. As a hireling or as a tenant?—A. Both; he rented his own farm, and when I wanted to hire him I did so.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Did anybody go back with you except Dawson?—A. Dawson and Wade.

Q. Dawson's family went away before he did?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he said he was going to look after them and he arranged with you to help them to come back?—A. Yes, sir; that was his last remark to me.

Q. Then he was not a genuine exoduster, but went to see after his family?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Wade went out to look and see what the advantages were?—A. It is reported that his friends sent him on there, but I don't know whether it is true or not.

Q. Did you learn from him anything of that?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say there were some others who wanted to come back?—A. Yes, sir; they asked me if I would carry them.

Q. Did they state any of their dissatisfaction?—A. No, sir; they were all strangers to me. I asked their names and they gave them to me.

Q. Your understanding was that they thought they could do better by going to Indiana?—A. That was the report, that the wages were better out there.

Q. But they thought they could better their condition?—A. That was the report.

Q. Have you heard of any dissatisfaction that was expressed generally among the colored people in North Carolina?—A. Not until this excitement came up.

Q. Did you hear of any dissatisfaction or anything in the courts?—

A. No, sir; they have always been doing well and had justice, I believe.

Q. This, you say, is a strong Republican county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the negroes are all Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

JAMES BUCHANAN sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Do you reside in Indianapolis, Mr. Buchanan?—Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am an attorney-at-law.

Q. Will you please state to the committee whether you have been in any way engaged as to cause you to study the labor question in your State, and to know the demand for labor, the supply, or whether the supply is equal to the demand, and whether at this time or in the last six years there has been any demand for a labor immigration into Indiana such as that from North Carolina?—A. I have been since 1873 more or less actively inquiring, for political reasons, into that subject.

Q. State whether you have been engaged in journalism.—A. Yes, sir; a portion of the time.

Q. Have you been one of the editors and proprietors of the Indiana Sun?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are your politics, Mr. Buchanan?—A. I belong to the National Greenback and Labor party.

Q. State whether you have devoted much of your time to a discussion of political questions from your standpoint.—A. Yes, sir; somewhat extensively.

Q. Will you give the committee the result of your examination into this labor question?—A. The results, as it pertains to the facts in the State of Indiana, are these: There is, to state it broadly, no demand for labor in that State that is not amply supplied within the State at any and all seasons of the year; indeed, there is a surplus of labor in the State at certain seasons of the year. There are perhaps only three or four weeks in the year when all the labor in the State can be profitably employed, and that is the harvest season in the summer time. My position politically brought me in contact with men coming from all parts of the State. At my location in Indianapolis I naturally see numbers of people from every section, as that city bears a relation to all parts of the State that no other capital city of any State on the continent does, since it is in close connection with all parts of the State. There is once in a while a demand for labor in particular townships. Take the township of Pike, for instance, and there was last year a demand for labor in that township, but at the same time in Indianapolis and in Marion County there was enough idle labor and more to supply all that Pike Township required and two or three more. In my office I will safely say there are on an average two to three every day in the year who come around inquiring for situations or opportunities for employment. The position I have occupied politically, advocating especially the labor interests, is perhaps the reason for their applying at my office more than at others; and also, I may say, at my house I am applied to by one or two persons a day for employment, some of them being white and some colored.

Q. That is, it would average one a day all the year round?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not the fact, Mr. Buchanan, that in the mean time there is actual suffering at many points in Indiana for the want of employment by these people?—A. There can be no doubt of it. There has been ever since 1873, a year which deranged the manufacturing pursuits of the country, a continuous suffering among a portion of our laboring population. There is not enough labor in agricultural communities where they employ wage hands to take up the labor of all those seeking employment. They cannot now earn enough during the time when they can be employed to carry them through the winter in comfort.

Q. You were raised, Mr. Buchanan, on a farm as a young man, as well as I was?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are familiar with farm labor?—A. Yes, sir; I have been all the time.

Q. Something has been said here about there being a demand more than usual in harvest time for labor; do you know of any demand of late years even in harvest time that could not have been supplied, or that cannot now be supplied, by our own hands?—A. No, sir; yet in good seasons there are times when mechanics are in demand, but I do not know of any time when all the labor has been demanded that could be supplied by our own people. None of the harvests have gone to waste from the want of labor to take care of them. They have been rained on sometimes and damaged in that way, but have not been lost from the want of labor to house them.

Q. If there should be a demand for extra labor in harvest-time, about what length of time would this demand last?—A. In some localities it would last two or three weeks. It begins down in the southern portion of the State, where the wheat ripens first, and then moves on towards the northern portion of the State, where it is later in ripening. The time between the two is probably six weeks.

Q. Is there as much demand for labor during the spring as during the harvest-time?—A. No, sir; and I will remark here that the suffering has mostly been among the mechanics. Their employment, especially that of house-carpenters and brick-masons, is outdoor employment. They are generally employed in building, and when it comes to the winter season building operations are mostly suspended. This is true anywhere and at all times; but since 1873 and the financial panic which occurred at that time there has been little or no employment for mechanics in Indianapolis at any season, because building operations have stopped, so that skilled labor has been driven to seek employment on the farm. Many times men of families have been compelled to take labor upon the farms in the country, and I have known of much suffering among this class of people. I have myself employed some of them when I did not need them.

Q. Has there been any winter since 1873 in Indianapolis where it has not been the daily practice and duty of the town trustees to feed, in charity, able-bodied men and women who are willing to work to earn their living if they could get the work to do?—A. That is true, sir.

Q. And that is true now?—A. Yes, sir; but not so much so as formerly, it has improved a little and mechanics have been scattered away from there and gone west to seek employment.

Q. The winter, Mr. Buchanan, has been mild?—A. Yes, sir; families that have worn their old clothes, where in good times they would have bought new ones, denied themselves the comfort which they would have had if their labor could have been employed.

Q. You have an office here, Mr. Buchanan, so I see, and you are practicing law; have you been home since this movement struck Indianapo-

lis?—A. I left Indianapolis on the evening of the 5th of January, and have not been home since.

Q. Then you have not had much observation of these immigrants?—A. No, sir; I know very little, except what I have heard.

Q. You know enough to know that they have been constant paupers upon the charity of the public?—A. There is no question, I think, of that. I understand there are 200 there now on charity, and I think that that is not denied by any one.

Q. Have you been observant of the position of the press of the State on this immigration question?—A. Yes, sir, to some extent, but I don't know that I know the position of the whole press of the State.

Q. Have you seen any notice in any of the Republican press of the State that these people were paupers and their presence was not desired in Indiana?—A. I think I saw it in the Indianapolis News.

Q. Do you call it a Republican newspaper?—A. Well, sir, it manages to get in and support the Republican ticket every time. I think it has always done that since the Greeley campaign.

Q. But it is opposed to the exodus full drift, is it not?—A. I think so.

Q. It calls itself independent, does it not, and has Republican tendencies?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know of any other paper that has said the same thing?—A. No, sir; I think not. I will state that outside of Greencastle, Putnam County, and Indianapolis, I know of nothing as a basis of quotation on this subject. The Greencastle Banner was a leading advocate of the movement, and all the other papers would copy from it and comment on its statements; that is the nature of the discussion that has been going on in the State over this subject. The Democratic and National papers were opposed to it, not because they did not believe, as I did, that a man has got a right to go where he pleases, but because these men were imported in the State from wrong motives.

Q. Don't you think that you and they opposed it because these people were better off in the South than they were in the State where they could not find employment and support?—A. From what I have learned I think their condition is better in North Carolina than it would be in Indiana.

Q. You were always a Republican, that you know?—A. Yes, sir; I helped to organize the Republican party and abolish slavery.

Q. And you were as much gratified at that result, the abolition of slavery, as anybody in the State of Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you believe that the negro has an absolute right to stand upon the same footing in their relation of leaving as anybody else?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is God's given right.

Q. Then it is not prejudice against the colored man that makes you believe he should not go to Indiana?—A. Not in the world, sir; but certain facts are facts, and I believe that the white people in North Carolina have in a certain sense a better feeling toward the colored people than have the white people in Indiana; the people divide there in some sense according to their feelings. It is true that the idea of the political rights of the negro has the same effect upon the average Democrat that water would have upon a mad dog; to a certain extent in Indiana the same feeling is shared by Republicians; these things are played upon and operate to the detriment of the negro. I have friends and relatives living in the South; my father and mother came from the South, and were of what they called certain abolitionists of the intensest character; but I think the Southern feeling is better towards the negro than the feeling in the North. As to these whites of the North, these

leading Republicans in Indianapolis, who are encouraging this movement, I believe their motive is to gain votes for the Republican party without regard to the social and industrial position of the voters; they seek gain. That opinion is founded on the drift of comment and what I know the facts to be. The Indianapolis Journal is the leading Republican organ of the State, and in my judgment is excessively economical of the truth.

Q. Do you state that under oath, that it is very economical of the truth?—A. Yes, sir; and the Indianapolis Sentinel is the leading Democratic organ of the State, and I do not consider it as exceedingly reliable in its comments on party matters. It takes the other extreme; the one Republican, and the other Democratic.

Q. Do you think, from your old Republican sentiments and antecedents and your connection with the study of the labor movement, that you have taken an impartial view of this subject?—A. I think I have. Every man might not feel the same way upon these subjects like myself. My position on the slavery question was not simply that it was for one man against another, but I thought that the negro had the right to the fruits of his own labor. I think, however, that another system of slavery has supplanted the one that was abolished.

Q. What system of slavery do you think has taken the place of the one that was abolished?—A. Financial robbery of the people through the agency of monopolies and class legislation.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. I suppose, sir, from your examination, that you have had some consideration regard to the labor question. You have heard the examination of Mr. Wooten and Mr. Fields, the two gentlemen from North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; a portion of it.

Q. The substance of their testimony as to what was paid farm laborers in North Carolina was that they got \$10 a month wages, house rent free, a garden patch, and fire-wood free, and that the hiring extended over the entire twelve months. I desire to ask you whether farm labor is any better paid than that in Indiana?—A. No, sir; it is not so well paid. During certain seasons our farmers might pay better, but for the regular season for a laboring man he is not thus well provided for.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You have spoken, Mr. Buchanan, of the economy of truth practiced by the Indianapolis Journal in its discussion of party questions—do you think the Sentinel, which you say is the Democratic organ, practices the same economy?—A. I think it is a full brother.

Q. You think the only papers, then, that have a monopoly of the truth are the Greenback papers?—A. No, sir; I do not say that.

Q. Are they the only papers that tell the truth in Indiana?—A. Well, sir, they have not entered into this fight very much.

Q. But do they tell the truth, and are they the only papers that do tell the truth in Indiana?—A. As a general proposition, with reference to this movement, they have stated the whole truth without entering the contest over the issue.

Q. You have not answered my question. I desire to know whether you think the Greenback papers are the only papers in Indiana that tell the truth on this subject?—A. Of course, sir, there have been prevarications in them as well as in other papers.

Q. Then you think they may not have told what is true about this movement?—A. I have not expressed it that way, sir.

Q. You regard that the Greenback papers are very lavish of the truth?—A. In relation to these facts, I think they are.

Q. Then the Indianapolis Sun was the only one of the leading papers of the State that you could rely upon to get the truth about the exodus?

—A. I think you could rely on any of them where there was no partisan interest involved.

Q. But do you mean to back up the Indianapolis Sun as the only paper giving the truth in the discussion of these questions?—A. I will back the Indianapolis Sun on its statement of facts as long as I was connected with it.

Q. And that is the only one of the leading papers of the State that you will back?—A. I will not back them to the same extent.

Q. Is there any improvement in the times in Indiana?—A. In one sense; yes, sir.

Q. Will you tell us in what sense you have realized this improvement?—A. The Lord has been very kind to Indiana and given it an immense wheat crop, which has brought more money than we have had for several years. That amount of money enables those people to get some comforts from which they have heretofore been deprived.

Q. Do you think that improvement is not permanent?—A. No, sir; I think not. It may last a year or so, but I could not predict that it is permanent.

Q. Then you mean to say that the wheat crop is to be credited with any improvement in the times in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; we had an immense wheat crop while there were short crops in Europe. This latter fact created a demand for our wheat and hence the improvement.

Q. You think that is the cause of the improvement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In your judgement it is that and nothing else?—A. Yes, sir. When you speak of a general revival of business, as the term is used in discussing the present situation, I understand it to mean a revival in the financial condition of the people, in the employment of labor, which enables all who desire it to have employment; and in that sense there is not a general revival of business.

Q. You find more people now who can find employment than could do so some time ago?—A. No, sir; not in Indiana.

Q. Do you think Indiana is worse off in that matter than the other States?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you think there is no general revival of business anywhere?—A. No, sir; in the sense I explained to you I do not.

Q. Is it not a fact that your party, the National Greenback Labor party, do not take a very cheerful view of the condition of the country?—A. We take a full and fair view of the facts. I do not think a funeral is a very cheerful thing at any time.

Senator VANCE. That depends on who is being buried. [Laughter.]

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You have sworn, Mr. Buchanan, that there is, in your opinion, no general revival of business; now, will you please explain what you mean and what is the character of the improvement which you admit has taken place?—A. No, sir; I do not think that there has been a general revival of business, but there has been an apparent revival. In transporting the products of the year from the producers over to the consumers it gives activity to business, an activity that appears to some persons to be a revival of business, but which is not a revival of business such as I have explained to you.

Q. Are there any more manufactories in operation now than there were five years ago?—A. I do not think all of them are in operation.

Q. Then you think the factories are quite as silent now, or more so, than they were five years ago?—A. Well, sir, I would fix it at 1873 and 1874.

Q. Well, speak of four years ago?—A. Well, sir, Indianapolis did not feel the suffering arising from the panic in 1874 and 1875. Its worst time was in 1875 and 1876. It is not so bad there now as in 1875 and 1876, but that is due largely to the fact that the surplus labor of those years has thinned out and gone off to other places.

Q. Well, sir, you seem to have made this an economic study, and I am anxious to have your opinion on the record regarding this revival of business?—A. I do not think there is any substantial revival on a basis to be permanent.

Q. There are as many factories running now as there were five years ago, are there not?—A. I think not.

Q. Well, sir, how many? Give us the proportion for the two periods as nearly as you can?—A. I think there are not more than one-third as many that are idle, but the basis of my calculations on that point may be erroneous.

Q. Your view is that there is no more substantial employment to be given to the people in the United States to-day than there was five years ago?—A. There is no more. There is no more measured by the compensation of the labor.

Q. That is, there is not the amount of wealth being produced in the country now as there was before the panic, but there is some more than there was in 1876 and 1877; what is the percentage of the increase?—A. I cannot say, sir.

Q. Is it ten per cent.?—A. I think so, sir; but I do not think that this increase is due to any party policy, but that it is God's work.

Q. But you think there has been ten per cent. more employment given to the laborers of the country?—A. Well, sir, the compensation of labor is not as great as it was four years ago. Then the wages that are paid when parties are employed are very little higher than they were when the number of laborers was greater.

Q. Is it not very much greater, Mr. Buchanan; would you not say it was 10 per cent. more?—A. Or should say there are 10 per cent. more individuals who can't find employment.

Q. Would you say 20 per cent.?—A. I don't think 120 men have employment now where 100 were in 1876.

Q. Then you don't think the employment amounts to 20 per cent?—A. No, sir.

Q. And do you think that is the true state of the country generally?—A. I don't know, sir; that is only guesswork at best.

Q. Well, 10 per cent. improvement makes a very great difference?—A. I don't know, sir, as to that matter.

Q. What is your opinion?—A. I cannot state, sir.

Q. But you do think there is 10 per cent.?—A. I have my doubts as to that.

Q. You have your doubts as to whether the general condition of the country is improved 10 per cent.—A. Labor in the amount of its improvement I don't think has increased 10 per cent., and in its compensation I don't think it is quite up to the mark, as I explained to you a short while ago, of men, the wealth produced by it, and added to the aggregate sum of the nation's wealth.

Q. You think there is not 10 per cent. being added to the nation's wealth?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you think the prospect generally is gloomy?—A. I think

that we are all upon a basis in this country where we are likely to fall into ruin in ten years.

Q. Then you take a dark view of the employment of labor in the country, quite as dark as you do of the employment of colored people in Indiana?—A. I have not spoken of the employment of colored people in Indiana especially.

Q. Well, then, you take the same gloomy view of the whole country?—A. Yes, sir; but I have not been speaking of the condition of the country, as a general thing to apply everywhere. Now, in some localities it is different, and the improvement appears to be substantial. You have factories upon the Ohio and Wabash that are doing their full amount of business. You may take the glass factory at New Albany, where, I understand, they have orders two months ahead of their capacities.

Q. You stated awhile ago that 200 of these people were living upon charity in Indianapolis.—A. Yes, sir; and parties were soliciting charity for them. When I was there I was asked to give something to help them. I heard Mr. W. R. Holladay, at the Ebbitt House, no longer ago than last night speaking of it; he was criticising what was said by a Mr. Bogley, a prominent negro in Indiana, and denied that there was need and employment for these negroes.

Q. Then he is not in favor of the exodus?—A. It was reported that he was engineering it and shipping them to Indianapolis in mail-cars. I think I heard Mr. Krouse there state something of the kind.

Q. What is Mr. Krouse's politics?—A. He is a National.

Q. Then he takes the same gloomy view of the situation that you do?—A. I do not think that is necessarily a gloomy view; a truthful view is not necessarily gloomy.

Q. You said awhile ago that you did not think a funeral was a very cheerful thing, but rather a gloomy one. Would you think that a truthful funeral would be gloomy?—A. Not necessarily.

Q. You stated that leading Republicans wanted these people out there to vote. What do you know about that?—A. I qualified that, and stated that if I could go into it I would give my reasons for so speaking. I know that Mr. Holloway and others, when spoken to upon the matter, would make light of it on the idea that there was a demand for labor and for these people.

Q. Then he does not take the same gloomy view of the condition of the country that you do?—A. If you want to hear what he says and my views upon it, I will tell you.

Q. You have been very liberal in denouncing Republicans of Indiana for encouraging, as you claim, this emigration for the alleged purpose of using their votes?—A. No, sir. I do not think that is a proper inference.

Q. Didn't you say that the Republicans wanted them there to vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't you say that the leading Republicans of Indianapolis were encouraging and aiding the movement?—A. Yes, sir; but they are not all the Republicans in Indiana, and they do not run the party in that State. They have tried to several times and failed. And I will state that I think if there was a vote of the Republican party of Indiana taken upon the subject nine out of ten would vote against it. I do not think they want these negroes there.

Q. Now, then, according to that statement, one-tenth of them do.—A. Yes, sir. Those who expect to make office out of it would like to have them there.

Q. Can you name any of those, any of those leading Republicans of Indianapolis who would like to have these negroes in Indiana to vote?

—A. Well, sir, there is Mr. John C. New, Mr. Holloway, Judge Martindale, and Mr. Wildman. I have heard them all say there was room enough for all the labor in the State that could come there. I say myself that in one sense that is true; if they bring men there with money to open up coal mines, forests, and farms, to build iron-works, and all that, if they mean that kind of labor, I agree with them; but if it is labor without capital, seeking wages only, I say it is false.

Q. You say you agree with them if they mean it in the sense that you have indicated? How do you know that was not the view they took of it when they made the statement?—A. It is impossible it could have been. It is these poor class of people who are coming in there now, and it was with reference to them they were speaking, and not of the other class in the slightest. These negroes who come from the South and have to be supported by charity as soon as they get there, you may well know they have not capital and credit to begin on.

Q. Then because these gentlemen do not agree with you as to the industrial wants of the State, you swear that their desire is to import voters?—A. I always assume, sir, that if a man is sane that he has got a motive for what he does. If he agrees to the fact that two hundred of these people are there supported by charity to-day because they cannot get employment, and he still tries to bring more of them, I cannot see what motive can be in it except it be to use them as voters.

Q. Did you hear any of those gentlemen or any other Republicans advocate their being brought to Indiana for that purpose?—A. Yes, sir; the Indianapolis Journal did.

Q. Will you refer me to the date of the issue in which that was said?—A. I cannot say positively what the date was.

Q. Do you swear that any such article was ever put into that journal or ever appeared in it in any shape advocating this exodus to Indiana as a means of importing voters into the State?—A. Not in that language, sir.

Q. Then, what was the language?—A. It said that there was room for the people, able-bodied male laborers, in the State.

Q. What reason have you to infer or to impugn their motives in the way that you do?—A. I do not know that I have done that.

Q. Don't you think it is a bad motive if it is to bring them in there in order to carry the State in the interest of a political party?—A. Not if they bring them in there to vote according to the laws of the State. I do not think a man should impose on another one for any purpose in the world, and I do not think it was right to bring these men there and colonize them to carry elections.

Q. Then, do you think it is right or wrong under any circumstances to bring them into the State in order to carry it in the interest of their party?—A. For that purpose, sir, I say it is wrong.

Q. You must recollect, sir, that you have made a severe charge on these gentlemen, and I want to know upon what ground you have made it?—A. I say they tell these people to come, and that is the only charge I have made against them.

Q. You say they know that there is no room there for them, and still they tell them to come?—A. I have given you the facts, sir. I conversed with Mr. Holloway about it, and he concedes that there are two hundred women and children there being supported by charity; that means that they are without employment or the means to support themselves.

Q. Did he say they were brought there for voting purposes?—A. Of course, sir, he would deny it, but I have my own opinion of it. Of course I do not think that they bring women and children there to vote.

Q. Do you think one-fifth of those people are voters?—A. I do not think that one-fifth of these people who came are voters.

Q. Do you think that if these people, these leading Republicans that you spoke of, wanted voters brought into the State they would send and get four or five women and children in order to get one voter?—A. I have not said that, sir.

Q. You think they would not, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you think that is about the proportion among those who have come?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Then, if you make the charge against them that you have made in your direct examination, you charge them with a want of common sense?—A. Well, sir, I think they would have been glad not to have had any women and children come, but to have had them all voters.

Q. You stated that you judged all this to be the case from the expressions of these men themselves. Now, have they ever said one word to you about these people coming there as voters?—A. They have stated that there was work and room in the State for able-bodied male laborers, but not any demand for the labor of women and children.

Q. Do you state your belief to be that the leading Republicans of Indiana had nothing to do with sending these people out there?—A. I think, perhaps, not a half dozen of them would approve of it or favor it except in the sense of not disapproving of it.

Q. You think not a half-dozen of them, then, ever had that motive which you attribute to the Republican party as a mass; in other words, you do not believe that this was a party movement?—A. That would depend on what you call a party movement.

Q. Didn't you state awhile ago that these very men do not constitute the Republican party of Indiana?—A. I stated so, and to what extent I thought they were participating in this movement.

Q. Didn't you say that these men were not the party?—A. A party, sir, is often chargeable with what its leaders do.

Q. Didn't you mean to repudiate the idea that they were the Republican party of the State?—A. I repudiated the suggestion of your question. You said they constituted the Republican party of the State, and I said they did not.

Q. You do not think these half-dozen men represent or constitute the Republican party of Indiana?—A. There are probably 250,000 voters in that party, and these men certainly cannot be 250,000.

Q. Do you think that they represent it?—A. I do not think they do.

Q. You think a half-dozen, though, want to see these men come there to vote, and the others do not?—A. I think there are a half-dozen there who do want to see them come there for that purpose.

Q. Will you give us the names of that half-dozen?—A. Yes, sir. Mr. Holloway, the postmaster; Mr. Martindale, the editor of the Journal; Mr. Reynolds, one of the assistants to Mr. Holloway, Mr. New, the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee; Mr. James A. Reynolds, the ex-auditor of the State, and Mr. John T. Pressley, the present sheriff of county.

Q. Is that all?—A. They are the only ones, I think, who would take any lively interest in the matter, but I do not say they have been so.

Q. You do not know that they have done so?—A. I do not know it.

Q. And you think it is quite right to attribute such a motive to them

if you do not know that they had it ?—A. You can attribute a motive to a man for what he does.

Q. That is, then, if he does not agree with you in politics or in the view that he takes of the industrial necessities of the State and the gloomy condition of the country generally, his motive is a wrong one ?—

A. Well, sir, I say that these negroes have come to Indiana without any good cause.

Q. Will you please be kind enough to tell me what you heard these gentlemen say upon this subject ?—A. I have not talked with Judge Martindale particularly about it, but I have heard him express an opinion in the presence of others that there was ample room in Indiana for all the laborers, able-bodied, that could get there.

Q. Did he say anything about politics in that connection ?—A. No, sir ; but he said that negroes were preferred as laborers.

Q. Well, they say the same thing about them in the South ?—A. Yes, sir ; I heard it said here this morning.

Q. Did he say anything in that conversation with reference to this exodus being a political movement ?—A. Not a word, sir ; as to partisan politics, but we attribute to him the responsibility for the policy and conduct of the Indianapolis Journal.

Q. Has he ever said anything of that kind ?—A. Well, sir, when the Sentinel would denounce the exodus the Journal would copy what it said, and add that there was room for ten thousand of these people in the State, and that their coming would add to the Republican vote.

Q. Do you think or know that anything of that sort ever appeared in the columns of the Journal ?—A. Yes, sir. I think it was about the month of December.

Q. Do you say on your oath that it is in there ?—A. I think it is in there.

Q. Are you quite sure that you did see any such expression as that in there ?—A. I think it is there, sir.

Q. You doubt your recollection on it, do you not ?—A. I do not, sir.

Q. Well, Mr. Buchanan, you live here, and will you show us that extract if you can find a file of the Journal ?—A. I do not know, sir. I expected to leave to-night for Indiana.

Q. Well, sir, I will try and supply that myself. Now, as to Mr. New, what did you hear him say about it ?—A. I heard him say that there was room there.

Q. Tell us about what Mr. New said ?—A. I think I have given all I heard him express about the matter.

Q. He spoke simply about the demand for labor there ?—A. Yes, sir ; in connection with the fact of southern negroes coming into the State.

Q. And that is all he said ?—A. Yes, sir ; all on that point.

Q. What did the other three gentlemen say ?—A. They said similar things.

Q. That is, that there was plenty of room in Indiana for good laborers ?—A. Yes, sir. There would be a discussion, and something would be said about the Democrats getting on their ears about the exodus, and gentlemen would remark that there was plenty of room for the negroes in Indiana.

Q. Well, the Democrats have been on their ears about it, have they not ?—A. I think they have, sir. I say that holding up the negro as a voter to the average Democrat in the North is like it is in the South ; it is like water to a person with the hydrophobia.

Q. You spoke awhile ago of the condition of the negro in the South ;

did you refer to what you understoed as his condition in North Carolina?
—A. Yes, sir; in North Carolina.

Q. You did not refer to his condition in Mississippi and Lonisiana ?—
A. No, sir.

Q. There are two states of feeling about that; the white people of Mississippi deny the reports about the State, and the white Republicans of the North assert that they are true; what is your opinion about it?—A. My first opinion is, that if it is really true as the white Republicans in the North say that it is, and that the negroes are hunted with rifles and shot-guns, and bulldozed, it is the best argument in the world why the Republican party ought to be put out of power as quickly as possible.

Q. And the Greenback party put in?—A. I say it is charged both ways. I think a part of these reported outrages are true, but part of them are not true; and I judge that a great deal of it is only said for campaign purposes and use up North. These reports generally accumulate about that time, and I say if it is true, as these reports allege, it is the strongest arraignment of the Republican party that I know of.

Q. You stated, I believe, that the white people of the South treated them better than the white people of the North?—A. That is my opinion as to North Carolina.

Q. What is your opinion of the treatment they receive from the people of Mississippi and Louisiana?—A. I do not know anything about what it is.

Q. Have you an opinion?—A. My opinion to-day is, and my facts are slender, that if true it is infamous.

Q. Then you have no opinion as to what is the truth?—A. I think from the representations made public, that the colored people are better off in North Carolina than in any other Southern State.

Q. What do you think of Mississippi and Louisiana, and as to whether they are better treated there than negroes in the North?—A. I don't know; that is, I don't want you and this honorable committee to understand that I intimate that colored people are oppressed at the North, for they are not.

Q. Then you cannot answer my question?—A. My general information is, that they are not treated so well.

Q. Do you believe that information?—A. In part, yes, sir.

Q. Then you would qualify your former statement by saying they are treated better in North Carolina?—A. I don't qualify, because I confined it to North Carolina when I made it.

Q. You don't want to say that is true of the South generally?—A. I don't think I have said any such thing.

Q. Do you think the white people of Louisiana and Mississippi treat the colored people in those States as well as the colored people are treated living in the North?—A. My information is such that I think they are not; there are two statements made of the case; if one statement is true their condition is horrible, if the other is true it is lovely.

Q. Please answer my question.—A. I state from my information. I would think they were not so well treated in those localities as in the North Carolina regions, and I stated two views of the case that have been presented. I said if the facts were true as presented by the Republicans the situation of the colored man there was horrible, and if true as the Democrats say, lovely.

Q. Which do you believe?—A. I believe a part of both.

Q. Averaging it, which do you believe?—A. I believe that they are not so well treated.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Are you acquainted with the 14th article of the Constitution, section 1st of the same article, which says : "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law ; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Are you familiar with those provisions ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your opinion of a party and the leaders of a party, especially in Congress, who insisted that the colored people of the United States who have been made citizens are denied their rights and deprived of protection to life and liberty, and of those within the jurisdiction of the United States who claim that they are not given equal protection under the laws, what do you think of a party claiming that and who as yet have taken no steps of any kind by resolution or act in either branch of Congress for the past six years looking to the remedy of that situation of affairs ?—A. I take it as simply infamous, and I say it is one of the bitterest things for which I arraign the Republican party.

Q. Do you know of any move made by any Senator or member of the Republican party looking to anything of the kind ?—A. I think there has been none since the virtue and brain of the Republican party left it and died out of it.

Q. Who do you think composed the virtue and brain of the Republican party ?—A. I think men like Charles Sumner, Wilson, Chase, Thaddeus Stevens, Greeley, and others I might mention.

Q. Do you know the 15th amendment, which says that—

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude ?

A. Yes, sir ; that is the 15th amendment of the Constitution.

Q. Would you suppose that honest and fair men, and they are all honorable men who would insist that that provision of the Constitution is habitually violated and who believed it, would sit by and see it done when they have the power to remedy the evil by legislation here ?—A. I think they cannot believe it ; if they did, such conduct would be infamous ; there is no other way that will suit the case.

Q. Does not the attitude of the Republican party upon the subject prove to you that these things are not true and they don't believe them ?—A. It proves one of two things, either the fact does not exist or they want to use it for some other purpose.

Q. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Thos. P. Mills who testified before this committee, or did you hear of it ?—A. I heard of it.

Q. Did you hear that he said he told his friends when they first came to Indiana, these emissaries of the exodus, that they wanted 20,000 bucks, meaning men without women, to go to Indiana ?—A. I did not hear of it.

Q. Did you hear of his saying that his sentiments upon this subject were shared by leading and prominent Republicans of Indiana ?—A. Well, sir, I will not say anything about that ; the general matter which I heard in relation to his testimony was that he was a Republican from Indiana, and was giving the Republican party a heavy lift.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Do you know Mr. Mills ?—A. I have a short acquaintance with

him. I simply know he is of the firm of Morris & Mills, and they have a business house or office there.

Q. Mr. Voorhees seems to have called you as an expert with relation to the conduct of political parties; assuming the fact to be true that you are, I will ask you some questions. What political party controls the State legislature and State offices in the South?—A. The Democrats, I believe, without exception. They were controlled by Republicans at one time.

Q. How long ago?—A. I believe the last time the Republicans got a *usufruct*, to use Mr. Tilden's expression, out of the South, was when they got the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana.

Q. All those States are now in the hands of the Democrats.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All the courts and offices generally are in the hands of the Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; nearly all.

Q. Don't you understand that there are many strong Republican districts in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And a good many strong Republican States if the colored people were allowed to vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you know that there are no representatives in the Senate representing the South, except two?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you think of a party which controls all these Southern States in legislatures, executive offices, and courts, and who by the use of shotguns and tissue ballots and bulldozing run negroes out of the State, and which permits men of the same party to meet them on their arrival at the North with mobs and house-burnings and threats of violence—what do you think of that party?—A. Assuming the facts to be true, it is simply infamous.

Senator WINDOM. Well, now, since you have got us both infamous, I will let you go.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. I will ask you if, since these States passed into the hands of the Democrats, it is not a fact that there have been less complaints of wrongs and violence to the negroes in those States than at any other time since the war?—A. Yes, sir; I think there are less complaints of misrule there.

Q. You think there are less complaints from the colored people?—A. Yes, sir. But about the time of elections they flood the Northern country with outrage literature of the most horrible kind, but I know of no great outrages from that section since the Chisholm murder.

Q. You made use of the expression that it was infamous for a party to let these things go on and not attempt to put a stop to them. Do you think it is infamous for a man to cut the throat of the horse that has been carrying him on its back?—A. What do you mean?

Q. I mean, if these outrages were corrected the Republican party would have nothing to carry them through the election.—A. They assert that this class of outrages occur, and I say if they are in power and do not correct them, it is simply infamous.

Q. Do you consider that they could not carry the elections without them; and if that is true, it is wise and profitable not to correct them?—A. No, sir; I think it rather deepens their infamy.

Q. You say they can correct these things, and they do not do it?—A. I think they can.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Then you think the Republican party is infamous because it does

not protect the Democratic party of the South?—A. I say, if these things are not true the Republicans of the North are lying about it; and if they are true, they are not doing their duty in forgetting these colored people.

Q. If any considerable part of it is true, don't you think the Republican party is infamous for not punishing the Democratic party of the South?—A. I have had some pretty hard fights against the Democratic party and the Republican party, too, and I expect more of them, and to say something upon this very subject in making them.

Q. You think that the Republican party should punish the Democratic party to prevent them from bulldozing the colored men?—A. I think it should punish whoever violates the rights of a citizen.

Q. Well, these things are done, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; and if they are done for political reasons, I think it is more our duty to punish them.

Q. You have heard of this bulldozing?—A. I have heard of Republican negroes who would bulldoze a Democratic negro pretty lively.

Q. Where did you hear of it?—A. I heard of it here on the stand.

The CHAIRMAN. I desire to put into the record a copy of two dispatches which appear in the Washington Post of this morning, February 6:

TIRED OF NEGRO EMIGRATION.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., February 5.

The officers of the Kansas Free Land Association have been directed by the directors of the association to devise a method of diverting immigration of colored people in Kansas and turning the tide to other States in more need of laborers, and where the people are better able to care for such as are in destitute circumstances. The relief association is unable to maintain immigrants lately arrived.

NEGROES IMPORTING DISEASE.

LEAVENWORTH, KAN., February 5.

In Emporia and one or two other places a new disease, which the doctors do not understand, is prevalent among children. It is a rash, resembling measles, and is very contagious. It was brought here by the refugee negroes from the South. Many cases have proved fatal.

TESTIMONY OF C. W. BROUSE.

C. W. BROUSE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Near Indianapolis.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Twenty-five years, I think.

Q. What positions have you occupied there? Were you pension agent?—A. I was, four years from 1869—June, 1869.

Q. I want to examine you upon the first point presented by Mr. Buchanan—that is, about your knowledge or other men's knowledge of the unemployed labor of the State. Give your views to the committee on that subject in your own way?—A. My knowledge of the labor question in Indiana is derived from the leading newspapers and conversation with gentlemen from various parts of the State. My opinion is, from the information that I have, that there is to-day and has been for

four or five years past more laborers than could get employment in the State of Indiana. I speak now from my own personal knowledge. My residence is outside of the city in a farming community, and I know a number who have been out there for years past seeking for work and could not get it except, it was an occasional day's labor.

Q. Is it not true, and has it not been true for several years past, that there has been actual suffering in that section of the country among the laboring people?—A. Yes, sir; very great.

Q. I will ask you if there has not been a constant reliance upon public and private charity for the subsistence of able-bodied men and women who would have gladly worked if they had had a chance?—A. That is true, sir.

Q. Is it not conspicuously true?—A. It is a well-known fact.

Q. That such is the case?—A. I think it is.

Q. What business are you engaged in now?—A. I have been engaged for the last three or four years in the real estate business, purchasing and selling land.

Q. Then your attention has been much directed to this point?—A. Yes, sir; especially since 1873.

Q. Now have you always been a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; up to the time of the election of Mr. Hayes. Probably a year after that I left the Republican party and affiliated with the National party.

Q. On the slavery question your sympathies are all with the colored men? You are as much their friend as anybody in the State?—A. I think so.

Q. You were in the military service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You know that the prejudice against these people is not on account of their color?—A. No, sir.

Q. There is no objection to their coming to Indiana if they could be provided for?—A. No, sir; we would be glad to see them.

Q. State what you think of their coming there now under the circumstances that they do?—A. I think their condition in North Carolina would have to be very bad indeed if coming to Indiana would better it.

Q. Have you followed the testimony given here as to the condition of the colored men who have gone to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I heard Mr. Wootten's testimony as to the state of affairs on his plantation.

Q. That is all the means of information that you have as to the condition of colored men in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; except what I read in the newspaper of a gentleman's testimony here as to the compensation and condition of the laborers there.

Q. And you think it must be very hard there if they would better it by coming to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; especially at this time.

Q. Have you any reason to believe that his condition in North Carolina is so deplorable that it would be bettered by coming to Indiana?—A. Not at all.

Q. Have you any information as to their status that you are able to state that?—A. No, sir; nothing except newspaper reports.

Q. You stated that there was no demand for laborers in Indiana at this time?—A. No, sir; beyond the supply that we have at home.

Q. Then there would be no hostility to emigrants coming there who are self-supporting?—A. I think not.

Q. And emigrants of any kind, white or colored, negro or Irish, who would come there and be self-supporting, would not be objected to?—A. I think not, sir.

Q. There would be opposition to any kind of people being thrown on

public charity or private charity with no hope of their own speedy improvement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you been to Indiana recently?—A. Not within the last thirty days.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do you think the introduction of seven or eight hundred persons into your State would create widespread distress?—A. I think not, beyond the seven or eight hundred who came.

Q. There would be considerable distress occasioned among them?—A. Some of them might get employment, but it would be by throwing others out, and there would not be enough of it to support all the others.

Q. Do you think a laborer is worse off in Indiana than in other States of the Union?—A. I do not know, sir, as to the other States in the Union.

Q. You know of no reason why you should be particularly overstocked in Indiana beyond any other State in the Union?—A. No, sir.

Q. You do not know how many of these people have come there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there any improvement in the times generally out there?—A. There is some improvement in the manufacturing interests of the State, and considerable in merchandising.

Q. Is there any in the agricultural interests of the State?—A. Yes, sir; the crops last year were very fine indeed.

TESTIMONY OF T. E. HOOKER.

T. E. HOOKER sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Greene County, North Carolina.

Q. Where is Greene County, with reference to Lenoir County?—A. It is adjoining Lenoir on the northeast.

Q. Where is your residence? How far from La Grange?—A. About 17 miles.

Q. Has there been any portion of this exodus from your county?—A. Some few have gone from there; I think fifty or a hundred all told.

Q. Do you know anything of the causes that induced them to leave?—A. I do not know as I do.

Q. Did you talk to any of those who were about to leave?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they say?—A. Some said they thought they would better their condition in Indiana, as wages are higher there.

Q. Did they say they had been told that?—A. Yes, sir; there were negro agents peddling round there, and telling them very great things. These men, Perry and Williams, were down there.

Q. Did they visit your county?—A. I do not know, sir; but I reckon they did.

Q. You do not know that they made any speeches there?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What were these negroes told they could get in Indiana?—A. They were told that they could get \$1.50 and \$2 a day, and in the harvest-ing season that they would get \$6 a day.

Q. That is what they were told ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What about their transportation ?—A. Some of them went thinking they were going to go free. They went to Goldsborough and found it was different, and they came back. Some of those who went off from my place came back.

Q. What is the condition of the colored people in your county ?—A. About as good as it is anywhere.

Q. As good as any of the adjoining counties ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What wages do they get ?—A. A good negro hand can get from \$8 to \$10 a month.

Q. What does that include ?—A. That includes furnishing him a house, rent free, firewood free, and giving him a little patch to cultivate, and furnishing him with rations.

Q. Is that the general rule ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is for A No. 1 hands ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what length of time does the hiring extend ?—A. A great many times it is for twelve months, from January to January straight through. After they get through picking cotton, then they go to raising manure for the other crop.

Q. What can hands get for a day's work by the day ?—A. Fifty to sixty cents; I have had to pay a little more than that.

Q. And do you feed them ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What can hands make hiring in that way during the fall season when cotton begins to open ?—A. It depends on what kind of a hand it is. Boys and girls can make as much as a man picking cotton.

Q. What do you pay ?—A. Fifty cents a hundred.

Q. The picking of cotton depends as much on skill as it does on strength ?—A. More so.

Q. What can a man pick out in a day ?—A. With good cotton he can pick from 150 to 300 or 400 pounds.

Q. What is the average of a good picker ?—A. 175 to 200 pounds.

Q. That would be seventy-five cents to a dollar a day ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Cotton begins to open about the 10th of September, does it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long does it continue ?—A. Up to about Christmas. Of course as winter comes on the cotton gets scarcer.

Q. What are the politics of your county ?—A. Republican.

Q. What is the population of white and colored Republicans ?—A. There are about 100 white Republicans and 800 colored.

Q. What is your usual Republican majority ?—A. 150 to 200.

Q. Do you know or have you heard of any bulldozing of the colored people in your section ?—A. No, sir; they vote as free there as anywhere in America. They hold their meetings and have their votes. There are people at the polls to look after that, and they are generally colored.

Q. Then you know of no case in the shape of political persecution that should have made these men leave their homes ?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is the state of feeling between the two classes there ?—A. It is kindly; there is no hostility between the two classes that I know of.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN O. KELLY.

JOHN O. KELLY (colored) sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE :

Question. Where is your residence ?—Answer. Raleigh, North Carolina.

Q. What is your profession or business?—A. I am doing a livery business—all that is done there.

Q. You run a livery stable?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you own any property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you own any real estate?—A. Yes, sir; I own some outside of the corporation of the town, and I have got a house and home.

Q. You were formerly a slave?—A. Yes, sir; I used to belong to General Cox.

Q. How much property at a round guess are you worth now?—A. I do not know, sir; but I would not to-night take less than \$5,000 for what I have got.

Q. Have you made all that as a free man?—A. Yes, sir; I had nothing at the time of the surrender.

Q. There is a large colored population in Wake County, is there not?—A. Yes, sir; Wake has a large population that is colored.

Q. What are the politics of the county?—A. Wake County goes Republican. It has failed one year of going Republican. It failed to supply the members of the general assembly. With the exception of that it goes Republican.

Q. By what majority?—A. Well, it is pretty close. Along at first it was about 250, but now they are beginning to hew it down.

Q. Which are the largest in number in the county, the whites or the blacks?—A. You mean the voting population?

Q. Yes.—A. The colored people.

Q. The colored people are the strongest?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now I want the truth all to come out, and I want you to tell us what you can say of the condition of the colored people in Wake County, as to their right to vote and the enjoyment of their liberties generally?—A. Their right to vote and their liberty in Wake County is certainly good. The colored people in Wake County have their liberty, and their privileges are good. They have free access at the ballot-box in Wake as much as in any county in North Carolina. We have as little trouble there as anywhere. We have very few difficulties about Raleigh.

Q. Do they vote just as they please?—A. Yes, sir; they do. I do not think we have half a dozen colored voters in Wake County but what votes the Republican ticket. One or two men have voted the Democratic ticket, but the others scorn them and done so much to them that I think they are about worn out at it.

Q. That was for voting the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir; that is so.

Q. What is the state of feeling there between the white and colored people?—A. The state of feeling betwixt the white and colored people in Wake is very good. Unless you count some little peculiar feelings between some people which has had trouble, that feeling is now good. There was a little hard feeling after the war, but that was because they once owned us and ruled us and then they could not, but all that has worn out.

Q. Does a colored man have the same right to make his living and fortune as a white man?—A. Yes, sir, so far as he is able to do so. The white people have got the advantage, because they had land at the surrender and the colored folks didn't. Some of them thought they were going to have land given to them, but a good many have bought land there in Wake County. It is like some of your own race, who never had anything and never will have it. It is like a man who went off at sixteen and married and have children, and never had twenty-five cents

to his name. That is the way with both races, and a great many of them never have anything. It will be a long time before they will have anything. It is not every man that can build up. Now, amongst my people there are a great many who have to work for wages, and a great many rent land to make a crop. So far as malice is concerned, there is very little betwixt the white and colored in Wake County.

Q. If a man wanted to employ a laborer down there, would he refuse to employ a man because he was black?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do your people find any discrimination against them on that account?—A. No, sir; but you have made a pretty good scope there, and you must give me time to digress and come back. You know there are both kinds there, but the colored men won't be paid the same wages. They work at the same bench and all that, but they won't get as much for it. The people of the South and of Wake County prefer colored labor, and the reason they do is that they have been pretty apt always at ordering it about, and they can still do that with a colored man better than with a white man. They can use the colored labor better than they can the white, and I consider myself it is the best labor in the circle of the sun. They were turned loose by that great party that gave us this liberty, but they did not make provision for them. The colored men have been two centuries without education, and are like many whites in our town now and before the war. They come to town, for instance, with three dozen eggs, and you say what you will give them, but they say, "I cannot take this money until I go and see Mr. Adams," or somebody else, because they do not know the money, and have to have somebody to tell them about it, and it used to keep the poor whites and the blacks back. That was the cause that they could control them. As to this great movement of the exodus, that we don't know anything about except by a few sketches in the papers. I do not know anything of that kind. As to brick-masons and carpenters getting the same wages though, they can't do it, because the white folks won't give it.

Q. About what price is paid for farm laborers in Wake County?—A. Well, sir, there is a big farm right in front of me, I suppose the biggest in the vicinity of Raleigh. They pay their best hands \$10, and on down to \$8, and \$7, and \$6. They have been offering as low as \$6, and a great many say \$6 is all they will give; but \$6 to \$10 is the average price.

Q. That is according to the quality of the hand?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What does he get besides his pay?—A. Where he is hired he gets his pay, and they give him $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of meat and a peck of meal a week. Some give 5 pounds, but more give $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds and a peck of meal. A good many do not board them, but most give them rations.

Q. Do they give them a house?—A. O, yes, they give them a house.

Q. And firewood free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Pasture for a cow if they have got one?—A. I do not know, sir, about that. There are not many who are going to live out if they have got a cow and such things as that. They will do business for themselves.

Q. There is no exodus from your county?—A. No, sir; I do not believe there is one that has left there.

Q. I will ask you if the feeling of kindness between the two classes has not been increasing of late years—if legislation has not done more to help the colored people along since it became Democratic than before?—A. Of course, on account of prejudice being worn down a great deal, they is in a better condition. I say it all came about when you was in charge. I never voted for you because you are a Democrat, and I said, if you carried out what you preached around in the campaign I certainly

would leave North Carolina. I thought you were going to make some laws to keep men from leaving and moving about; but after you got elected and got your seat you did more for the colored people than any other governor we have had since we have been free men. Our other Republican governors did not have a backbone, but give out; but Governor Vance called us snake-killers, and I thought he was going to be a snake-killer and go for us. Then after him comes Governor Jarvis, and I would take his advice to the colored people as quick as any man's except Governor Vance. Still when Governor Vance was running I feared him, and thought I'd have to move. I had a house and home, and me and my partner were doing all of the livery business, and we was colored men. We is doing all the business in that town; and as for respect I do not want any more than is shown me in Wake County from every man who knows John O. Kelly.

Q. Is not every other colored man given the same respect that you are who is sober and industrious?—A. Governor, you put a good deal in there. Where they see he has taken a start in an early day and got a foothold they will help him. I have seen the time since the panic when I could take two of my sons and go to the bank and borrow \$500 as quick as any man; and no man who is true to his word and honest but can do it. But there is one deficiency among my people; there are too many men who want to make a crop without paying a man for his labor. When I speak of these men I have to digress to get at all of these points. In my days if there was a school-book found in the house of a darkey he got nine and thirty lashes for it. Where a man has got a wife and child and gets \$6 a month he cannot live and be honest. I hire seven men, and I pay one of them \$7, another \$6, and the others \$5.50 a week, and I see that they have to work. I see so many of our people going to the jails and penitentiary that I have been very much disturbed. They have got so that they put a man in jail if he steals a big potatoe. Gentlemen, do get to work, and get this thing done; you have got the sense to do it, and you fix it good. Get together when these things occur, and say to a fellow, Sam, you stole a piece of meat from me, and let us see if we cannot fix it up without the law and the jail; 'cause when he gets in the solicitor's hands he has to get \$4 costs, and then you go sure to the penitentiary. If you give a man good wages he will look to your interest, but for these \$5 and \$6 a month a man cannot get a good living to save his life and live an honest one.

Q. How is it about the education of the colored people down there?—A. Well, governor, in Wake County I do not complain about it. All my politics, gentlemen, is that if a man has got 25 cents I will take him up-town on my omnibus; but in regard to Wake County, the schools are good, still there is some little complaining among folks who do not know what they want. The complaining was about the last legislature taking the school committee out of the hands of the people, and giving the magistrates the power to appoint them. That is one of the greatest complaints among the people. You wanted when you were governor to issue money for the graded schools, and worked hard to do it, and Governor Jarvis is trying to do it still. Everything is getting along pretty well, and there is no complaint except where the county has got no money, and the schools do not keep up long enough. Any man will complain when he has got nothing, and must eat even if he has to steal it.

Q. The chance of a colored child being educated is as good as that of the whites?—A. Yes sir; I send four of mine to school all the time.

Q. There is a normal school there for the purpose of educating teach-

ers for your race?—A. Yes, sir; and they have got a department of that house, too, at the Methodist church.

Q. Who is the county treasurer?—A. John B. Neathery.

Q. What are his politics?—A. Republican.

Q. I want to read you an extract from his report (reading):

In closing this statement of the county finances for the past fiscal year, which I have labored to make full and explicit in every respect, if you will permit me, gentlemen, I will mention a few facts, not having a necessary connection therewith, but which bear high testimony to the peaceable and law-abiding character of the people of Wake County, and which should be gratifying to every good citizen.

With a population of near 50,000, including the capital of the State, we have never had a mob, riot, or serious disturbance of the peace during the past fifteen years. Although the candidates of the two political parties have in every campaign conducted a joint canvass, and party feeling has at times run high, yet we have not had a single murder, homicide, or death occurring from any fight, or political disturbance, or race difficulty in twenty years. During the past three years we have had in the county only three deaths from violence. In one of these a white man slew a white man; in the second a colored man slew a colored man; and the third was a case where a fugitive from justice was slain by an officer while attempting to evade arrest. It must be borne in mind also that the State penitentiary is located in our county, and all the convicts from the entire State, whose terms of service expire, are turned loose in our midst, thus swelling our criminal population.

To show the good feeling existing between the two races in the county, it is only necessary to refer to one or two facts: At an election in Raleigh Township last spring, on the question of levying an additional tax on property for the support of graded schools, for each race, there were but thirty votes cast against the proposition, though the bulk of the property is owned by our white population, and it was well known that the colored children were entitled, under the law, to share equally with the whites in the benefits of the tax raised; and a good portion of the thirty votes against the tax were cast by colored voters, under a misapprehension.

On the other hand, to show the kind feeling of our colored population towards the whites, it is only necessary to state the fact that we have three colored fire companies in this city, who are always among the very first to respond to the alarm of fire, and none strive harder or incur greater risks of life and limb to save the property of their white fellow-citizens from destruction, though a comparatively small number of these colored firemen own any real property themselves. * * * I also deem it a matter of great gratification that we have at this date more and better public school-houses for each race; more and better teachers; a larger number of children in the schools; and a greater interest manifested in the cause of general education than at any previous time in the history of the county.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN B. NEATHERY,
Treasurer.

Q. Is that a pretty truthful statement of affairs there?—A. It is as good as can be gotten up anywhere as to those firemen. The white folks have got an engine there, and a pair of horses that cost five hundred dollars. But you let the fire bell ring, and the colored people are the first to get there, and if they are going to put the fire out at all they will done have put it out before the others get there: The other night Haygood's stable caught on fire, and the colored folks put it out, and the whites come and gave their excuse that somebody stole their little truck or wood wagon; but the truth is they haven't got the grit, no how.

Q. So far as there is any political persecution or bulldozing, you know of no reason why they should pick up and leave there?—A. There is none in our county. I don't know what it is below, but I know sometimes when they don't register somebody will try to keep a man from voting. There are some little differences of that kind, but there is no bulldozing and saying a man shall not vote. I don't see anything of that kind down there. The trouble is this back law and returning board, where if they get elected they count you out; it seems to me they have all learned schemes down there by it.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. What do you mean by the returning board ?—A. I mean where a man gets elected and is counted out. I think Mr. Bledsoe was elected to the legislature the last time. Before they got done voting I think they counted him out.

Q. That was done by the Democrats ?—A. Yes, sir ; that was, but I don't know where these returning boards first came from.

Q. When was the first time you heard of them ?—A. The first I heard of them was when Mr. Hayes was elected up here.

Q. Did you hear of them in North Carolina ?—A. I don't know that they call them returning boards, but they have got the same kind of schemes for counting a man out. I think they counted Mr. O'Hara out. It don't make any difference what you call it, but I call them returning boards since you all got the name up.

Q. Your legislature is Democratic ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think this last time they had two majority. I know they all had to stay at the rack very closely.

Q. Well, these men who were counted out were Republicans, were they not ?—A. I do not know what Mr. Bledso was, as he would not tell which way he was going. I think he would have been a Republican if he had got counted in. I think he ought to have been put in, as he was in such a good move for us, as he wanted to bring a railroad from the western part of the State right to Raleigh.

Q. Was there some complaint about these men being counted out ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did that come from Democrats or Republicans ?—A. I cannot tell which it came from. I think both sides have been counted, sir. I know in the last general assembly they had some white men elected, and the colored men came and contested their seats, but they didn't turn the white men out but paid both, and I think the colored men got the better of it, for they staid there and done nothing. They got their pay and had no work to do.

Q. You spoke of magistrates, and that there was some complaint about the change concerning them ?—A. I cannot explain that, but that is one of the complaints ; the biggest we have, I believe.

Q. Who do those complaints come from with reference to the magistrates ?—A. I think the colored people.

Q. Did you ever hear of any complaints as to the way they were treated in the courts ?—A. Yes, sir ; I don't know of these things, but I have heard of it. They said in some counties they wouldn't allow colored men in the jury box. There is discrimination made there. Where they have them, out of every jury they run in from seven white men up to ten white men and two colored men. I don't think, though, in our county that is due to the legislature, but I think it is due to our sheriff, who has not got the back bone to stand up.

Q. He is a Republican ?—A. Yes, sir ; and elected by Republicans.

Q. How is it needed—that back bone ?—A. I tell you he is a good man, but the bond which he had to give, the Democrats had to go on it, and that brought him under subordination to them. You see if you have got me haltered, I cannot get far away from you ; and he cannot pick out the jurors as freely as he might do.

Q. He thinks that the Democrats don't want a majority of colored jurors ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think so ; him and the Democrats, too.

Q. Are those all the complaints you have heard ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think that is all.

Q. Do they punish whites the same as they do the colored people ?—

A. Yes, sir ; I believe they do when they get them into the court, but sometimes they run a little cloak around it ; if a white man does something, and goes off to the mayor's office and confesses, he can pay a fine, and it is not as much as sent into a court. If a colored man does anything he is sent to the solicitor, and is pretty bound to go to the penitentiary.

Q. State the general feeling of the colored people, and why it is they don't have a fair show in the courts.—A. I can say that I have heard complaints of the jurors being most all of them whites. I do not have much to do with the courts. I stay as far away from them as I can. I think there are not a great many cases where the colored people are treated wrong. They are brought and punished, and of course they don't like it.

Q. I believe you stated that a white man would get more for the same work than a colored man.—A. Certainly ; there is not a man hardly in Wake County if he wanted a job done but will pay a white man some fifty cents more in the day than a colored man.

Q. Is it because the latter is a colored man ?—A. No, sir ; but it is nature ; they think the colored man can live on this.

Q. Does that sort of discrimination extend to other kinds of labor ? I mean to common labor, and not to skilled labor.—A. I cannot say it does ; there are a very few white men who hire out as laborers.

Q. You spoke of people getting only five or six dollars a month ; is that quite common ?—A. Well, sir, in a great many places they don't like to pay more if they can get them for that ; but that is for common boy hands and women ; eight and ten dollars is the average for men.

Q. What are the rations ?—A. Generally, a few pounds of meat and a peck of meal and a pint of molasses.

Q. Is that as much as the laboring man has to live on for a week ?—A. It is not as much as I had when I was a slave, for my people fed me as they did themselves.

Q. But you think these petty crimes of larceny are committed largely on account of this inadequate provision ?—A. Certainly I do, but negro men is better in some respects in that kind of doing than a white man ; if he goes to steal he don't try to steal all you have got and the white man does.

Q. When they steal in this way to prevent starvation they take them and send them to the penitentiary ?—A. Some get off and some go to the penitentiary.

Q. What is their treatment ?—A. They are all hired out, except they are put in there for lifetime or for murder.

Q. Is there any considerable amount of that hiring out done ?—A. Yes, sir ; they are working on the railroads. All the railroading work up there and on into the mountains is being done by them. Some of the white people who are put in there take advantage of it in getting a trade. I don't understand all the workings of it, for I try to keep out of the penitentiary myself.

Q. What length of time do you think they generally send people for stealing those little things we have mentioned ?—A. Until this last act, a man had to stay two years, but now it is twelve months.

Q. Is that your understanding of the condition of the colored race, that in many cases they are compelled from receiving short wages to steal, and then they are convicted and sent to the penitentiary and hired out ?—A. I say you can take it anywhere in the world, where a man with one or two in family besides himself gets only five or six dollars a month, he can't live on it. Until this great blessing came along, which

I appreciate as much as any man, it was different, and they can't all keep up to it, although I think as much of principle and character as any other man that ever lived, I don't care where he came from.

By Senator VOORHEES :

Q. You are in the livery-stable business ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you pay your employés ?—A. I pay my omnibus drivers seven dollars a week, and the one who drives two horses five dollars a week ; and pay it to them every Saturday morning.

Q. Are they all colored men ?—A. All of them are out of the seventeen, except two white men—one for each omnibus.

Q. They are picked men, though, are they not—men who understand their business ?—A. Yes, sir ; of course, they must be.

Q. These are high wages, are they not ?—A. Not for livery work.

Q. You pay more than anybody else, do you not ?—A. More than most of people ; yes, sir, I reckon I do, because my work is done at all hours. I work three every night, and my partner four, and any time you come to my office door, you can get a carriage, unless you beat me once, and then you can't get one.

Q. You are paying higher wages, though, than are paid to most laborers ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, take a man who hires by the month, and who boards himself ; how much ought he to get ?—A. I do not know about that.

Q. If they board him, how much do they pay ?—A. If he is boarded, they give him about ten dollars.

Q. Is that about the average ?—A. That is about the average wages, where they board them, and get good hands.

Q. Have you heard of any representations made to your people about the wages they would get out there in Indiana ?—A. No, sir ; I do not know anything of that matter in the world. I saw, say two or three train loads going to Georgia, to the turpentine works. I asked them what they were going for, and they said they could get better wages.

Q. You would not think they could better themselves by going from Wake County to Indiana, where the colored man never was seen in a jury-box ?—A. No, sir ; I think they would be getting worse. I think any man can get along better with the people that he knows.

Senator VANCE. Who is solicitor, who prosecutes in your county ?—A. This Mr. Collins, a colored man ; but he is assisted in Wake County with Mr. Harris. He makes the bills, and Mr. Harris does the pleading. He is a white man and a Republican.

Senator WINDOM. From what you know of the emigration from your State, are not as many going to Georgia as Indiana ?—A. I do not know, sir. I think, from what I saw on the trains going through Charlotte, and who said they were going to the turpentine country—I think there were about one hundred and fifteen, all told.

Senator VANCE. You do not understand that they were going there to stay ?—A. No, sir ; they worked there last year and were going back again.

TESTIMONY OF W. W. ARRINGTON.

W. W. ARRINGTON called, sworn, and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN ;

Question. Where do you live ?—Answer. In Nash County, North Carolina.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Has there been any movement of colored people from your county

to Indiana?—A. I think not, in my neighborhood; but I understand that some went from down about Rocky Mount. There have been none left from our neighborhood.

Q. Did you speak to any who went?—A. No, sir. I spoke to some who thought of going from North Nashville.

Q. Did they give you any reason for wanting to go?—A. They said they could get big wages, from a dollar and a half a day to five dollars a day; that during harvest-time they could get five dollars a day.

Q. Did they say who told them that?—A. A man named Perry, I believe.

Q. Did you see Perry yourself?—A. No, sir; I never saw him.

Q. Did he make any speeches in your county?—A. Not that I know of. But I was at Rocky Mount one day and there was a fellow over on the other side, in Edgecombe, making of a speech, and I understood it was Perry.

Q. Can you give us a statement of the condition of the colored people in your section?—A. In the northern part of the county, where I live, they are in a good condition, and many own land. It is rather thickly settled, and mostly with colored people. Only once in a while you will come across a white man; but the colored people own the country through there.

Q. How much do they own?—A. There are four or five thousand acres right in my own county owned by them.

Q. How much is owned by them in Nash County?—A. I reckon twenty thousand acres; all of that.

Q. How is it distributed? How much was to a man?—A. I think the smallest farm I know is seventy acres, and from that up to a thousand.

Q. Does any colored man there own a thousand acres?—A. Yes, sir; one.

Q. Who is it?—A. That is myself.

Q. Were you formerly a slave?—A. Yes, sir. I belonged to A. H. Arrington.

Q. Baldi?—A. Yes, sir; and a perfect gentleman, if there ever was one.

Q. Have you made your property since the war?—A. Yes, sir; but he gave me a chance after the surrender. I took charge of his business. He employed me to run it for him, and gave me six hundred dollars a year; and I laid it out in land, right at the start, and kept adding to it.

Q. Do you farm yourself?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell us about the wages you pay.—A. Well, sir, I pay my men according to the grade of them. If he is a good man, who can repair gates, make hoe-handles and axe-helves, and mend up wagons, I pay him ten dollars, give him a patch for his wife, and a house to live in. Some others that are not quite so good I pay eight dollars.

Q. What do you pay women?—A. The women get five dollars and board. Them we don't give any allowance.

Q. The men you give just as much as they want to eat?—A. Yes, sir; but I only allowance one. I buy a year two hundred pounds of meat, and put it there, and allowance him five pounds a week; and at the end of the time he knows when it ought to be out.

Q. Is that the general rule of pay down there?—A. Yes, sir; it is a general rule around there with the farmers. Good men get ten dollars very easily.

Q. How far do you live from Edgecombe?—A. Twelve miles.

Q. Do you know much about the rule down there?—A. No, sir; but

it is about the same, I believe. That down there, where they take out marl, is a little better.

Q. Do you state that ten dollars a month, with rations, is the average price for good hands?—A. Yes, sir; and on down to eight dollars. I don't think any man gets less than eight dollars in our neighborhood.

Q. Doesn't that depend on the price of cotton?—A. We have a standing price, and don't change it. I think where they give more they don't give a patch. But if a man has a wife, she can take a patch and make a bale. There is no charges made there for the houses or fire-wood.

Q. Do you know of anything why, by reason of political proscription or legal discrimination, the colored man can't do as well in North Carolina as a white man, both of them being without land?—A. Yes, sir; there is a little difference in the hiring of them. When they hire a white man they take him into the house and feed him a little better. But there is no difference generally, because there are not many white men who hire out. I know one named Dick Thorpe, who does not get but nine dollars a month.

Q. Is there any interference down there with the right of the colored people to vote?—A. No, sir; I have been a poll-holder for a long time, in my township, and both sides vote as free as they please, and we have no disturbance and no unfair means used.

Q. Nash is a Democratic county, by a very small majority, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; but we beat you last time, Governor, by taking your own means, and running an independent Democrat. But there is about three hundred majority of whites in the county.

Q. Have you many colored men in your section who are skilled mechanics, brick masons, house carpenters, blacksmiths, and so on?—A. I don't think many of them are brick masons. There may be at Nashville; but there are carpenters up there. But I don't know what the saw-mill man is paying them. He takes a contract to do the building, and pays them by the month.

Q. What chances have you to teach and learn your children?—A. We have good chances, now. I am one of the school trustees in my township. And we have a treasurer, and the money is paid out by the township.

Q. How long do your schools run?—A. About four months.

Q. Is there a good attendance of the children?—A. Yes, sir; I believe ours has an attendance of seventy-nine.

Q. That is your township?—A. Yes, sir; the one I am trustee for.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. How far is your plantation from Goldsboro'?—A. It is forty miles from our depot to Goldsboro'.

Q. There is no exodus from your county?—A. No, sir; I have heard of none. Those fellows who were getting it up didn't beat down our way. We are working people up there, and don't listen to such things.

Q. You are against it yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I am. I was up there at the church, and one fellow was up there who had a lot of his circulars, but when I came along towards him he wheeled about and left.

Q. How many hands do you employ?—A. I employ four; but I have a right smart people settled about on my plantation.

Q. You say you have heard no complaint by these people about their condition in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; they have complained about this tenant lien law, and the taking away the election of magistrates and their appointment by the legislature.

Q. There are cases of some complaint?—A. Yes, sir; they think they

don't get justice in that way; and it is taking away the rights of the people. And the legislature has been appointing men for magistrates who could not be elected by the people.

Q. Have you heard anything of injustice done them in the courts?—A. Yes, sir; I have. They say that if a man commits larceny, if he is blooded stock it is covered up; but a poor white man, or colored man, they lay him out. I know there was a gentleman there from Halifax who stole something, and all the lawyers tried to say that what was the matter with him was a disease, and tried to prove it by doctors. They tried to prove that it was what they called a kepto-maniac.

Q. You mean kleptomaniac?—A. Yes, sir; they think if a colored man steals he is not a kleptomaniac, but if it is a white man it is a kleptomaniac.

Q. Is there any difference in the treatment of the colored men and white men in your courts?—A. Sometimes there is a little difference.

Q. Do these differences become the subject of complaint among your people?—A. Well, sir, there has been no people in my section that has been sent to jail since the surrender. It is generally the refugees who come in there from other counties.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Who is the solicitor in your district?—A. Swift Galloway.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He is a Democrat.

Q. Who was before him?—A. Log. Harris.

Q. Mr. Cook was the first Democratic solicitor?—A. Yes, sir; Harris was solicitor before.

Q. And he was a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; but you appointed Cook.

Q. And he is a pretty fair man, isn't he?—A. Yes, sir, but this judge who said this about the kleptomaniac was a Democratic judge; and he did not believe in the kleptomania, and he put him in jail.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. But got to the penitentiary?—A. No, sir; he was one of those who got out of jail. There were a heap of them got out—Republicans and Democrats too.

TESTIMONY OF HILLIARD ELLIS.

HILLIARD ELLIS, colored, sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where is your place of residence?—Answer. In four miles of Wilson Township, in the county of Wilson, North Carolina.

Q. Has there been any movement among the colored people with reference to this exodus movement in your section?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose there has been some.

Q. Do you know anything about it?—A. Well, sir, I have heard people talking about it.

Q. Do you know what inducement was held out to them to leave North Carolina?—A. Some, I think, were going for better wages, and some were complaining that they could not get their rights under the law. I cannot really tell you all that was said, for I just heard it. I think some of them went just to have a big ride—some for one thing and some for another. They did not talk much to me about it.

Q. Why?—A. Because I suppose they thought it was no use talking to me; I wasn't going nohow. They organized a club there, I understand.

Q. Was that a secret society?—A. Yes, sir; I think so. Nobody could get their secrets unless he joined the club.

Q. Was there any agents up there making speeches to them?—A. Yes, sir; there was a fellow from Goldsboro' by the name of Evans; I think they said that was the name. He was encouraging the thing along, as I heard it.

Q. What were the inducements he held out to these people?—A. He said they could get from one to two and three and four dollars a day, according to the season. When spring opens, I think they were to get two dollars and a half and three dollars.

Q. Was that in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know what inducement was offered them about transportation?—A. Yes, sir; I heard some say that they had to pay so much, and then they gave them the secret of how to get along out to Indiana. Some of them thought they were to go free.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a farmer.

Q. Do you own land?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much?—A. I have a little upwards of two hundred acres.

Q. Is it good or poor land?—A. It is tolerably good land.

Q. What is it valued at?—A. I can hardly tell you, but my taxes are twelve or thirteen dollars a year, as I pay no poll tax.

Q. You can tell us the usual price of labor there?—A. In my neighborhood we don't pay as much as they do down below on the big farms. The wages are eight and ten dollars down there; but we don't push them up our way, and only pay them seven and nine dollars. That is the price right in my neighborhood.

Q. What does that include?—A. It gives them a house rent free, fire-wood free, and a patch to tend, and five pounds of meat, and a peck of meal a week.

Q. You pay them from seven to nine dollars, according to the grade of the hand?—A. Yes, sir; but there are some I would rather give nine to than to give seven to others.

Q. You give them five pounds ration, a peck of meal, a house, a patch, and fire-wood free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long does that last?—A. That is for twelve months. I generally hire for a year at a time.

Q. What do day-laborers get when you hire them?—A. Forty cents a day, with lodgings and rations.

Q. Is there any restriction upon the legal rights of the colored people in your county? Are they interfered with in their right to vote?—A. No, sir; not at my township. I have been poll-holder there myself for a long time.

Q. You mean you have been a judge of elections?—A. Yes, sir. Sometimes we have little differences about the men's registering, but there is no violations and no difficulties there.

Q. Do the colored people vote the same as others?—A. Yes, sir; a black man votes the same as a white man.

Q. Is it the same way all over the county?—A. I heard of little disturbances around in places, but I do not think there were any disturbances in town.

Q. Your voting-place is not in Wilson—in the town, I mean?—A. No, sir; I live four miles out, and vote at a place about a mile from my place.

Q. What is the state of feeling between the whites and the blacks

there?—A. I have heard of no difficulties between them. I know, of course, in town, when they are drinking, of Saturday evenings, they are liable to have difficulties and fights. But there is nothing political in that.

Q. Do you know of any reason, in the way of political disturbances or proscription or discrimination of the laws, to make these people leave your country?—A. No, sir. One thing I heard them say, that they were going where they could get better wages; that they could not live on the prices if cotton was low. But I think it amounted to about the same, in the way of living, as when they got thirteen and fourteen cents for cotton. They could get meat for five cents, which was cheaper than they ever got it before. The price of cotton is better than it was last year, and and the price of labor has gone up with it.

Q. About how much real estate has been acquired by the colored people in your county?—A. I could not tell you, sir. I know people right in my neighborhood, and could pick out scattered men, who own a good deal.

Q. Can a colored man who is sober and industrious stand as good a chance as a white man to acquire property, when both of them start without any?—A. Well, sir, I have always done so myself.

Q. Can one do as well as the other?—A. I think they do. If any difference has been made, I can't see it. I always do well myself.

Q. These men, you said, were going to Indiana for better wages; have you heard anything from them since they have been out there?—A. I have heard of them, but not myself. Mr. Farmer, who lives near me, received a letter from some of them, which they said to send to Hilliard Ellis's church to be read.

Q. Was it read?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were the contents of it?—A. He wanted them to make up some money to bring him back home. He said he wanted all the members to throw in a little to help him.

Q. What reason did he give for wanting to come home?—A. He said he had been there eighteen days and only made two dollars. He said he had stopped there in town and could get no work, and he wanted his friends to help him back.

Q. Did he come back?—A. No, sir; not yet, unless he has got there since I left home.

Q. Did they make up money for him?—A. No, sir; I think they said they didn't know whether he would get the money or not; and they would look further into it. They asked me if I would give something, and I said I did not know.

Q. Could a man who is getting ten dollars a month, his house and rations, and a patch to tend to, support himself and family on that?—A. He ought to do it at the present prices of provisions.

Q. In the cotton-picking season, don't the women and children make good wages?—A. Yes, sir; that is the time of their best wages. A child can pick out as much as a man, almost, and they make more in cotton-picking time, than any other time. That is the reason that a good many of them won't hire only until fall. They work until the crop is laid up, and then depend on making double wages during the picking season.

Q. Do you know of any complaint's as to injustice being done them in the courts?—A. I have heard some of them grumble about not getting justice in some cases; but I have heard both sides to that. One says that they didn't do right, and the other say that it was right, and backwards and forwards in that way.

Q. Is there no complaint that there is a difference made in the courts between whites and blacks?—A. I have heard of it. I have heard some of them say they didn't get justice because they were black men.

Q. You do not know of any case that was so?—A. No, sir; I only heard that the colored people, as a general thing, was oftener in the courts for larceny than the white people.

Q. That makes a difference and causes more of them to be in the penitentiary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Because more of them commit these little crimes?—A. Yes, sir; I think they think they are not dealt justly by, and then sometimes they slip into the penitentiary before they know it, not being enlightened to know the law. But, I think, in my neighborhood, they try and take care of themselves.

Q. When a colored man has an established character for integrity and honesty, don't he stand the same chance of getting justice as the white man?—A. I think he does in my town; I don't go there myself about the courts, and I only hear about it after the courts are done.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You spoke of some complaints; are they general among the colored people?—A. I have heard them complain a good deal after the courts were over for a while. I have heard them say that in such and such a case that was tried that they didn't think that they got justice because it was a colored person.

Q. Did they think it was injustice to them because of their color?—A. Yes, sir; on account of their color. But then, you know, in many times they may be mistaken.

Q. There is an impression that they didn't get even-handed justice?—A. That is the talk among them; but I don't get to see and I don't know that any wrong is done them. I would not know, probably, if I was to see it.

Q. Have you heard anything in the way of complaints about the tenants law?—A. Yes, sir, a little; but not enough to tell.

Q. Is your county Republican or Democratic?—A. It is Democratic, and always has been. They have got a majority there.

Q. How far do you live from Goldsborough?—A. It is about twenty-four miles from Wilson to Goldsborough.

Q. About how many people have gone from your county?—A. I do not know, sir; really I could not tell. But there are a good many gone right out of that town.

Q. You say you have heard of some political troubles in Wilson County?—A. Yes, sir; but not serious. They were just little differences between individual men.

Q. Did you hear any of them given as a reason for this emigration?—A. No, sir; but some of them says they wanted to go where they could get better wages.

Q. You said you heard of no disturbance in your locality, but there were some in Wilson?—A. Yes, sir; but it was mostly from whisky. It would be where they were drinking, and they would have a drunken fight. There was no Democrats or no Republicans in it.

TESTIMONY OF ELLIS DICKSON.

ELLIS DICKSON, colored, sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Green County.

Q. What is your nearest railroad station?—A. Kinston is the nearest railroad station.

Q. How far do you live from there?—A. I live fifteen miles from there. I live on Snow Hill.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a mechanic.

Q. What kind of mechanic?—A. A mill wright.

Q. Are you a farmer too?—A. Yes, sir; I farm some, too.

Q. Have there been any colored people left your county in this exodus movement?—A. Yes, sir; some few.

Q. Do you know of any reasons why they left; what they said about it?—A. I have heard them say they were going because they heard they could get better wages; and they thought, probably, they could do better in Indiana than they were doing there.

Q. Did you ever hear them say anything about the fourteenth or fifteenth amendments being repealed if they did not get up North in a certain time?—A. No, sir; I never heard of that.

Q. Did you hear of anybody making speeches to them?—A. I think there was one man came down there and made a speech to them. I don't know his name, but he went in the court-house and made a little speech. I went up and heard it, and it sounded so much like nothing to me that I turned right around and went home.

Q. Don't you remember his name?—A. No, s.r.

Q. What is the condition of the colored people in that county with regard to their material interests? How are they doing and prospering?—A. Some in our county are getting along tolerably well, and some, I suppose, are doing sorry.

Q. As compared with the white folks, who have to work the same as they, are they doing as well?—A. Just about the same.

Q. Is there any persecution of them in respect to their political rights?—A. No, sir; none at all. I have been to the ballot-box often, and seen black and white people riding together, and voting different ways.

Q. Is there any disturbance among them, concerning their right to vote?—A. They vote the same as white men, so far as I see.

Q. How are they situated as to their schools?—A. They have their free schools just the same as the white people. The white people have their free schools to themselves.

Q. What are the average wages in your county for ordinary farm laborers?—A. Last year they were seven, eight, and nine dollars, and on up to ten for some hands.

Q. Then, from seven to ten would be the wages?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What does that include?—A. It includes his house, his board, firewood, and a little patch. That is the general way that they work on wages.

Q. Do any of them crop?—A. Yes, sir; a great many tend to crops on shares.

Q. How much do they pay the landlord when they crop on shares?—A. If a man furnishes all his own material—his horses, plows, and supplies—he pays one-third of the corn and one-fourth of the cotton, while some of them rent for eight hundred or a thousand pounds to the horse.

Q. How much is that?—A. Well, sir, it generally rents at the rate of eight hundred pounds for thirty acres. If he crops and gets the material and supplies from the landlord, then the tenant gets one-third of the corn and one-fourth of the cotton.

Q. That is just about reversing it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And if the landlord furnishes only the land, and the tenant his own

stock, he pays one-third of the corn and one fourth of the cotton ?—A. Yes, sir; but sometimes he has a contract, and pays a third of the cotton, according to the quality of the land.

Q. And if the landlord furnishes everything, the payment is reversed. —A. Yes, sir; that is the general way. I have some croppers on my place who pay me a fourth of the cotton and a third of the corn, and that is the general rule in my neighborhood.

Q. Well, so far as yourself is concerned, your business is that of a millwright ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you find employment at your business ?—A. I find something to do pretty much all of the time.

Q. Do you work for wages or by the job ?—A. By the job, but sometimes for wages.

Q. How much do you get a day when you work for wages ?—A. Three and a half a day, and sometimes four dollars. I have known as high as five dollars to be paid in our country.

Q. What are the usual wages per day ?—A. Two and a half and three to four dollars.

Q. Is there any difference in the wages between white men and black men.—A. None in the millwright business. I get as much as any white man who goes down there.

Q. Have you found any discrimination, where men would not hire you because you were a colored man ?—A. No, sir; I never had any such experience as that.

Q. Is it your opinion that these people would have been satisfied if it had not been for these statements about better wages made to them ?—A. I must say, they would, from the way they were stirred up about it. They were told that they could get three dollars a day and twenty dollars a month; and that sounds mighty nice to get that much money. They were told that land was cheaper, and they would get homes in a short time.

Q. When you take a job, as boss millwright, do you have hands under you ?—A. Yes, sir; I have had as high as eighteen and fifteen, down to ten.

Q. How much do you pay them ?—A. I have none who work for less than ten and twelve dollars a month, and from that on to sixteen and eighteen dollars.

Q. These are not skilled laborers, are they ?—A. No, sir; they are men who come in and move and lift things around.

Q. Do you ever employ white men under you ?—A. Yes, sir

Q. Did you pay them the same ?—A. Yes, sir; the same wages. I have paid some of them more, and have paid them as high as four and a half a day, white and colored.

Q. What is the state of feeling between the white and colored men in your section ?—A. Why, it seems to be friendly down there in my neighborhood; so far as I know, it is so in my county.

Q. Have any of your colored people down there bought land ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you an idea how much they own in your county ?—A. I have an idea about those who are close around me. I guess there are some five or six men who have bought right close around me. One I know bought three hundred acres, another one hundred acres not more than three weeks ago; and there are two or three who own land a little further off.

Q. Do you know Colonel Jones, up seven miles above Snow Hill ?—A. Yes, sir. I bought my place from him.

Q. How is it with the colored people about their schools?—A. We have very fine schools down there, considering.

Q. Is it your opinion that the colored people down there are doing as well as white people with the same start?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What is good land worth—such as you bought?—A. From nine to ten dollars an acre. I believe that is what they pay down there.

Q. Have you heard any complaints from colored people about discriminations being made against them on account of their color?—A. No, sir; not any worth noticing. I have heard something about the white people not dealing justly by them; but I think maybe they are mistaken.

Q. You think there is none, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. How about the juries down there?—A. We have colored jurors; we used to have half colored, but we don't now.

Q. What is the proportion of white and colored people in your county?—A. I do not exactly know.

Q. The blacks are the largest in number?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is this a Democratic or Republican county?—A. It is Republican.

Q. Do you know the majority of colored people—the Republican majority, rather?—A. I am acquainted with two hundred, I believe.

Q. Then you elect your Republican officers?—A. Yes, sir. But then the number is a little less now than two hundred, I think.

Q. How far is it from you to Goldsborough?—A. Twenty-five miles from my place.

Q. Has there any considerable number of colored people left your county?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there any considerable dissatisfaction among them down there?—A. No, sir.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. I did not ask you your politics.—A. I am a Republican.

TESTIMONY OF NAPOLEON HIGGINS.

NAPOLEON HIGGINS, colored, sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Near Goldsborough. I don't stay in Goldsborough, but it is my county seat. I live fifteen miles from town.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am farming.

Q. Do you farm your own land?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much do you own?—A. Four hundred and eighty-five acres.

Q. How did you get it?—A. I worked for it.

Q. Were you formerly a slave?—A. No, sir; I was a free man before the war.

Q. You say you worked for it?—A. Yes, sir; I worked for it, and got it since the war.

Q. What is it worth per acre?—A. I don't know, sir, what it is worth now. I know what I paid for it.

Q. What did you pay for it?—A. I believe I paid \$5,500; and then I have got a little town lot there that I don't count; but I think it is worth about \$500.

Q. Then you have made that all since the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much cotton do you raise?—A. I don't raise as much as I ought to. I only raised fifty-eight bales last year.

Q. What is that worth?—A. I think I got \$55 a bale.

Q. How many hands do you work yourself?—A. I generally rent my land. I only worked four last year, and paid the best hand, who fed the mules and tended around the house, ten dollars; and the others I paid ten, and eight, and seven.

Q. That was last year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you give them besides their pay?—A. I gave them rations; and to a man with a family I gave a garden patch and a house, and a place to raise potatoes.

Q. What about the rate of wages in your section of the country; does that represent them?—A. Yes, sir; of course a no-account hand don't get much, and a smart one gets good wages.

Q. Have you made any contracts for this year?—A. Yes, sir; but I am only hiring two hands this year.

Q. What do your tenants pay you for the use of your land?—A. Some of the tenants give me a third of the corn and a third of the cotton. Then I have got some more land that I rent out to white men, and they give me a fourth of the cotton, and another gives me a thousand pounds of lint cotton for twenty acres.

Q. Does anybody interfere with your right to vote down there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or with any of the rights of your race?—A. No, sir; we vote freely down there. Of course, if one man can persuade you to vote with him, that is all right. But you can vote as you please.

Q. What are your politics?—A. I am a Republican, and that is the way my township generally votes.

Q. You say there is no interference with the rights of your race there?—A. Not that I know of.

A. There has been something said here about the landlord and tenant act. Do you think that does anybody any harm?—A. I think it is a good law.

Q. The object of it is to give you a lien on everything your tenant has until your rent is paid?—A. Yes, sir; and I think I am entitled to that.

Q. These white tenants can't run off any of your cotton until you are paid?—A. No, sir; I am five or six miles from them, and they can't run it off. They might do it and I not see them if I did not have the law to back me; and they are just as apt to run it all off as not when they start.

Q. Then you think it is a good protection to you in your rights?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Do you have any schools down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How is the money raised for them? Most of it is by a property-tax, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the poll-tax all goes to education except twenty-five cents on the dollar?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how much land your race has acquired in that county?—A. I reckon they have got fifteen hundred acres in our township; but I could not tell how much in the county.

Q. Is there any distinction made between the whites and the blacks down there in the renting of lands?—A. None that I know of.

Q. Both are paid the same wages?—A. Yes, sir; unless a man wants to hire some man to lock his doors and look after and keep his keys;

then they pay him more. And if it is a colored man that he has confidence in, they pay him the same.

Q. Is there any disposition there to take all white men as tenants?—A. No, sir; in our township they take them without regard to color. If a man is a smart man, he gets in just the same as a white man. Colored men rent from white men, and white men from colored men.

Q. Did you ever have any talk with any of those people who went to Indiana?—A. No, sir; I never saw one who went.

Q. Did you hear any of the speeches of any of these men who were stirring up these men?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you see any of their circulars?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor hear of any inducements offered to them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you get any letters from any of them who went out there?—A. No, sir; I wasn't acquainted with any who went. I learned more of it at Goldsborough, last Monday night, when I was coming on here, than I ever knew before.

Q. Are there any complaints among your people as to discriminations in the courts, between the whites and blacks?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard them say that the same evidence that will convict a colored man for stealing won't convict a white man.

Q. When they are convicted, are they punished alike?—A. Yes, sir; in the same cases. I have spoke to them and told them, lots of times, that of course they would be convicted many times where a white man would get out, and the only way to avoid that was to quit stealing. I told them, a white man has got more sense and more money to pay lawyers and knows better how to hide his rascality, and the best way for the colored man to keep out of the penitentiary was to quit stealing.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Is it the general impression among colored people down there that they don't get justice?—A. Yes, sir; when two or three colored men get convicted they think so. But there are more black men convicted because there are more of them tried.

Q. You say they have not got sense enough to get out of it when they get in; they have attorneys, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; but very often they have not got the money to feed up an attorney; and, you know, the more you pay a lawyer the more he sticks with you.

Q. Is there not discrimination there in the employment of mechanics?—A. No, sir; I never heard of it.

By Senator VOORHEES:

Q. Do you know of any of these people, white and black, who have been convicted that you thought were convicted wrongfully?—A. No, sir.

Q. You thought they were rightfully convicted?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have been on juries yourself; did you ever make any difference between them?—A. No, sir; I have sat on juries there many times, and sat on a case of a white man who was tried for his life.

Q. Was there any other colored men on that jury?—A. No, sir; I was the only one on that one; but I have been on others.

Q. You have sat on juries when white men's cases were being tried, both on the criminal and on the civil sides of the court?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any white man object to you sitting there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then most of this talk about discrimination and injustice is by men who have been disappointed in the results of their suits?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You see no cause for it yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have heard white men who complained just as bitterly?—A. Yes, sir; of course. I suppose they are like I am. I always try to beat the case.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say you think this land and tenant act a good thing; do you think the renter is in favor of it?—A. I don't know; they never say anything to me about it. I am on the other side of that question.

Q. Does not the fact that you own 285 acres of land give you a little better standing in the community than most of your colored friends?—A. Of course; I suppose it does.

Q. How did you start it?—A. I rented a farm and started on two government horses. I went to the tightest man I knew and got him to help me. I rented from Mr. Exam out there.

Q. Are there any others there who have succeeded as well as you?—A. Yes, sir, there are. One or two more who have succeeded better than me. There are several of them in good circumstances there in our township. I think, altogether, they own 1,500 acres there.

Q. How many colored people own this?—A. I reckon 150.

Q. The 1,500 acres is divided up among 150 people?—A. No, sir; a good many of them have got none.

Q. This is what I asked you: How many own this 1,500 acres, all put together?—A. I reckon a dozen. It might not be more than eight. It is from eight to a dozen, anyhow. But there are a number who own some little lots of four or five acres that I have not mentioned.

TESTIMONY OF J. C. DANE.

J. C. DANE sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live, Mr. Dane?—Answer. Richmond is my headquarters.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am traveling agent of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad.

Q. What have you been doing, with reference to the transportation of emigrants?—A. Nothing, sir.

Q. What did you try to do?—A. After I found out what they were doing, and that they were under the control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, I knew we had a shorter route, and I tried to get at the negroes who were controlling that.

Q. Who did you go to?—A. To Taylor, Evans, and this man, Scott.

Q. Where did you see them?—A. In Goldsborough.

Q. When?—A. The first time I saw them was the first week in December. I went down there and saw how they were going, and in what way.

Q. Were you sent by the company?—A. I had no instructions from any officer. I have my general instructions to look after business.

Q. You are a passenger agent?—Yes, sir.

Q. And you went to see if you could get your share of these emigrants?—A. Yes, sir; I wanted to see how they were going. I did not know they were going by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at first.

Q. What did they tell you?—A. I heard that they were coming by Washington; and I heard from some of them that they said they could only

pay to Washington or Weldon; and I said that I didn't want any business of that kind. They were just trusting, after they got here, to the government or to the aid society.

Q. They were starting in the dark, then, and trusting to these agencies to get them on?—A. Yes, sir; I was there on the 2d of December, and I think they left the next day. I staid over that day and came up to Richmond on the same train.

Q. Did you see Dukeheart there?—A. Yes, sir; he was there, and he went in charge of them.

Q. He bid lower for them than you?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Q. Wasn't it their idea that this, being Washington City, and the seat of the government, that they would get on from here by its aid?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you had no Washington City on your route?—A. No, sir; if they had gone on my route they would have been thrown, probably, on the hands of our citizens at Richmond or some other point.

Q. But you have not taken any of them?—A. No, sir.

Q. All of them came through Washington?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is about all the connection you had with these men?—A. Yes, sir. In January I went down and saw Evans, and told him I had come to make a proposition to him. The first time, they were then engaged to the Baltimore and Ohio, and he asked time to see about that. Scott said he would listen to the proposition, as he was clear of the Baltimore and Ohio road. But I have not heard from him since the 20th of January.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. The reason you could do nothing with them was because they had a contract with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you offer these agents a dollar a head?—A. Yes, sir; I would have done better than that for them, because we have a shorter line, and they were working the territory that we think is legitimately ours.

On motion, the committee adjourned to Saturday, February 7, at 11 a. m.

ELEVENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Saturday, February 7, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment.

Present: The Chairman (Senator Voorhees), Senators Vance and Windom.

The taking of testimony was resumed as follows:

TESTIMONY OF LEONARD G. A. HACKNEY.

LEONARD G. A. HACKNEY sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Shelbyville, Shelby County, Indiana.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am practicing law.

Q. What position, if any, do you hold?—A. I am prosecuting attorney of the sixteenth judicial circuit.

Q. You may state whether there have been any colored emigrants from North Carolina in your county, or any attempt to put them there?

—A. Yes, sir; on the 12th of December a number of them arrived there.

Q. Well, sir, what became of them?—A. They arrived there in the morning at about 10 o'clock, on the western-bound train. They got off the train right on at the depot platform. It was a very cold morning, and a man by the name of Morgan, a colored man, there took charge of them, and took them to his place of business, a sort of barber's shop and tenement-house combined. The mayor of the city called the common council together that evening, and made a statement to them in writing, that these people were there in destitute circumstances, and unless aid was given them at once they would suffer and perhaps die from exposure and starvation. I believe a committee of the council was appointed to provide for them temporarily through charity, and to feed them, and finally to secure homes for them if they could. I know they remained there at Morgan's for several days, but what final provision was made for them I do not know.

Q. How many were there in the crowd?—A. I did not count them, but I was told there were twenty-six. I believe the mayor so reported to the council.

Q. Were they men and women, both?—A. Yes, sir; and children.

Q. What proportion of them were men?—A. I am not advised as to the proportion. I think some six or seven were men.

Q. You say they landed there on the 12th of December?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On a bitter cold day?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Without any provision having been made for them?—Yes, sir.

Q. And in utter destitution?—A. Yes, sir; the mayor reported so.

Q. And the mayor made an official proclamation that they were in need of charity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What became of them?—A. I do not know what became of all of them. I have seen a number of them about the streets of Shelbyville, but I do not know their employment.

Q. Do you know where they are living?—A. I know they are in and about Shelbyville.

Q. Is that the only lot that came to your place?—A. That is the only lot to my knowledge. I was at the depot at that time, but I have been told there were two or three other squads that came in. One that came to Greensburgh came through in wagons. Others came over the I., C. & L. road to Greensburgh and Saint Paul, and they would be driven in or walk in to Shelbyville. That I have heard, but I do not know it.

Q. Shelby County is a Democratic county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in the district it is in are Marion and Hancock Counties, and that makes it a close district?—A. Yes, sir; the difference it is thought is not more than 200, but I do not think it is any.

Q. Are the Republicans of the same mind?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the district is composed of Shelby, Marion, and Hancock Counties?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you know of negroes going into Hancock County?—A. I do not remember to have heard anything of it from Hancock County.

Q. Have they not gone to Indianapolis?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. You say you are prosecuting attorney; have you in any way in that capacity come into contact with any of these emigrants from North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir. Shortly after their arrival at Shelbyville there was a meeting of citizens, and some resolutions were passed concerning the exodus, and one of the resolutions was to the effect that the officers executing the law should take all proper and necessary steps to ascer-

tain who was engaged in this business of importing paupers into the county, so that they might be prosecuted.

Q. What is the law upon that point; I believe there is a penalty of \$500 for bringing a pauper into the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I think it is a law of 1852, probably; that is my recollection.—A. I know it is a law of several years' standing.

Q. That is making it a penal offense to bring any pauper into the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you receive instructions from the bench upon that point?—A. No, sir, I received none except what was in the resolution where the officers were advised to take all necessary and proper steps in the matter. At that time the grand jury was in session, and they caused subpoenas to be issued, and one or two of these North Carolina emigrants were brought before them. One of them, I do not remember which, but one was named James Harper.

Q. What was his statement like?—A. I heard it only, and it was to the effect that Sam Perry and one Williams visited North Carolina and made speeches and offered inducements to persons to emigrate to Indiana, telling them of their destitution in the South, and the advantages of the North over the South, of the liberty they would enjoy there, and the high wages they could receive for their labor, and that their transportation would cost them nothing if they would go. He said there was an arrangement by which their transportation would be paid to Washington, and in Washington there was a society to receive them and pay their expenses to Indiana. He said that from the time they left North Carolina until they reached Indiana they did not know where they were to be located. He said that several car-loads started, and none of them stopped until they reached the Indiana line. I asked him if he knew of any persons in the train at the time who were not Republicans. He said that he believed without exception they voted the Republican ticket. He said there was a sort of understanding that they were to be received there by somebody, but he did not know who it was.

Q. What did he say about finding these representations true or false?—A. They had been there so short a time that I knew he did not know as to that, so I did not ask him.

Q. What did he say about the scope of this emigration scheme? How many were going to be put into the State?—A. I do not think he stated. Knowing that the political aspect of the movement was insisted on, I asked him—I do not know whether I or the foreman of the grand jury asked the question, but he said all the women who came there had husbands and would be on after a while. I asked another colored man the question you put to me.

Q. Who was that?—A. A man who represented himself as Flowers. He represented that he was sent there from this place by some society.

Q. What did he say?—A. He was telling the auditor of our county, Mr. Carson, in the presence of Mr. Henry Ray, Mr. Wilson, and myself, and he said that some fifteen thousand would be brought into the State.

Q. Did he say at what time?—A. He said on or about the 1st of February; that is my recollection. He claimed that he had been sent out there to investigate the character and surrounding of a large and pretty vigorous mob at Shelbyville.

Q. Was there any mob there?—A. It is alleged by some that there was, but I do not think so.

Q. What do you know about it?—A. I wish to say that I was not present. I make this statement because it has been reported that I was present. Although I do not insist very vigorously on the denial, as I

am a Democrat and opposed to the exodus, yet I make it to set myself right. On the night this mob was reported to have visited the station I was going home, and saw half a dozen people standing near the stairs leading to Mr. Blair's law office. I halted near them, and they told me—some one did—to go upstairs. I went upstairs and found several gentlemen assembled there, and among them several gentlemen appointed on a committee to visit the trains and see the character and extent of the exodus coming into Indiana. Somebody said that a telegram had been received from Cincinnati, stating that a train load of emigrants were coming on to Shelbyville. Judge Ord and Mr. Glessner and I met them there, and we went home together. I can only tell from the statements of these persons who were present as to what was done, and their statements differ very much from the statements made in the newspapers, both as to the persons present and the character of the transactions.

Q. That was the kind of mob that was spoken of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was no question of opposition on the part of your folks to these people coming there because they were colored people only?—A. No, sir; but I think there is a decided opposition to it by the Democrats and by the more respectable portion of the population in our town, without regard to the color of the people.

Q. Is it opposed by the workingmen?—A. I think by a large portion of them, but I do not know that I can approximate the number.

Q. It is winked at and connived at by your town politicians of the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the attitude of the Republican newspaper in your town?—A. It has taken occasion to assail anything that the Democrats or the Democratic papers say about it. I do not remember to have seen any other encouragement it has given to it.

Q. They give it no other encouragement than to oppose the Democrats for opposing it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the name of that paper?—A. It is called the Republican. It is a daily and weekly paper, edited by Simeon J. Thomas, Mr. Wingate, and Mr. Bone.

Q. Who is Mr. Bone?—A. Alfred P. Bone is postmaster.

Q. Have you seen any Republican newspaper that is opposed to this emigration?—A. No, sir.

Q. They are all hostile to this investigation?—A. As far as I have seen they are inclined to ridicule it; but this man Flowers said there was an organization here, an emigration society, that was furnishing transportation to these people, and that there was a subordinate society in Indianapolis.

Q. Did he mention anybody there who was active in the matter?—A. No, sir; I did not ask about that.

Q. Will you state what that book is (handing a book to the witness)?—A. It is the acts of the regular and special session of the legislature of 1875 of our State.

Q. I wish you would read there on page 106 of the acts of the Indiana legislature on the subject of landlords and tenants.—A. (Reading.)

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Indiana,* That section seventeen of the above recited act be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows: Section 17. In all cases where the tenant agrees to pay, as rent, a part of the crop raised on the leased premises, or a cash rent, the landlord shall have a lien on the crop raised, under such contract, for the payment of such rent: *Provided,* That nothing herein contained shall prohibit the tenant from removing from such

leased premises and disposing of so much of said growing crop, not more than his part, when the rent is to be paid in part of the crop raised, and in other cases, not more than one-half of the crop growing or matured. Approved March 11, 1875."

Q. That seems to be a lien on the whole crop with the privilege to the tenant of the removing of such portion as is his to the extent of not more than one-half?—A. Yes, sir. Where the rent is to be paid out of the crop, he is prevented from removing more than one-half of his own portion, and where it is a cash rent he can remove more than a half to create a lien on the whole, if it is at cash prices.

Q. It is claimed here that the penal laws of North Carolina are very severe upon the crime of petit larceny. As you are prosecuting attorney, state what are the laws in your State on that subject, and for what time a man can be sent to the penitentiary for it.—A. The general statute defining petit larceny and prescribing a penalty provides that the larceny of any sum under \$15 shall be punished by imprisonment in the State penitentiary for a term not more than 14 years, and not less than one year.

Q. I think a man can be sent to the penitentiary for stealing one cent for not less than a year, and not more than three?—A. Yes, sir; that is the amendment of 1877.

Q. Now there was an act passed at the last session of our legislature, which I could not get this morning, on the subject of burglary or burglarious trespass; I wish you would describe it.—A. There was an enactment during the last session of the legislature of 1879 to the effect that any person who should, in the day or night, with or without force, enter the property—describing different characters of property—of another, with the intention of committing any misdemeanor or doing personal violence, or removing any property which the party was not authorized to remove, he should be guilty of felony, and imprisoned not more than fourteen and not less than two years.

Q. Then if a man were to step into an outhouse for a loaf of bread or a piece of bacon-ham, he could be punished in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it not passed because people were tramping around through the State, and going into outhouses and stealing?—A. I do not know the entire spirit of it, but when the session first met there were some young men in our county charged with larceny, and the evidence established that they had gone to a man's stable and taken his horse, or, perhaps two horses and sleigh; and they had driven around over the country. He pursued them and did not get up with them until they came back to the stable. It was not their intention to steal the property, but only to use it for their frolic; and hence it was an error in charging either larceny or burglary, as there was no felonious intent. There was another case of a tramp who had gone to the house of a lady there and taken her horse and ridden it some distance and then turned it loose. So I wrote to Major Gordon and suggested some such an act as this, and it was passed.

Q. Then it must have commended itself to the votes of a majority of the members of the legislature?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not know what occurred at the passage of it.

Q. What is the demand for unskilled laborers in Shelby County?—A. Well, sir, our poor farm is conducted with, I think, very great economy, at an expenditure of \$10,000 a year, and so far as my knowledge and information is concerned, the demand for labor has always been abundantly supplied, and still there has been ample demands made upon the accommodations of the farm.

Q. What do you know of people seeking labor about there and not finding it?—A. I know of many round there who are good laborers who complain of having no work to perform.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What is the name of your county?—A. Shelby.

Q. How many of these people have come in there?—A. I have no accurate knowledge of the number. I was told by persons who counted the first batch that there were 26.

Q. That you say, was December 12?—A. Yes, sir; my information is not very definite as to the number following that.

Q. What is your best information about the others?—A. I think I could safely say as many as twenty have come in since that.

Q. Were they men or women mostly?—A. These I understand to have been men who have come in since.

Q. All of them?—A. I have understood so.

Q. How many men were there in the first batch?—A. As I stated, I do not know myself, but I was told six or seven, and I am not certain but that I got that information from this man Harper.

Q. Then there were about the usual number of men out of the first twenty six composing families?—A. I do not know, sir, as to that. I think this man told me he had charge of one or two families, and that the husbands had not come, but were to arrive.

Q. Then there were rather more than the usual number of women and children?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said something of a number of them getting off at a station and walking or riding in?—A. I think I have heard of some getting off at Greensburgh and Saint Paul, twenty miles, probably.

Q. They would get off at the station and come in at night, I understand?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know what was the reason of that?—A. I do not know, but I understood they had some fears of violence.

Q. Was that after the organization of this self-constituted committee of which you spoke, and who were to go and see them arrive?—A. I do not speak of anything of that kind.

Q. What is that room of which you spoke?—A. I stated it was a room once occupied by Mr. Blair as a law office, and I went up there.

Q. Who did you find there?—A. I found fifteen or twenty persons there.

Q. What were they doing?—A. They were talking about receiving a telegram from Cincinnati that a large train load of emigrants had started to Shelbyville, and were going down there to the depot to inquire into it.

Q. Was it just a simple inquiry that they were going to make? Did it occur to you that that was rather a novel way to make an inquiry?—A. No, sir; I do not think it occurred to me in any way.

Q. How did it occur to you as an officer of the law?—A. I do not think as an officer it occurred to me at all.

Q. How did it occur to you as a citizen?—A. It occurred to me that there were some hoodlums going down there to act the fool.

Q. What kind of people were they in this party?—A. They were not the best class of people, some of them.

Q. You thought they were a crowd of roughs going down to the train to act the fool?—A. I think some in the party were pretty rough.

Q. How many respectable people did you notice?—A. Four or five.

Q. Were they opposing the operations of the hoodlums in the matter of investigating the train?—A. I heard no talk of it.

Q. What were they doing?—A. They were quiet, and two of the gentlemen came out and we went off together.

Q. What did they say they were going to do, these hoodlums?—A. They said they were going down there to tell the damned niggers they could not stop there.

Q. Did they do anything more?—A. No, sir. I thought they might go down there and talk loud and give us just such a report as we got.

Q. The report made of that affair was pretty rough in some cases, was it not?—A. Yes, sir; and I expected it from the character of our partisan newspapers.

Q. And you saw all that was going on, and as a peace officer did not speak to prevent it?—A. I am not a peace officer.

Q. If you see a mob in process of forming, do not you feel it to be your duty to tell people to desist?—A. I did not take it that there was anything in the character of a mob there.

Q. What is a mob in your estimation?—A. Well, it is something in the character of a crowd of people with pistols, rocks, and bludgeons bent on doing violence.

Q. That was the character of the report that was made of this crowd, was it not?—A. Yes, sir; and I took occasion to ask a number of people about it, and found there was nothing of the kind.

Q. Who did you ask?—A. I cannot tell you all the persons.

Q. Who was one of them?—A. John Hook is one of them.

Q. Is he a hoodlum?—A. He is recognized as one by some people.

Q. And you went to the hoodlums to hear about what they did?—A. I went to one of those who were there.

Q. And you went to them to know what they did as a mob?—A. I thought they would know best, certainly better than people who were at home in bed.

Q. Is it the character of your prosecutions that when there is a crime to be prosecuted you go to the criminal to find out whether he is guilty first?—A. I have frequently had men charged with crimes before a grand jury, and I thought it was my duty to inquire into both sides.

Q. Who did you inquire of on the other side?—A. I do not think I did so. I did not think it was necessary to make any inquiries on the other side.

Q. You stated you did make inquiries on the side of the hoodlums?—A. That was only for personal reasons.

Q. And you were satisfied that the reports of their transactions were not so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they Democrats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who else did you ask?—A. I asked Walter Colt; he was a Republican.

Q. What did he say?—A. He said it was a damned lie.

Q. Most of the Republicans reported the names, did they not?—A. I do not believe any of them were there.

Q. You think there were no Republicans about the depot?—A. I do not know of any.

Q. What did you say to any of them about it?—A. Nothing.

Q. What did you say when they said in the room that they were going to the train?—A. Not a word.

Q. Were you not in favor of their going?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you opposed to it?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did you say about it?—A. I did not give it a thought.

Q. Who invited you as the prosecuting attorney to go up there?—A. Nobody did it.

Q. Were you not the prosecuting attorney ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were invited to their meeting ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who told you to go upstairs ?—A. I think Mr. Wilson, but there was no consultation about it. He was connected with a newspaper. He is a sort of volunteer, and he simply said to me to go upstairs.

Q. Did he go up with you ?—A. No, sir.

Q. What were the politics of this volunteer ?—A. Well, his paper that he was with pretended to be a Democratic paper, but it was doubtful.

Q. To get at it straight, now, you were going along on the street and a man invited you upstairs into a room ; now were those parties you found there, those 15 or 20, very much excited ?—A. No, sir ; I think not.

Q. They had received news that a train load of emigrants were coming, and they were going down to see to it ; what did they mean by that ?—A. They said they were going down to tell the damned niggers they could not get off there.

Q. And these, you think, were hoodlums ?—A. I do not think, and did not say, they were all hoodlums.

Q. You said there were respectable people and hoodlums in the crowd, and they were going down to the train to tell the damned niggers they could not get off ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You saw them making these arrangements and said nothing ?—A. Yes, sir, I saw them, and I said nothing.

Q. Do you consider that it would be a breach of the law to prevent the negroes from getting off the train ?—A. Technically, no, sir.

Q. Well, substantially ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I thought that breach was more than closed by the purposes of bringing them there.

Q. And you went to your home and to your room ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did not you think that, after the prosecuting officer had been invited into their counsels, and had failed to warn them of their violations of the law, they would consider you would not be hard on them ?—A. In the first place, I did not think of it when I got to my room ; I did not think anything about it. I was not sent for to be consulted about it. I was not consulted ; not a word was said to me, personally, about the purposes of their going.

Q. We understand you that you were invited up there ?—A. I understand that I stopped there and asked what was going on, and they said to go upstairs, and I went up, and found these men there, heard their conversation, and then went home.

Q. Is it customary to invite prosecuting officers in where a conspiracy is being formed ?—A. I do not consider there was any conspiracy in this case.

Q. You found respectable men and hoodlums there, and they said a number of people were coming there on a train, and they were going down there to tell them not to get off ; did not you understand that that was a conspiracy to intimidate those people ?—A. I understood that there were a number of men who were going down to the train to tell the damned niggers not to get off, and you can make what you please out of it.

Q. That is what you heard ?—A. That is all I heard.

Q. How long were you there ?—A. About three minutes.

Q. Who addressed you first when you went into the room ?—A. I stated to you that I was not addressed at all. I stated that I stepped in and staid there a moment or two, and then went home.

Q. You staid there long enough to know they were going to keep

these negroes and innocent people of a peaceable character from getting off of the train and stopping in your town?—A. I do not know anything of the peaceable character of the negroes. I thought if they went down there and did what they said, it would be a decided notice to the negroes that they were not wanted there.

Q. You thought no violence was going to be committed?—A. No, sir. I say they were swearing that the damned negroes should not get off there.

Q. Were they men who would naturally give a polite notice of that sort to people they did not like?—A. They were the kind of men who usually do more talk than they do acting. I did not believe that there would be any violence, and I think there was none. I think my impressions at the time were proved to be correct.

Q. Is it a habit in your county to call the prosecuting attorney in when a thing of that sort is to be done; or did you think that this was a Democratic crime, and you being a Democratic prosecuting attorney, it would make no difference if you were informed of it?—A. I did not think any of those things.

Q. It is the habit, is it not, in your county, to call the prosecuting attorney in when a crime is contemplated?—A. I do not think this is a Democratic crime, or that my being a Democratic prosecuting attorney had anything to do with my going there that night.

Q. Now you have said that you were invited to go there, and then you have said that you were not; which shall I believe?—A. I said no such thing. I said I saw a man named Wilson, who was near the foot of the stairs. I do not know whether he was the party or not; but when I asked what was going on he said to go upstairs. I did not consider that as an invitation, but simply a notice that if I was curious about it I could go and find out for myself.

Q. You saw him there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he told you to go upstairs?—A. Yes, sir. I said I saw him there, but I did not say he went upstairs.

Q. Why did he invite you up?—A. I have no impression about that, because he did not invite me up.

Q. Well, think about it.—A. It requires no thought, sir.

Q. Have you no impression on the subject?—A. No, sir.

Q. When you came down after seeing what was going on, did you have any impression about it?—A. I did not think of it.

Q. Did you see him up there?—A. I never said he was up there.

Q. Then am I to understand that you were ordered up there?—A. I was not ordered up there. I have said to you a dozen times almost, and I repeat it, that I met William Wilson at the foot of the stairs, and I asked what was going on upstairs, and he told me to go upstairs and see.

Q. What did you consider that to be?—A. I told you the facts, and you can draw your own conclusions.

Q. Then I draw the conclusion that it was not an order to you; am I right?—A. I give you the facts, and you can digest them as you please.

Q. You found your way up there at somebody's suggestion?—A. Yes, sir. I have told you that twelve or fifteen times.

Q. Are you sure it is twelve or fifteen times?—A. To the best of my recollection it has been that many.

Q. And you swear it?—A. Yes, sir; to the best of my recollection.

Q. And you made no inquiry about the mob, except to the men who were engaged in it?—A. I stated so, sir.

Q. Who were those resolutions passed by? Were they citizens of Shelbyville?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were they—the resolutions, I mean?—A. I think they were to the effect that while they recognized the right of colored emigrants to emigrate to Shelbyville or Shelby County for legitimate purposes, they believed these half starved, deluded, and unfortunate wretches were brought into the State for political purposes; that they were deceived, and that it was the duty of every good citizen to advise them and get them to return.

Q. Have you a copy of those resolutions?—A. No, sir.

Q. That was a sort of Democratic arrangement that passed those resolutions?—A. Well, sir, by way of parenthesis, it was.

Q. What does the Democratic party think about it?—A. They think it is wise to make these people understand that the Republican party are using them as though they were cattle or hogs driven about for political purposes.

Q. That was the opinion of that caucus, was it?—A. That was the spirit of the resolution.

Q. What was that resolution of theirs about the penalty?—A. That they deemed it the duty of the officers of the county to investigate the matter and take proper steps to punish such persons, either foreign or local, whom it might be found were engaged in importing these people into our county.

Q. Tell me what evidence you have that the Republican party was doing this?—A. I do not profess to give the evidence.

Q. You have not any?—A. I think it is a logical deduction from the facts, which you might make as well as I.

Q. What are the facts from which you deduce it?—A. Well, sir, here are poor people without money to pay their way to the North, and who know the people they live among, and have plenty of work to do there, are in a climate adapted to them and to their natures, who are going into a State where there is no work for them, where the people do not understand them, where the climate is poor for them, and the wages are not so good as in the South; therefore I think it is an unreasonable thing that they should be emigrating in that way unless somebody was assisting them; therefore, as the Democrats will not assist them, and as the Republicans need them, I make the deduction that the Republican party is at the bottom of the movement.

Q. Do the Democrats have any sympathy with the negro in your State?—A. I think quite as much as the Republicans, except in the matter of their votes.

Q. Your party, you think, has as much sympathy with them and are as good friends to the negroes as the Republicans?—A. I think the Democrats of my State have as much sympathy with them as the Republicans, and employ as many of them, and pay them as well, and all that.

Q. Do you know of any Republican by name who has been engaged in bringing these people there?—A. I do not.

Q. You do not know of one?—A. No, sir; only by these indefinite, floating rumors.

Q. Why, then, do you charge it on them?—A. I believe I gave you my reasons a moment since.

Q. I believe you did not; and you have no reason therefor?—A. Personally I have not.

Q. Have you heard anybody else state that they were doing it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What investigation did you make of it ?—A. I made no extensive investigation of it.

Q. Have you made any ?—A. I do not know that I have.

Q. Do you know why, if the Democrats are so dead sure that the Republicans have so imported these negroes, and are doing it, they, the Democrats, do not avail themselves of the penalties of the law ?—A. Well, sir, the rascals who are doing it, if any there are, have been so successful in covering up their tracks that we cannot find them out.

Q. You cannot find them out ?—A. No, sir.

Q. And yet you charge it on the Republican party ?—A. I think it is their work to a moral certainty.

Q. Do you think it is a moral certainty that seven or six men were brought in there by the Republican party to vote, encumbered with 26 women and children ?—A. I think that might be done if others were expected ; and these families had come ahead in order to gain a residence for them.

Q. Do you know that to be a fact from anything they have said ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or from what anybody else had said ?—A. No, sir ; I do not know as I do.

Q. The first batch you say were 26 in number ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And there were about six men among them ?—A. Six or seven.

Q. Did your Democratic party come to the conclusion that these six men were going to overslaugh you, and that the Republican party brought these people there simply that these six or seven men might vote ?—A. My impression was that they were simply a starter, and were to feel the pulse of the people out there.

Q. Did you get frightened at their coming ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you get disgusted at their coming ?—A. I do not know as I did.

Q. Do you really think if they were importing voters to carry the State that that might be the way for the Republican party to do it ?—A. I thought it might be done that way.

Q. You think it is reasonable ?—A. Yes, sir, I do.

Q. You think it is reasonable that any party would bring 26 women and children half way across the continent in order to get six votes ?—A. No, sir ; I don't think you have any right to draw that deduction from anything that I have said. I said I thought that they brought these people there and put them off to feel the public pulse.

Q. How did you get that impression ?—A. It was in my own mind.

Q. You had not heard, had you, that any more were coming ?—A. Yes, sir ; for it had been preached there since 1876.

Q. Who by ; the Democrats ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Principally by Mr. Hendricks ?—A. Yes, sir ; and he is a very respectable man.

Q. It was used, then, as a political argument by your party ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when 26 women and children and six men came, you thought it was going to be the commencement of the avalanche ?—A. No, sir ; but I heard of a number of others who were settling in other parts of the State.

Q. You say you have a penalty of \$500 for bringing paupers into the State ?—A. Yes, sir ; for settling paupers in the State.

Q. Do you know that these were paupers ?—A. They are generally understood to be. I took it to be so from the reports.

Q. Do you know of any effort having been made anywhere in your

State to fix this sentence upon any party in the State?—A. Well, sir; the experience I have had, which I have detailed, will suffice to answer you as to my knowledge.

Q. You told Mr. Voorhees that an effort was made in your county?—A. I stated, sir, that in Shelby County the grand jury caused two of these men to be brought before them, and their sworn testimony was given as to who brought them, and what they had experienced.

Q. Did you find out who brought them?—A. No, sir; I found out nothing of the motives of the parties who were bringing them through the country and seeing them at the depots.

Q. Did you learn anything going to show that the Republican party had anything to do with it?—A. I learned that Sam Perry and Williams were going through the South, and doing this thing by speeches and misrepresentations to the colored people.

Q. Did you hear of anybody in Indiana who was instigating it?—A. No, sir; I heard the witness state that he understood that they were to be received there by somebody, but he did not know of anybody who was to do it.

Q. Do you think that if the Republicans were engineering this movement it could be found out by a grand jury?—A. I do not think so.

Q. But it is a difficult crime to prove?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They would have to have money, would they not, to bring these people there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do not you think that if money was furnished for that purpose, you could find it out?—A. I think not, sir.

Q. Suppose this was a conspiracy to pass counterfeit money or a conspiracy to steal horses, instead of to bring colored voters to Indiana; what do you think then?—A. I think the same, for I know many murders have been committed, and the perpetrators never found out. I know that at the time our grand jury investigated it they could get no evidence on which to base an indictment.

Q. Have you heard of any more efforts in that line?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not think that you can find out who of the Republicans are doing this?—A. Well, Senator, if you can assist me, I would like very much to rattle some of them.

Q. A while ago you used language of this sort: that you did not want to insist very much on your denial that you were in that mob, as you were a Democrat; what do you mean by that?—A. I wanted to state that I was not taking very active steps to disprove that I was with the mob, as stated by the Republican papers. They stated that I was with Judge Ord and Glessner and others, and that we were present with the mob, and encouraging it. I want to state that I was not with it; I do not want the statement of these false reports to be taken as evidence against me here.

Q. And you said you were a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir; I do not take particular pains to deny it. For political reasons it did not make any difference to me, but for moral reasons it might.

Q. Is that the style in Indiana, that a prosecuting officer does not care to deny that he was in a mob?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do your county officers generally feel that way?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. You said you had not seen any Republican papers that opposed this exodus?—A. No, sir; and I do not say that I have seen any that favored it.

Q. Have you seen any Republican or Democratic paper that is opposed to the emigration of any people other than these North Carolina

negroes?—A. Yes, sir; inasmuch as I have seen numbers of them that opposed the immigration of Chinese.

Q. Do not the Republican papers feel and hold that anybody should be permitted to come there and make it their home?—A. I think I have seen editorials in some of them against men coming there who are unable to take care of themselves, and I do not know of any efforts to bring them there.

Q. Can you advise the suffering Irish people to come there?—A. I do not know as I could answer, except to say that the demand in Indiana for labor is supplied.

Q. You do not think it best for them to come there?—A. I do not think it best for them.

Q. Then that is one State that is not an asylum for the oppressed?—A. I do not know as to the sentiment of the State; I speak for myself.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You knew of no mob in Shelbyville, and you knew that as well as anybody could know it?—A. I know the report about the mobs there were gross exaggerations.

Q. You satisfied yourself that no violence was committed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The prosecuting officer in Indiana is not a peace officer?—A. No, sir.

Q. He has no power to arrest anybody?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nor to command the peace?—A. No, sir.

Q. But only to prosecute complaints that are lodged with him?—A. That is where his duty commences.

Q. You simply heard that some men were trying to prevent these paupers coming into the county. Do you think it a crime for a man to try to prevent the commission of another crime?—A. No, sir; I do not think it was any crime technically. In the other case I know of no statute in the State to punish these men for what they were doing.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. It seems that you now remember something else; these men said, as you remembered, something about paupers?—A. No, sir; I refer you to the statement I made.

Q. Did you hear them say that?—A. I did not hear the word "paupers" used; they were going to tell the damned niggers not to get off.

Q. It was "damned niggers" that you heard?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. When they got off they proved to be paupers, and the mayor made a proclamation to that effect?—A. No; you forget the time, Senator. It was in December when the paupers came there, and the proclamation was made when there was information of another car-load coming, and that was the time that these men said they were going to tell the damned niggers not to get off.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What became of the paupers?—A. I understand that 18 or 20 of them are down below town in a hovel, suffering from cold and hunger, but I do not know anything about it myself.

TESTIMONY OF MILTON M. HOLLAND.

MILTON M. HOLLAND sworn and examined.

By Senator WINDOM:

Question. You are a member of this local organization called the Emigrant Aid Society?—Answer. I am.

Q. What do you know of it as a political organization, if you know anything about that?—A. The organization was formed about the 20th of March, four or five days after the lot of emigrants was reported in a destitute condition at Saint Louis, Missouri.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. That was last March, about a year ago?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Tell us what the objects of the organization were?—A. They were purely charitable—to aid these people.

Q. Do you know of any steps ever having been taken in any way whatever to induce men to go to any State or Territory for political purposes?—A. No, sir. I wish to say right here that that question may be settled at once so far as our organization is concerned. We have sent sixty odd of these people to Ohio. In December there were four men, full-grown men, who had got tickets to Indianapolis, Indiana, and they had reached the depot here, and in conversing with them they said that they desired to go to Gallia County, Ohio. Mr. Freeman asked me what should be done in the matter, and I said, "Let them exchange their tickets, and let them go where they want to." And we kept them here until Mr. Freeman could get their tickets exchanged, and they got tickets to Indianapolis. Our society has nothing to do with any political organization whatever. It has nothing to do with politics. Mr. Perry or Mr. Williams are neither of them agents of the Emigration Society. We have no agents of any kind.

Q. Did you ever have any?—A. Never.

Q. Have you ever done anything in any way, manner, or form, as a society, to encourage people to leave this State?—A. No, sir; but we sympathize with them.

Q. Of course you do. But the society was organized, as I understand you, solely with reference to the emigration from the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and with reference to helping the people who had gone to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State any efforts you ever made to divert them from Kansas to any other place.—A. I never made any. I have sent some to Ohio, to Gallia County, to Athens County, and to Glenwood, West Virginia, and to Parkersburg, West Virginia.

Q. How did you happen to send them there?—A. Because they were here and a gentleman who was on here wanted them to go, and some preferred to go there because others had gone there in July and had written back to them that they had done well.

Q. In these localities?—A. Yes, sir. When I was there in Ohio—I had my leave of absence last fall—I met—let me see; I have got a paper here—three men and two boys, good-sized boys, who went there from here on the 18th of July. We helped them to get situations, and they were doing well at Gallia County, Ohio—at Harrisburg.

Q. And you understood that they had written back to these people?—A. Yes, sir. In October there was another lot went to Gallia County, Ohio.

Q. How was this money raised with which you helped these people ?
—A. We begged it from charitably disposed persons—from the churches. And I wish to say here this about the Republican party : I have a good deal of fault to find with that party, and in this way, that if this had been a political movement none of them have ever given anything, and I feel very hard about certain cabinet officers who gave \$50 to the Irish relief fund when they would not give us a penny. I do not know, however, that they were asked for it, but they knew that these people were here and needed help.

Q. Well, from what you have heard of the condition of the people in the Southern States, in Mississippi, Louisiana, &c., what was your opinion as to how they could better their condition by going to Kansas or anywhere else ?—A. My opinion was, and still is, that these people there in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, or North Carolina, can better their condition in Indiana.

Q. What is your opinion still on that subject ?—A. Well, sir, from the testimony given here, I have been confirmed in that opinion, and I think I shall work with a great deal more enthusiasm in this movement than ever before.

Q. In the discussions that have taken place in your society, has there ever been any resolution or act or anything done which would commit it in any way to the favor of any political movement whatever ?—A. No, sir. I said in a public meeting here—and I suppose that is what has caused a good deal of talk about this being a political movement—that if the Democratic party pursues this course I should be in favor of taking every man south of Mason and Dixon's line and sending him off to the North.

Q. What for ; for political purposes ?—A. No, sir ; but that they might have their rights. I lived in Ohio, near the Indiana line, and I knew that it had always been considered a bad State ; that is, it had a bad record during the war. I believed and I thought that the influence of the Republican States of Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois had materially changed their sentiments against the colored people since the war, but I never did favor their going to Indiana.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say you never favored their going to Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you mean, then, by saying a moment ago that they would better their condition in Indiana ?—A. I believed then, and I believe now, that their condition would be better in Indiana than in the Southern States.

Q. What did you mean to say, then ?—A. Well, I believed or thought that there would be enough good Republican men in the State of Indiana to protect them in their rights.

Q. What do you mean by saying that you never favored their going to Indiana ?—A. I never urged them to go there ; I preferred their going to Ohio, to Illinois, to Michigan, or Kansas and Nebraska, or any other State that you could mention in preference to that. As I said, I had heard and knew that Indiana was a pretty hard State ; that is, it was during the war.

Q. Where do you live ?—A. In Columbus, Ohio.

Q. What do you do there ?—A. I am not living there now.

Q. What do you mean by saying that you live there and that you do not live there ? I asked where you lived and you said Columbus, Ohio, and in the next breath you say you do not live there.—A. Senator Voorhees, don't you know that I am in the government employment here ?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not.

The WITNESS. Well, you seemed to find me.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that you are a man of so much consequence that I should know that you were in the government employ.

The WITNESS. Of course not.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What position do you hold?—A. Second class clerk in one of the departments.

Q. In what department?—A. In the Bureau of Internal Revenue, law division.

Q. Yes; and you say do not live in Columbus; where do you live?—A. Here, now.

Q. How long have you lived here?—A. Ten years and a little over.

Q. Did you ever live in Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you ever in Indiana?—A. I might say that I was. I was in Harris—I think it is—part of it is on one side and part on the other of the State line.

Q. I do not know any such place.—A. There is such a place.

Q. What part of Indiana did you live in?—A. Just across the line.

Q. Yes; and you had always heard in regard to Indiana that it was a pretty hard place on colored people?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I have heard.

Q. Still you think that after hearing what you have heard from these witnesses from North Carolina that you would work more enthusiastically to get the people from the South to Indiana than ever before?—A. I did not say from the South.

Q. You named the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and North Carolina.—A. I did not say that I would work more enthusiastically to get them into Indiana.

Q. What did you say?—A. I said I should prefer their going to Indiana, bad as it is, rather than to have them stay in these States.

Q. You think that Indiana affords better inducements to the colored people than North Carolina?—A. I think so.

Q. Did you ever hear of a negro in Indiana who owns a thousand acres of land?—A. I did not.

Q. No; and you did not know how the colored people were treated there; did you ever hear of a negro serving on a jury in Indiana?—A. No; I never did.

Q. Did you know of a canal commissioner in Indiana belonging to your race—the only office-holder of your race there?—A. That is one; I do not care so much about these officers.

Q. No; being an officer yourself, I do not suppose you do. Did you ever hear tell of the Republican party in Indiana giving to the colored man an office, other than that which Colonel Hinton had as canal commissioner?—A. I have heard of Walker being mail agent.

Q. That was, he carried the mail from the Federal office to the depot. You never knew of one in the Federal legislature?—A. No, sir.

Q. There never was but one in the legislature of Ohio till this winter?—A. No; but we are going to have more. Ohio is coming around, and as civilization extends I hope it will extend over into Indiana; I think it will.

Q. Have you heard of the fact that a colored legislator sued some hotel or restaurant-keeper for not letting him sit down at the table?—A. I did not know that he was sued; but I did not approve of Mr. Williams' going there if they did not want to entertain him.

Q. You have, then, no political feeling yourself, have you?—A. None whatever; except this, that I want to get these people out from what I believe to be the oppression of the South.

Q. You think they are terribly oppressed in North Carolina?—A. I do think so. When a man has to live on three pounds of bacon and a peck of meal per week I think he is considerably oppressed.

Q. There has been no proof of that kind.—A. That is the testimony, I think.

Q. From whom?—A. Your minutes will show—three pounds of bacon and a peck of meal a week.

Senator VANCE. I do not think that that was testified to. It was ten dollars a month and three pounds of bacon and a peck of meal.

The CHAIRMAN. The ten dollars a month escaped your notice; you could not remember that.

Senator WINDOM. It was six dollars a month in some cases.

The WITNESS. I know at any rate that Mr. Kelley—man cannot live on the wages he was getting.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Well, you say that you think the colored people are greatly oppressed in North Carolina, and that they would do better in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that there is nothing political in this movement of yours at all?—A. Nothing political at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL L. PERRY.

SAMUEL L. PERRY sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Give us your full name, please.—Answer. Samuel L. Perry.

Q. Where do you reside now?—A. I am here now temporarily on Wilson street, Washington City.

Q. Where has your home been for several years past?—A. In North Carolina, sir.

Q. What part of North Carolina?—A. Originally in Chatham, but for the last ten or thirteen years I have been living in Lenoir County.

Q. How far is that from Goldsborough?—A. Thirteen or fourteen miles by rail.

Q. You have heard a good deal of this testimony with reference to this exodus from North Carolina. Now begin at the beginning and tell us all you know about it.—A. Well, the beginning, I suppose, was in this way: The first idea or the first thing was, we used to have little meetings, to talk over these matters. In 1872 we first received some circulars or pamphlets from O. F. Davis, of Omaha, Nebraska.

Q. In 1872?—A. Yes, sir; in 1872—giving a description of government lands and railroads that could be got cheap; and we held little meetings then; that is, we would meet and talk about it Sunday evenings—that is, the laboring class of our people—the only ones I knew anything about; I had not much to do with the big professional negroes, the rich men. I did not associate with them much, but I got among the workingmen, and they would take these pamphlets and read them over. We then thought that if we could get out West somewhere we

would go in a colony; but after a while we let it all die out; and in 1876 it sprung up again, and we sent a petition to the legislature—to Mr. Williamson, I think. There were a great many signers to that petition, asking to ask Congress to set us apart a territory in the West. That was in 1876, but afterwards they gave us some schools and one thing or another, and we all got satisfied; that is the college you hear so much talk about and the asylum. Well, that died out; but to come down now to the fall before this last—

Q. You mean the fall of 1878?—A. Well, I was going to say that the fall before last the crop was short or something or other, and there was a terrible cleaning up of the colored people; sometimes two or three wagons would be at one man's house—white people as well as colored people—and they would talk of what they would do under the mortgage system. And these complaints came up again. They wanted to go away. About that time I was a subscriber to the New York Herald, and from an article the report was that the people were going to Kansas; we thought we could go to Kansas; that we could get a colony to go with us. That was last spring. We came together and formed ourselves into a colony of some hundred men; that was all we was to have. It was not to be considered an exodus; we did not use the word emigration. There was only a hundred of us, and I have the original petition. I have got it here. We thought we could probably go North somewhere and find somebody that would stand behind us with money enough to keep us up.

Q. If you have that petition, let us have it.—A. We started with one hundred, but afterwards they sent sixty-eight more to us.

Q. Just get us that petition and read it.

The WITNESS [producing a paper]. It was addressed to the National Emigrant Aid Society, and is as follows:

TO THE NATIONAL EMIGRATION AID SOCIETY:

We, the undersigned colored people of the second Congressional district of North Carolina, having labored hard for several years, under disadvantages over which we had no control, to elevate ourselves to a higher plane of Christian civilization; and whereas, our progress has been so retarded as to nearly nullify all our efforts, after dispassionate and calm consideration, our deliberate conviction is, that emigration is the only way in which we can elevate ourselves to a higher plane of true citizenship.

As our means are insufficient to emigrate without the aid of friends, we therefore petition your honorable body, through our worthy agents Samuel L. Perry and Peter C. Williams, for aid to emigrate to some of the Western States or Territories.

And we furthermore agree to be bound by any contract that they may enter into in their efforts to secure aid for our transportation and settlement; and your petitioners will ever pray.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Redrick Hood. | 20 Moses Stubbs. | 38 Frank Blount. |
| 2 J. H. Wooten. | 21 Charley Stubbs. | 39 Delilah Howard. |
| 3 Jesse Wooten. | 22 Theodore Washington. | 40 Geo. Thompson. |
| 4 Thomas Hill. | 23 Simon Wooten. | 41 Rider Bell. |
| 5 Henderson Washington. | 24 Daniel Maborn. | 42 Caroline Vest. |
| 7 Lewis Flemings. | 25 Daniel Blount. | 43 Mingo Simmons. |
| 8 Orlando Marra. | 26 P. L. Wade. | 44 Noah Best. |
| 9 Henry Wooten. | 27 Abell Gardner. | 45 Jacob Bryant. |
| 10 Henry Hardy. | 28 Alfred Mewborn. | 46 Elech Gray. |
| 11 Robert Wooten. | 29 Allen Spright. | 47 William Warterr. |
| 12 Haywood Edward. | 30 Tally Mewborn. | 48 John Blue. |
| 13 Bennett Haywood. | 31 Cater Bradberry. | 49 Bryant Harper. |
| 14 Wright Parks. | 32 Leonard Sherrod. | 50 Azum Kennedy. |
| 15 Allen Smith. | 33 J. R. Martain. | 51 Caleb Vaughner. |
| 16 Raleigh Wooten. | 34 Henry Smith. | 52 Samuel Miller. |
| 17 Elias Simmons. | 35 Ephraim Jones. | 53 Sarah Williams. |
| 18 Shade Simmons. | 36 Hiram Parks. | 54 Thomas Gregory. |
| 19 Oscar Jones. | 37 Jane Peacock. | 55 John Taylor. |

56 Joseph Anderson.	94 Wright Rouse.	132 Richards Wooten
57 Spence Edwards.	95 Morning Mosely.	133 Cesar Dawson.
58 Wm. Wooten.	96 Peter Fuller.	134 Wright Dawson.
59 Cicero Wooten.	97 William Wooten.	135 Samuel Waters.
60 Homer Borden.	98 David Best.	136 Henry Dawson.
61 R. T. Jones.	99 A. E. Perry.	137 Renben Atmore.
62 Spence Herring.	100 J. C. Wooten.	138 Willis Wooten.
63 S. J. Dixon.	101 Adlas Mitchener.	139 Jerry Williams.
64 Julia Hill.	102 Mary Sutton.	140 Frank Blount.
65 Hiram Joyner.	103 B. H. Herring.	141 Henry Smith.
66 William Lynch.	104 W. A. Chambers.	142 George Smith.
67 Lewis Anderson.	105 Geo. Conley.	143 James Mathis.
68 Harkless Fuller.	106 Daniel Lottin.	144 C. J. Joiner.
69 Jack Kennedy.	107 Henry Thompson.	145 Frank Miller.
70 Solomon Wooten.	108 Jack Smith.	146 Bright Joiner.
71 Henry Barbee.	109 Levi Edmonson.	147 Daniel Wooten.
72 Gabe McMemitt.	110 Caleb Sutton.	148 Jas. Cope.
73 Haywood Jones.	111 Tobias Williams.	149 C. B. Waters.
74 Leah Best.	112 Limbrich Lassetter.	150 Emily Jones.
75 Abner Whitney.	113 Jordan Wooten.	151 Annje Dawson.
76 Luke Parks.	114 Joseph Ford.	152 Madison Lane.
77 Jane Bryant.	115 C. R. Perry.	153 Sam Thomas.
78 James Palmer.	116 Raleigh Mewborn.	154 Simon Dauncy.
79 Irwin Simmons.	117 Jack Smith.	155 Mary Shepherd.
80 John Sutton.	118 Patrick Joiner.	156 Abraham Boyd.
81 Frank Taylor.	119 Joseph Goodin.	157 Henry Cusbin.
82 Geo. Hood.	120 Sanders Jones.	158 P. R. Pittman.
83 Rufus Hood.	121 Henry Gatlin.	159 Willis Statin.
84 A. P. Williams.	122 Biddle Stronde.	160 Joseph Ellis.
85 Barney Dawson.	123 Alexander Joiner.	161 Robert Harper.
86 David Bingham.	124 Peter Reid.	162 Raford Staton.
87 James Darden.	125 Stephen Wadkins.	163 William Croom.
88 Gilbert Hood.	126 Franklin Jones.	164 Chester Nicholson.
89 Bryant Best.	127 Robert Garrett.	165 Arnold Murphy.
90 Bryant Parks.	128 Benj. Stanley.	166 Solomon Wooten.
91 Jon. Gatlin.	129 Francis Adams.	167 Allen Davis.
92 Henry German.	130 Williams Reid.	168 James Taylor.
93 Kisiah Smith.	131 David Johnson.	

Q. This is signed by how many ?—A. It was signed by one hundred at first, but after we came here they sent us sixty eight names more. That was this colony there which was added to the hundred. Well, we organized as I said. We had a little colony there. I think it was in April, probably, and the day afterwards we agreed to make up the colony. They said if Peter C. Williams and myself would go West, either to Kansas or Southern Nebraska or Colorado—if we would go West that they would pay our expenses there and back.

Q. Who said that ?—A. This was the resolution in the meeting of the colony in North Carolina. That was the understanding, that we were to go and look out a location, get a section of land if possible, and if we could get anybody to stand behind us and assist us—to advance the means to live until we could make a farm—we would go. And that is the money you hear so much talking about. They did give twenty-five cents apiece, some of them, and made up \$54 in all; that is all we ever got to go to Kansas with. I have the names of all who paid the money. That was to be the colony; it had nothing to do with the wholesale exodus, although I do not say that I opposed the exodus, but so far as our little colony was concerned we did not represent all the people of North Carolina, only ourselves. We left on the 15th of September and came on and presented that petition to this society here, the National Emigrant Aid Society, as we understood it, and they told us they didn't have any money, and they couldn't do anything for us, and we staid here, I think, thirteen days.

Q. By "we" you mean yourself and Williams ?—A. Yes, sir; myself

and Williams. We staid here about thirteen days, I think it was; and in the meantime we was waiting for money from home. We only left there with \$28; I think that was what we both had to go to Kansas with. But the understanding was we was to come here and see if we could get from here, and while we were 'tending to that they would make up some money and send it on to us. But we failed to get aid here.

Q. They did not furnish you with any money to go on there?—A. No, sir; not any at all; they met and talked about it, but they never done anything.

Q. Well, you and Williams were on your way to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; on our way to Kansas. We knew nothing of any other State.

Q. Did you get money finally from any one?—A. We got money from Mr. Galvin, treasurer of a church here.

Q. You mean to go West?—A. Yes, sir; to go away; the understanding was that we could get to Russell, in Kansas; that was the point we started to from here.

Q. What did you do after you got that money?—A. We went direct to Indianapolis from here. We had a letter of introduction to Dr. Elbert, a colored man there, a physician. I think we got there Sunday night. He carried us around to Elder Broiles, a colored man, and minister of the Second Baptist Church. We went there and staid probably eight days. The next morning I think Dr. Elbert or Elder Broiles—we went down to the Journal office and saw Mr. Martindale there, but did not have any talk with him.

Q. You didn't have any talk with Mr. Martindale?—A. No, sir. I saw, too, Mr. Cobb, I think, the commercial editor of the Journal, I think he was, and sent for Colonel Straight or told us that we would meet Colonel Straight at some time, as he was saying something about hunting up some hands and probably as he was a large landowner that he could settle the whole colony and furnish means to supply them. We went to see Colonel Straight; I don't know whether we went that day or not, and he said that he could not do much for us.

Q. Does Colonel Straight live in Indianapolis?—A. He has a lumberyard near the railroad.

Q. And he said he could not do anything for you?—A. He could not do it; he could not take so heavy a responsibility, or something of that kind. We afterwards saw Colonel Holloway.

Q. Well, what did he say?—A. He could not do it, and we saw Colonel Dudley. In the meantime Williams had no money at all, and we wanted to go further west. After seeing Colonel Nixon and Dudley and Holloway, and we saw this man Mills that was here the other day, we went to Elder Broiles and asked him to let us have his church to lecture in and raise some money. He did, and we took in \$4.10. Mills told us that he could not furnish us tickets at less than \$32 to Topeka, Kansas. It took all we could get to go to Greencastle, Indiana.

Q. What did you go to Greencastle for?—A. We had a letter there to John H. Clay, the man who sent these circulars, so we went over there. No, we saw Mr. Langsdale and we had a letter to him too from Mr. Nixon; they called him Colonel Nixon; I do not know what else his name is. Then we saw this gentleman, Mr. Clay, and went up to his house, and they told us that they could find homes for the people there. They told us so in Indianapolis, too, and they told us it was no use going to Kansas and Colorado; they told us that in Indianapolis, but we thought it would not suit our people and we did not want to stop there, because these people that we represented wanted to farm and not to hire out, and we knew it, and we was still trying to get west. These

people in Indianapolis told us that we could find work and get good wages, but we did not know, and we understood when we left home that we did not think the people would be willing to put up with hiring out. At Greencastle Mr. Clay and Jones, Hawthorne, the leading men there, all told us that they came from the South and owned property and things looked splendidly, and they told us they were getting good wages, and they told us what pay they was getting; so we staid a night and part of a day talking with these men; then they gave us these circulars. Still we asked Mr. Clay if we could call a meeting and see if we could not raise money in his church; said he, "What for?" said I, "To go West," and he said that we could not raise any money. We was near about forced to return, and we came back. There is one fact I want to state, that only forty of the names on that petition has given anything any way, because we did not decide what we was going to do; we did not think they would be satisfied, and in the meantime while we was in Indianapolis, after I came back from Greencastle, I heard that they was going to arrest or mob me when I got back to North Carolina. I have got three letters now telling me not to go back. I told them I was not harming anybody and was going back, and I went. After I got back there was a camp meeting and we gave out these circulars; I did not know whether the circulars were true or not. It stirred them up. After going back we never made speeches; there were no speeches made.

Q. Had you ever made any before in opposition to this colonization? —A. Yes, sir, we did. Williams and myself, wherever we were called upon, before we first came away, we made speeches. I know I did one occasion at the court-house in my county there. I simply reported the products and laws of the State—so far as looking out the laws of other States I had done; but we do think now when I was there all the time meeting the laboring classes—for I never shined around much among those big fellows, though I was around among them at all election times—now we think there, and justly so, that there is different laws on the statute-books from what was there before the war; they are more severe. We looked at them, and we think they were put there because of the colored people.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. What State are you talking about—North Carolina?—A. Yes; there is one or two laws there—this road law, I hear them talk of that—that caused quite a confusion both among white and colored Democrats and white and colored Republicans, and we all held a meeting and denounced that law. I read at least in one paper, published by a gentleman there, that all parties denounced it.

Q. What was there about that law, as you understood it, that oppressed the colored people?—A. Why, every man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years has to work on the public roads. I think it is not less than ten days, and as many more—I think that is the way it reads—I have not seen it for some time—whenever the overseer calls on him. Well, it has had quite a bad effect on the colored people, to my knowledge; for instance, right after the crops are done—it is when the merchant don't furnish much to the man who mortgaged his crops, and they generally cut off supplies then—so the man had to knock about to get a living as well as he could. It is about that season of the year that the men are called on to work on the road. Sometimes a man has to work on the road eight or ten days, and he gets no pay and furnishes his own tools and everything; and in my section there mighty near all the people works on the roads—all the colored people.

Q. Are they not pretty much all colored people in your section?—A. Yes, sir; nearly all.

Q. While you were on the subject of grievances, just tell us what created the dissatisfaction among the colored people?—A. Well, in this landlord and tenant act—I have heard a good deal of complaint about that; but I think it is generally heard there about political times. At the same time it is right severe, some portion of it. The only thing I could see objectionable in that is that it forbids a man moving any part of the crop till his rent is paid, and it leaves that to the landlord to settle himself; he is the man to say about that as whether advances are made. I do not know whether any other liens would come in ahead of his or not. I have not read the act for some time. Anyhow that is the way we took it—the landlord is the one to decide when his rent is paid or anything else. Another thing that caused unrest among the colored people was that they cannot feel that their former masters will ever recognize them as their equals; that is another thing. They cannot stand up to a white man and demand their rights, especially from their former masters, and they think, and I do, if we was out in some Territory—I don't mean Indiana—I think it would be different when we can get out and away from our old masters.

Q. Have you ever heard complaints made in courts about that?—A. O, yes, sir; the courts, so far as a colored man is concerned, I know they are unjust and unfair in some parts of the State. I do not cover all the State.

Q. So far as you know, what is the complaint of the colored people as to the courts?—A. Well, I know it does not take the same evidence to convict a colored man—that is, as much of it—as to convict a white man; because I have been on the jury there a number of times, and I know pretty much the way the thing goes on. I was on the jury there last fall in the United States courts, and I have been on a jury in our county court a number of times. Though I will say there is a class of colored people, that is, I mean there are two grades, there are some colored people if he has got good white friends he will get along all right, but there are few of that kind. These higher classes, that is, not the majority there, it is not the general kind among the colored people.

Q. Are there any other reasons you can give why the colored people are dissatisfied?—A. Yes, another reason: Just after the war a good many Northern men stopped down there, and I knew of several who used to build up schools—Mr. Ames, for instance, right near where I was—he had on his plantations two colored schools and two churches; it was not his plantation; he rented it. He had a good many colored people and used to have little meetings for their advancement and so on. And there is another man that stopped down there. I do not know hardly if they claimed violence or not, but it was one thing or another, and before long they left, and they have all gone away. The colored people looked on them as being their friends. Of course they were, because they were running the schools and the churches and paying for it out of their own pocket, and they naturally, you see, have a liking for them.

Q. Did the colored people have the impression that they were driven out?—A. Yes, sir; we know it in some cases. Adjoining our county Sheriff Cargo was called, and another man there. We know it, though we didn't run to the politicians and tell them all about it, because we didn't have much confidence in them; that's the fact of the business. And we looked at all these things, and these statutory enactments that seemed more severe than before the war, and we wondered why it is

that we have been a government so long and they just now began to talk about these benefactors.

Q. Was there anything in the papers saying that this is a white man's government, etc.?—A. Yes; I know another thing—taking away from the people the right to elect county officers, county commissioners, and justices of the peace. All that has been swept away from us under Democratic rule; that all has added to the dissatisfaction and unrest of our people, because in our county the magistrate there is a man that declares that “a nigger is no more a human being than a horse is a mule.” I know that he advocated that in his paper; I have a copy of it down in my box at Goldsborough. He declares that as a general thing a nigger is not a human being.

Q. What paper is it?—A. The La Grange Vidette. It was published in 1875 or 1874, but it was soon suspended.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say it was soon suspended?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Well, he was the magistrate?—A. Yes; he was appointed magistrate; of course he could not be elected.

Q. Who appointed him?—A. The legislature. The colored people, when that man administered the law, and when he asserts that the negro is not a human being, of course can have no confidence in him.

Q. Are you positive that he has used that expression?—A. O, yes, sir; he don't deny it.

Q. Did you think that tends to produce confidence on the part of the negro race that they will be fairly treated by him?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. What other papers have used the expression that this is a white man's government; what about the Goldsborough paper?—A. I have seen a good many things in that paper of that kind—it has been so many years ago—it was about the time the civil rights bill was passed; I have not read the papers lately, and I have not seen it in The Messenger or other papers lately as plain as it used to be.

Q. What is the opinion of the colored people as to whether your people really ought to have the right to vote?—A. I used to talk a good deal with Democrats—with a number of leading Democrats—and they would tell me this is a white man's government, and white men ought to rule, and niggers ought not to have a vote.

Q. I wanted to know what the general feeling is on the subject among the class of colored people you associate with?—A. Well, that is what we think. Another thing: We know we used to have a good many colored officers down there; since, we have lost all that. We do not think it has been done fairly. Of course we have no idea that it was; there is some that have a different idea; but we do not believe it was done fair. And we think we used to have in these different States all these colored members we was to have in these different States and do not get them; all that we think is unfair, and we do not see how we can remedy it by staying there, and we think we ought to get away off in the Territories—away off in Colorado.

Q. What do you think the colored people believe will be their treatment when the Southern States are entirely controlled by the Democratic party—how do you look forward to that event?—A. I have heard some talk in a different way; I have heard some say that they believe the amendments would be repealed and we would be reduced to a condition worse than that of slavery; I do not know. Of course we have

no confidence in the Democrats. We think if they were to get in power, we claim that the same feeling that was there before the war is there now—that is the way we look at it.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How do you account for the fact that it does not express itself as it did then?—A. We think it has gradually taken hold of the people.

Q. You say these things in the minds of the colored people give them the desire to get away?—A. Yes; the feeling has been, we think, for sometime, though not much is said about it. The Liberia movement in 1876—then everybody was going to Liberia, and that was the time they gave us the schools, and that stopped the movement, but it created a great deal of unrest among the colored people. I was opposed to their going to Liberia, and on that account I had a good many disputes and talks about it; I told them I was opposed to going to any foreign country; I believed we had a right to stay in this country, and I said then let us go West, to Southern Nebraska; that is where I have been wanting to go to, and I expect to keep hanging on to that.

Q. You heard the testimony of the colored man from North Carolina here?—A. No, sir. I was not here yesterday.

Q. Well, tell us what else you did after you went to Indiana.—A. As I started to tell you I received letters that I would be arrested when I got back. I told them O, no. Of course the white people down there I used to have a right good time with them myself; they never treated me bad; I always had fair play. I happened to have right smart due of politics, and could hold up tolerably well among the laboring class of people there, and I didn't care about the balance of the niggers, those big niggers, so I was getting along.

Q. You spoke of your ex-master. Perry; you would go to your ex-master very quickly if you wanted him to do you a favor, would you not?—A. I would, for a favor, yes, that I would.

Q. Well, he would treat you as kindly as anybody in the world, wouldn't he, don't you think?—A. To a certain extent he would, me in the place of a servant and him a master, yes, he would treat me kindly.

Q. I don't want to talk of unpleasant things, but a man like you, you don't find social equality any more in Indiana than you did in North Carolina, do you?—A. No; and I do not advise them to go there.

Q. You never advised them to go there?—A. No, sir; I carried these circulars, but so far as making a speech, I told them what the men told me, but my knowledge of the State was too shallow to advise anybody to go there.

Q. Well, it is your deliberate opinion, taking all things into consideration—the matters you complain of in North Carolina—that it is not desirable for your race to go from North Carolina to Indiana, is that your opinion?—A. I will tell you what I wrote on the 15th of November; I wrote to the old gentleman Bergen that if I owned a lot in Indiana and one in hell, I would rent out the one in Indiana and live in hell before I would live there; that is the way I expressed it.

Q. You mean that you would seek a tenant for the one in Indiana and rent that, and live yourself in the other one?

Senator VANCE. Or go into a Republican country.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) Are you a preacher?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are a good deal of a talker, though, ain't you?—A. O, I used to take a big hand in Southern politics.

Q. Well, you do it yet when you get a chance, don't you?—A. No; when I run this man O'Hara I went out of the business; I paid a man a

dollar to print me some circulars to say that I sold out all my interest in politics; O'Hara sickened me, and I quit the business.

Q. So you consider yourself on the retired list as a politician?—A. Yes, sir, I do. I have got a piece here taken from a newspaper (opening a memorandum book and passing it to the chairman.). It is from the New York Herald.

The CHAIRMAN (after examining). Well, they told you in that article to go West and grow up with the country, didn't they? I see it don't point out any particular place?—A. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the article is calculated to arrest your attention.

The WITNESS. We had been making calculations for a long time how much was raised in the West, and how many acres of land; that is, taking the government lands out on the prairies, and we done that all spring.

Q. Perry, do you know a man named MacMerrick?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where does he live now?—A. He went to Greencastle first and afterwards came to Shelbyville; at least I saw him there one night.

Q. I find him reported as saying this to a gentleman out there: "We were going to Kansas, but circulars were sent from Greencastle, Ind., saying that we could get good houses there, and our delegates, Perry and Williams, both of whom are teachers and preachers, came back to tell us that there were houses here for ten thousand colored people or more."—A. The circular says that. I told you, you got the circular; that is what it said. I do not vouch for the truth of it.

Q. They said that your people in Putnam County would furnish them with fifteen or twenty dollars a month, with a cow and calf, a garden, and wood to burn. The circulars that you circulated did state that, did they not?—A. Yes sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Perry, as you have such a terrific and brimstone opinion of Indiana, you must have formed some opinion as to whether these glowing and paradise reports in this circular were true or not; what do you think of them?—A. O, I think it is a little too much.

Q. You think it is a little too much?—A. Yes, sir; the colors were put on a little too heavy in that circular. I will tell you what my opinion of that is now. As to knowing whether all this work and prices could be furnished or not I am unable to say, but I think that as the report got out that it was a political thing, &c., and the Democrats were opposing, and it was reported that we was burning property and these houses, that it deterred the people and made them refuse to employ these emigrants.

Q. If you could get a house and a garden, a cow and a calf, and wood to burn, and \$15 a month, you would rather live there than in the other country you spoke of a while ago, wouldn't you?—A. I did not tell you I believed we would get it.

Q. I know you did not believe a word of it, and that is what I am trying to get it.—A. I intended to go somewhere in the West myself, and I thought if these things are so, I may stop in Indiana myself, but afterwards hearing of this attack and everything, I said to myself, well, I would not live there for a hundred dollars a day, because I would not feel safe if all these these things be so. If comes to a party question, and two parties are fighting over the colored man, I would not be in the wrangle.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a sensible remark. [To the witness.] Perry, tell me first time you were ever in Indiana.—A. The first time was October.

Q. This last October ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you remain there ?—A. Eight or ten days; not over ten days.

Q. Then where did you go ?—A. I said Indiana; I went to Indianapolis, and from there to Greencastle.

Q. I am not asking you about your movements in the State; you say you were in Indiana the forepart of October; after you had been eight or ten days in the State, where did you go ?—A. I never went out of the State; I came back here.

Q. How long did you stay there before you came back here ?—A. Not over ten days.

Q. And you came back to Washington ?—A. Yes; I came back on the 17th of October.

Q. Did you stay here ?—A. I went to Baltimore to see Mr. Cole.

Q. To see about the railroad ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you go back to North Carolina ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is the time you were arrested ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you stay in North Carolina ?—A. We stayed there—we left Baltimore on the 20th or 21st, and stayed in North Carolina till the 15th of November.

Q. Then you came back here ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you remain here ?—A. I brought my family when I came here.

Q. That don't quite answer my question.—A. I have been out to Indiana two or three times.

Q. After coming back you brought your family, and left your family in Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you stay there then ?—A. I think probably a week or two weeks.

Q. Is that the last time you were there ?—A. No, sir; I was there two or three weeks ago. I took three or four trips to Indiana in all; five including last October.

Q. Yes, and each time you were there, how long did you stay ? What was the shortest visit you made ?—A. I think I went off one Monday and got back here on the next Sunday morning.

Q. That would leave you there three or four days ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it would make your longest stay eight or ten days ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that your longest stay in Indiana ?—A. Yes; not over ten days, I think.

Q. Well, now, Mr. Perry, tell us what prominent white men you got acquainted with there ?—A. Mr. Holloway, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Jordan.

Q. Mr. Holloway was postmaster, was he ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Mr. Dudley United States marshal ?—A. Yes.

Q. And Mr. Jordan register in bankruptcy ?—A. Yes; and I saw Colonel Straight; this man Mills that was to furnish all the clothing, he forgot to tell you that.

Q. You got acquainted with Mills ?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you get acquainted with Colonel Straight—I believe he was a general, I think he is entitled to that rank, he is a Republican State senator from that county in the legislature ?—A. I do not know about that; I never heard.

Q. Did you get acquainted with anybody in the Journal office ?—A. Yes; with Mr. Martindale.

Q. Did you get acquainted with this handsome young gentleman

here? [Indicating Judge Martindale's son, who was present.]-A. I think I never saw him before.

Q. He looks something like his father, don't you think?—A. I should say, at least, he is small to compare with the judge.

Q. You got acquainted with Judge Martindale?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you found him a very pleasant, agreeable gentleman?—A. Well, Williams and me complained about it—he seemed a little dry, and we wasn't much pleased.

Q. Dry?—A. Yes. He told us to come down, but we never had any conversation with him, any more than he told us to come down that evening and see Mr. Cobb.

Q. Who is Mr. Cobb; the city editor of the paper?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Mr. Cobb?—A. Yes; I went up there.

Q. Did he write you up pretty nicely next morning?—A. I do not know as it was the next morning; he had a little piece in the paper.

Q. Rather friendly to the movement, wasn't he?—A. O, yes.

Q. Did you see Mr. John C. New, chairman of the State Republican committee?—A. Yes; I saw him once, probably in the post-office; he was going off to California, they said, on some banking or mining business.

Q. Did any of these prominent men tell you that you ought not to bring any negroes into Indiana?—A. No, sir; we asked them—of course we presented our petition; if we had met you and thought you had any money we would have presented it to you—telling them that we wanted help to settle in Kansas; they all told us they could not do it.

Q. Out in Kansas?—A. Yes; or Colorado, or some of the Territories—any place we would like.

Q. They said they couldn't give you any money for that purpose?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you in Indianapolis when that telegram came telling Mr. Tenney to get \$620 or \$625?—A. I sent the telegram here myself, or had Mr. Koontz to do it. I sent it through Mr. Koontz; by doing that it didn't cost me anything.

Q. You say you lectured in Indianapolis in the colored church?—A. I did.

Q. For the sake of getting money to go into Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you got \$4.10?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In about twenty-four hours, however, that telegram raised \$620?—A. I do not know the money was raised.

Q. You knew that the fare of these people was paid?—A. I left that night.

Q. You know, Perry, just as well as you know that you and I are sitting at this table looking each other in the face, that that money was raised because of that telegram.

A. No; I didn't know one dollar was raised.

Q. Have you any doubt about it?—A. Mr. Koontz told me it was not. I left with the party that had tickets that night.

Q. Where did you go?—A. To Indianapolis.

Q. What did you find when you got there about the money that had been raised?—A. They said nothing to me about it. Mr. Tenny came out of a room—him and some leading colored men came out of the room—

Q. So you had Mr. Koontz to telegraph for \$600, and you don't to this day know whether it was raised or not?—A. Mr. Koontz told me it was not.

Q. How?—A. Mr. Koontz said it was not. I asked him if he got it, and he said not.

Q. None of it?—I give you his words.

Q. We will send for Mr. Koontz.—A. He is the man. I do not know how they got off. I went that night.

Q. You went that night?—Yes, sir.

Q. And you knew you sent that telegram?—A. He sent it.

Q. I understand that, Perry; I will not misrepresent you at all; you need not be afraid of that. Were you there when this lot came pursuant to your telegram?—A. I think I was; I forget the number.

Q. Do you look me in the eye and tell me that you didn't talk to anybody about the \$625, and how it was raised?—A. Yes, I do. I had no talk with anybody as to what was raised.

Q. Do you not know whether it was raised or whether it was not?—

A. I do not, but before that time I told Mr. Bagley, chairman of a committee there, that sometimes these people came here to Washington, and had already overdone the churches, and concerts were gotten up, and it was quite a strain on the people here. Bagley had a relief committee or association there, I think they call it, and I asked him if he was going to get a pass for the people here who could not get away, and if he would send a telegram and deposit the money with Mr. Tenney. He said he didn't know he could send a telegram, but would if he could; so I sent it on these words of his, but whether it was raised and deposited or not I do not know. R. B. Bagley is the man from whom you can find out all about it, and Mr. Koontz.

Q. You had this dispatch sent through Mr. Koontz; how soon after you sent it did you go to Indianapolis?—A. That night; I was going with the party that went that night. There were two parties. I went with those who paid their own way.

Q. You had Mr. Koontz, you say, to send a dispatch to Tenney to see Bagley, and you did that because Bagley told you about his being at the head of the relief committee, and then that evening you went on yourself?—A. Yes, sir; and I was there when Mr. Tenney came out of the room. There was two parties of us, and I left the party that had no money, and they were the ones we telegraphed for.

Q. We understand that perfectly well, that you left a portion here that could not go on, and you sent a dispatch through Tenney to reach Bagley to provide for them, and you started right away after the dispatch, and got there by the time Tenney got the dispatch, and he showed you the dispatch, didn't he?—A. No, sir; he never showed it to me.

Q. How did you know he got it? You heard him speaking of getting it when you got there, did you not?—A. He was in the church; had just come out of the room.

Q. And you were there with Bagley?—A. I came in as they came out.

Q. And you met Mr. Tenney, and knew he had Koontz's dispatch; how did you ascertain it?—A. Yes; I knew he had the dispatch.

Q. And yet you tell this committee you didn't know whether that money was raised or not?—A. I didn't. Mr. Koontz and Mr. Bagley will tell you so.

Q. You never talked about it that evening?—A. When I got there they spoke to me about just getting a telegram, but as to telling me whether money was raised or not he didn't.

Q. Did he tell you whether he could raise it?—A. He only said to me, "I have just got your telegram."

Q. You had telegraphed to him to raise \$625 for destitute emigrants here in Washington, and you got out there yourself as soon as your telegram, and you met him; now, you don't want to be understood that you and he didn't talk about that money, do you?—A. No money was mentioned; nothing was said further than just about receiving the telegram.

Q. Well, here were these poor emigrants at this end of the line without money. Now, didn't you ask him whether he could raise the money or not?—A. I do not know that I did. I did not interest myself about asking him.

Q. Well, didn't you care whether these poor fellows got any money or not?—A. I did care.

Q. But you did not care to ask him whether he could raise the money or not; you cared enough to have the telegram sent to raise the money, and when you met him you didn't care enough about the matter to ask him whether or not he could raise the money?—A. I do not know that I asked him that.

Q. Is not that a little singular when you sent the telegram for that very purpose?—A. I didn't know.

Q. You knew these men were at this end without means, and you sent the telegram?—A. But I do not think that I asked him about it.

Q. You, an emigrant agent, you who had mainly induced these people to come up from their North Carolina homes and had seen them landed here without means to go on, didn't interest yourself to ask about the means for getting them on?—A. I did not.

Q. Well, you sent these circulars out?—A. I sent the circulars, but I wrote them on the 15th of February not to come to Indiana.

Q. Is that the reason why you didn't ask Bagley whether the money could be raised?—A. I do not think that I did. He says to me, him or Elder Treveigne, three or four big men who were there together—

Q. Didn't you tell Thomas P. Mills when he was here, "You know how that money was raised; you keep dark"?—A. I says to Mr. Mills as I was walking up the street, "How are you?" And when I said, "I am going to make you tell about that money," he said, "Well, I will tell the truth," and I said, "so shall I." That was all that was said between me and Mills, but that money is the \$27 which he says is only \$25; that is the money Mr. Jordon spoke of giving to me.

Q. How many negroes did you leave down here after you started?—A. I do not know.

Q. As near as you can tell?—A. I could not say; I do not recollect; I do not know.

Q. Well, you were a pretty big nigger yourself in their estimation, were you not?—A. Well, I was right smart during the campaign, but it always came hard on me after the campaign was over. I did not believe these letters, because I knew I had not bothered anybody; but, of course, they claimed that I had demoralized the labor system down there. I did not care about that, so far as our colony was concerned. I was determined to settle them in the West if I could, in one of the Territories; so, when I went back there I asked an officer if he did not have a warrant against me—after being there, I think, twelve days—and he said yes.

Q. Well, were you arrested?—A. He told me to come around next morning—to come around to the trial. I told him all right. I came, and this same man that declared that the negro has got no soul, he was the man I was to be tried before.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. What was his name ?—A. His name is Dr. P. W. Woolley. He was the man I was to be tried before ; but I didn't take no notice of it. I did not think it amounted to anything ; for I had no idea there was prejudice enough or malice against me to fasten anything wrong against me. I had a credential from the mayor of the town and the officers there. They knew my standing ; it had never been questioned up till now.

Q. Well, what was done ?—A. They had an indictment against me for assisting in forging papers, or something of that kind—aiding and abetting, I think, was the word. They called a witness on the stand, and one man swore very hard against me. He didn't swear that I altered any names or figures, or put in any names, still they required me to come there and give a bond. The church there was taking hold of the matter.

Q. The colored church you belong to ?—A. Yes, sir ; the Methodist church, and the Baptist church too, though I did not belong to that. The men who told me that they would never give their consent to settling this colony, and were opposed to it, came that day and put their money down, and told me if it had not been for that thing they never would have—

Q. Well, you say there was no evidence implicating you in any way ?—A. Not a bit. There was no evidence, and I did not make any effort. That bond was given in April. They say that I have run away.

Q. Your bond was not forfeited till April ?—A. No, sir. This man, Mr. Ducarte, who swore against me, swore that I run away.

Q. What bonds were you put under ?—A. \$100, I think.

Q. Well, you have had more connection with this movement from North Carolina than anybody else that you know of, have you ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know that there were any political motives connected with it, so far as going to Indiana was concerned ?—A. Not that I know of. I was in Indiana, as I told you—Williams and myself. Williams was a minister, and never has anything to do with politics, and we talked about that between ourselves, that we was afraid there might be some political clap-trap in it, some kind of political trick or other, but we did not know. We simply got off and talked about it, and we wanted to go off further West ; in fact, we had no confidence in anybody so far as that is concerned, and we thought it might be so.

Q. Well, have you co-operated in any political movement or had any money furnished to you for any political purpose whatever ?—A. No, sir ; not a cent for any political purpose at all.

Q. And you have told us now substantially all you recollect at present about that movement, about your getting it up, and why it was—the motives which induced it, and so on ; if you think of anything else just give us the whole story ?—A. Another thing I forgot about. Down South there is a set—at least we have them among us there—of broken-down politicians, men of no standing at all. I have noticed in several Republican papers even about being cheated out of the election there in the second Congressional district, but the man was so rotten that ran for the office that we had to lay him over. The Republicans I admit—I do not say the Democrats—done that ; we never charged it on them. Of course I am a Republican, I would not be anything else, but I would vote for Kitchen a thousand times before I'd vote for any man like O'Hara, because he was a man that was a bigamist, had two wives, and was accused of being in jail in Halifax. So we laid him over, and the

intelligent Republicans was satisfied, and nobody complained, I suppose, of political violence there, not of late years anyhow. But in the Kuklux time of course there was violence.

Q. What was the feeling in the Kuklux time?—A. Why, it was intense, of course; that was rough; that is, the colored people was alarmed; they was scared.

Q. Is there any apprehension on their part now as to a return of that condition of things?—A. No, sir; I do not know that there is.

Q. Do they think the men have changed very much on these things?—A. No, sir; they think they are at it in another way. We think the idea is to get us poor, and keep us starved down from hand to mouth, just simply to get enough to subsist on. In fact, in our particular section there, there has been no violence that I know of, and that is lately; but in the Kuklux time there was a good many colored people killed; I know of several; but that was in 1870, I think; about 1870.

Q. Was that about the time when the State went into Democratic hands?—A. Yes, sir; I think that was the year that they read us fellows out; that was the year 1870. In 1868, that was the year Jim Harris got the bribe. James H. Harris—he is one of the men that in 1868 got the bribe; in 1870 the Democrats got control of the legislature; they did not get the governor until 1876, I believe. We had the State officers, but they had the legislature.

Q. If you think of anything else that will throw light on the subject you may give it to us?—A. I do not think of anything else now.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Perry, how old are you?—A. Thirty years old on the 15th of last July.

Q. Well, you have been a pretty active enterprising young fellow in your time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were a mere boy when the war closed?—A. Yes, sir; I was born in 1849.

Q. Did you belong to somebody before the war?—A. Yes, sir; I belonged to a man.

Q. He was a good man, was he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was he?—A. William G. Perry.

Q. Do you bear his name?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is he now?—A. I do not know, sir; I have not heard of him, I think, for five years. I left him in Chatham County, and I went down east. Everybody went down east to get rich in raising cotton. I think it was 125 miles. He was living up in Raleigh, and I lived down in Goldsborough.

Q. You did not better your condition by going down east, did you?—A. Yes, sir; I think we did. We had more money, but we had to spend more. We used to raise fruit in that country.

Q. Was your old master a planter?—A. Yes, sir; down in Chatham County.

Q. Are you a married man, Perry?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is your family?—A. Here.

Q. Here with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you commenced turning your attention to this matter in 1872?—A. Yes, sir. Uncle Bergen, old Hemer Bergen, used to be magistrate—he was an old colored man, and we elected him three or four times. He was always talking about going to Liberia or to the West. He was a married man and had several children. We got the circular of O. F. Davis, and that was the first time, in 1872 or 1874; that was the first time we heard about him, and that we could get free lands.

Q. How many of those emigrants did you leave here?—A. I found out, when the train started to go, that a good many of them had money to pay their way. The society had raised it.

Q. You telegraphed to them for \$625 or \$620?—A. Well, I do not recollect; I think he said \$625. I don't recollect exactly what amount, but I think it was \$600.

Q. How many negroes would that carry to Indiana?—A. I don't know, sir; but it is very easy to tell. Forty something, I reckon.

Q. Do you want to make any change in your answer, that you do not know anything of money being raised?—A. I say I do not recollect talking to him about the money; he said he had just got the telegram.

Q. Isn't this the truth, that when you got there the first thing you did was to inquire whether that dispatch got there?—A. I do not know that it is; I think the first thing he said when I met him was that the dispatch had just got there.

Q. Wasn't it a fact that you asked him that?—A. He said he had just got it.

Q. Didn't you wait there some little time, until Tinney came home?—A. No, sir; I got there that night, I think.

Q. Didn't Bagby tell you that Tinney didn't get the dispatch, but that Levi C. Morriss got it?—A. I believe there was something of that kind; but, gentlemen, I have got nothing to keep back. I recollect that Bigbee said that Morriss got the dispatch. That was a mistake I made a while ago, unintentionally. I recollect that Bigbee did tell me that Tinney was down in the country advertising a grand reception.

Q. You did not ask Bigbee if he could raise the money?—A. No, sir; I did not ask him anything about the money.

Q. You did not ask if anybody could raise the money? You knew the people were here, and could not go without it?—A. I did not know that, because the churches and things here had sent off a good many before.

Q. But you thought they were about worn out in their charity?—A. I thought they had done their share.

Q. Have you given all your reasons why you have changed your mind against people going to Indiana?—A. Well, sir, I began to think there was some mistake somewhere; and I did not think things had been told that were right; that the truth had not been told, or that other men had made a mistake. I first lost confidence in the truth of the circulars. I know I was out there once, and there came some women and said they could not suit the white people out there, and they wanted to come back home. There is a good deal of feeling among them in favor of getting back; among those there in Indianapolis.

Q. How long is it since you were there?—A. The 8th of January.

Q. There is a good deal of sickness and some deaths among them?—A. Yes, sir; some of the children died there in Indianapolis, but I don't know how many. One or two died that day or night. I went to the house, but I did not stay there long. There was one child dead right at the door; some children were sick, and I heard that one of the grown people was dying.

Q. You are a retired politician, but you are still in favor of your party?—A. Yes, sir; I want our party to stand up.

Q. You think it would be a good thing to have ten thousand of those people there?—A. If their financial and industrial condition could be made right, I would like to see ten thousand, or as many as are necessary, go in there and work a revolution in the politics of the State.

Q. You thought that when you were organizing this movement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Wasn't that a natural feeling of your kind of people out there in Indiana?—A. I cannot recollect a man out there who brought up the subject of politics in connection with it. We acted on our petition all the time. When we met a man we would talk to him about it; we always poked it at him. I said, the night I was lecturing in the colored church, that if I thought there was any politics in the thing I would take my hands out of it; and I was poked in the back by a colored man behind me who said I ought not to say that.

Q. You knew you were with the big men of the Republican party there in Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir; but I do that, too, at home. But we were introduced out there to men who were said to be philanthropic, and would, probably, assist us.

Q. The day that Mr. Morriss made that little speculation with you and Williams, where did you get that money?—A. Mr. Jerden, Mr. Morriss, Williams, and myself were all together; but the money was all given to Williams and myself; and Morriss got into the buggy with Mills's instructions and went down there to the depot with us, and gave the money to his brother.

Q. Did you know they were making a speculation out of you by selling you these tickets?—A. Yes, sir; I found that out afterwards; but they sell tickets, and I had been in the office, and knew a man coming in there to buy tickets, and I thought we could get them there cheaper from them.

Q. They are scalpers, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; I guess so.

Q. Did you know they were good Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; I heard a good deal of politics in there.

Q. You say they passed the money around so fast you could hardly see it?—A. Yes, sir; I could hardly see where it went to.

Q. Whose money was it?—A. Jerden's.

Q. That was for the two tickets for you to come back on?—A. Yes, sir. Mr. Mills said, if he bought them at the depot it would be \$18 apiece, and he would sell them for \$13 each, and I thought that was a pretty big saving.

Q. What did you do to get that squad to Greencastle?—A. Yes, sir; I went with the first lot.

Q. Were you with the crowd when Langsdale walked them up the street?—A. He was at the head of it, and I think I was at his side.

Q. How long did you stay there?—A. Until Monday evening, I think. That was on Saturday.

Q. Who bought the tickets for them?—A. Mr. Reynolds bought the tickets. He is the mail agent at Indianapolis. I seen him handling mail bags in that little room there.

Q. What are you going to do in this business hereafter; are you going to keep on in it?—A. No, sir-ee, boby. I started some back, the other day; or, rather, changed them from Indiana.

Q. Well, now, about this little arrangement with the Baltimore and Ohio Road; did they treat you right in that?—A. No, sir; I don't think they treated anybody fairly. I never received a cent from them. When we came back here we went to see Mr. Cole, to see what rates we could get from Goldsborough to Indianapolis. He wrote to me he could put us there for fifteen dollars, and said he would pay us seventy-five cents on each passenger. He afterwards offered a dollar. He said he would allow us seventy-five cents for our services; but this man, Dukehart, came down there and saw me, and raised it to a dollar. I was the only

man he could see while he was down there. He gave me a pound of tobacco, and cigars were nowhere; I had plenty of them.

Q. He thought you were a fine man, then?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was to give you seventy-five cents, and, afterwards, a dollar, on each passenger?—A. Yes, sir. Me and Williams talked about it, and we would not agree to receive it. We decided that we would let the money be paid to the Emigration Aid Society, and to tell them to furnish tickets to our colored friends. Mr. Cole never paid me a dollar. I was here without any money and got thirty-one dollars and seventy-five cents from the treasurer of the aid society.

Q. You think the road ought to pay you something?—A. Yes, sir; but they don't do it.

Q. I think they ought, myself.—A. They don't do fair at all. Cole wrote me the other day that never owed me a cent, and that he never did.

Q. You have no confidence in them any more?—A. No, sir; not a bit.

Q. You say you have been sending some of them back home?—A. Yes, sir; I have told them to sell their tickets here and go somewhere else, and for God's sake not to go to Indiana. Some of them went back to Portsmouth, and some to Maryland, and some have gone to Pennsylvania. I told them I went into the thing honestly, and when I saw it was wrong I gave it up.

Q. You pointed out some things in the laws of North Carolina that they complain about; now, isn't it likely that in other States you would find laws that you would complain of just as much?—A. Yes, sir; but perhaps they would be administered or executed differently.

Q. Did your people complain of the execution of the laws when Governor Vance was governor?—A. I think they rather praised him, as he did so much better than we expected.

Q. You have schools down there—separate normal schools for your people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any such thing as that in Indiana?—A. My knowledge of Indiana is small. I think I was told by a colored man there that the schools were all the same.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a large and magnificent normal school, the finest in the world; and it is in my town; and there is a portion of that school where people of your race can be educated. But there are so few of them in the State, except in the cities, that it is a very poor privilege to the colored race.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Now, what do you think of the State that gives you a separate insane asylum? Is there any such thing in Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, I only wanted to give you some additional reasons not to like Indiana.—A. You can't do that any more than I dislike it now.

Q. I understood you, Perry, to say that the laws in relation to public roads, passed at the last session of the legislature, you understood, were to affect the colored people?—A. I said those laws, in connection with others, were complained of.

Q. Do you think they affect the negroes more than any others?—A. Yes, sir; that is, the way I construe it.

Q. What is that law?—A. That a man between eighteen and forty-five must work the roads ten days in every year, whenever the overseer calls on him. The complaint is made by both white and colored people.

Q. Do you think the desire to improve the public highways has a ten-

dency to hurt the colored people?—A. No, sir. The colored people, though, have little stock to travel on, and we think the roads ought to be worked by taxation, and men paid to work them. I know at our revival down there they took our preacher out of the pulpit and put him on the public works.

Q. Well, his business there was to learn people to mend their ways, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir; but that busted up our revival.

Q. Your race don't own much of the land and the stock that travels the roads?—A. No, sir; and therefore I say the roads ought to be worked by taxation.

Q. Your folks don't pay much tax, do they?—A. They pay a poll-tax, but have got nothing else to pay on.

Q. Well, the poll-tax goes to education, doesn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the matter with this landlord and tenant act? Where is there anything unrighteous in it?—A. The part of it where we think it is most severe is where it gives the landlord the right to be the court, sheriff, and jury, and say when the rents shall be paid.

Q. Does it say that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, when the landlord says my rent is not paid, supposing a tenant is dishonest—when he wants to cheat him—don't you think he ought to have a right to make him pay?—A. The reason we complain is that we can't turn any of it into money unless the rent is paid.

Q. You think that, by the act passed first, by the Republicans, he could move part of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you ought to be careful, Perry, when you swear to the law, because that is written down and can be proven?—A. Well, sir, the whites complained of this law the same as the colored people. It bears heavily on all the poor people.

Q. It does not bear heavily on the poor man when he is honest and wants to pay his rent.—A. It comes hard on him sometimes, when he wants to sell a part of his crop, to hire help, and buy meat, and get out the balance. And then they claim that it makes them sort of servants to the landlords.

Q. Any man who owes money to another man is a sort of servant any way, isn't he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of three wagons coming up to a man's house and taking away his crop?—A. Yes, sir; that was under the mortgage system.

Q. Well, the man had mortgaged the crop?—A. Yes, sir. That was year before last. There were short crops then, and merchants, I don't suppose, got all for their goods.

Q. If the merchants advance money and do not get their money out of the crop, the tenants get the best of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the merchant loses his money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do when you went to Chatham county?—A. I was working on a farm.

Q. As a hireling or as a cropper?—A. As a hireling. I never cropped at all.

Q. How much did you get?—A. I got eleven and twelve dollars, and I eat at the white folks' house. I worked with Mr. Sutton. They paid me more than anybody else, because I weighed up the cotton, and all that.

Q. Then you were not oppressed very badly?—A. No, sir; I said awhile ago I could stay there and do pretty well.

Q. You said there was a desire among the colored people to get away from the old master class. Now, I ask you to tell this committee if

the old master class are not better friends to the colored people than the men who never did own them?—A. That may be in some cases.

Q. Won't they universally do more for them than the people who never owned them?—A. They will as servants. I went to my old master, William S. Perry, and worked with him up there in 1875, and he talked of putting a stick on me. I thought that I was a citizen, and that was going too far; but you know I could not go back and talk to him like any other man.

Q. May be he did not have much opinion of you as a man when he owned you?—A. Well, sir, he let his folks do pretty much as they pleased. He was a sort of Quaker, you know.

Q. These changes in the constitution which give the election of magistrates to the legislature, instead of the people—you know the cause of these changes; now state them.—A. I know that they claimed that the negroes were not fit to elect magistrates for themselves.

Q. Don't you know that they had some down there who could not read and write?—A. I do not know of one.

Q. Do you know Blunt, at Kinston?—A. Yes.

Q. Don't you know he could not read and write?—A. Yes, sir; but I think it is the people to blame who do that.

Q. Don't you know also there was universal complaint among the Democrats in most of those counties where they had a large Republican majority that the county finances were taken away and county taxes were not collected, and when collected were used up?—A. Yes, sir; I know that was a Democratic complaint, but I know in our county there was money out at interest with a Republican government. That was charged during the campaign, and that claim was the cause of the change.

Q. The Democrats claimed it was to protect the county against corrupt county governments?—A. Yes, sir; that was the claim.

Q. You spoke of wanting to go to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; I wanted to take up a section of land there.

Q. Do you know the constitution of Kansas has the word "white" in it with reference to suffrage?—A. No, sir; I do not know that.

Q. I thought you said you were looking up the laws of the several States?—A. No, sir; I do not know them. I said of our State. I do not know of any more laws than the Revised Statutes.

Q. You spoke of a man named Colgrove, who was killed?—A. Yes, sir; he was a sheriff there. We claim that he was killed because he was a Northern man.

Q. Don't you know that he was charged with encouraging house-burning, and all that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was in 1870, and that was the general understanding; that was the time the Nethercotes were killed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not Colgrove a convict from the New York penitentiary?—A. Yes, sir; the Democrats claim that was true.

Q. It was proven on him by the records, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir; I believe it was. I heard of it, but I know men there who are bad men who hold office.

Q. Did you tell the correspondent of the New York Times that Rouse and Edwards and another man offered him a thousand dollars for your head?—A. No, sir; when I came back there were several colored men who came to me and said I had better look out, that I was in danger, and they were going to get away with me, and that they had offered a thousand dollars for my head.

Q. Why, you would not have brought that in old times. You are

rather undersized, ain't you?—A. I do not know, sir. I said that I heard, for it was reported to me. I reckon there are numbers of men who told me that if I walked around there I would be killed.

Q. Did anybody offer you any violence?—A. Not that I saw.

Q. What were they against you for?—A. For this exodus; they thought I was carrying on the exodus. I had made speeches there and told the colored people of the government lands and those on the Kansas Pacific, and how they could get homesteads.

Q. What did you tell them that wages were?—A. I think \$2.50 a day and \$20 a month. I wish I had those papers with me, and I would show them to you.

Q. You didn't tell them they could get that in Indiana?—A. No, sir; I had no idea of us going there at that time.

Q. This statement in the circulars is that "the fifteenth amendment will be repealed, and all the colored people found south of the Ohio on the 1st of May will be put back into slavery." You knew that was a lie?—A. I did not know; I laid that on the table to think over.

Q. Now, Perry, you knew that was a lie, didn't you? Heave her up now.—A. To be honest about it, I did not know what Mr. Clay meant. I wasn't there when he composed the circular. I think if the majority of the people in the South, of the white people, not all of them—but I believe if they had their way they would repeal it.

Q. The statement in the circular was that it would be repealed. Didn't you know that was not so?—A. I cannot answer that; I do not know.

Q. You do not know it to be the truth?—A. Of course I do not know what Clay says, and that is the truth. I cannot say that I know what Clay meant by that.

Q. You won't say you knew it was a lie. Do you know it was the truth?—A. I know that were not so.

Q. And yet you handed around this circular to those ignorant people in your place?—A. I carried them there at the request of Clay.

Q. And every fellow that was induced to travel off on that you got a dollar for?—A. It was not paid to me.

Q. You got a quarter of a dollar from all the men who signed this petition?—A. Yes, sir; and they were to give me \$250 and only paid us \$54.

Q. I see the names are all signed in one handwriting?—A. Yes, sir; that was by the secretary of the society. And nobody was sworn there. We threw the doors open right there by the roadside, and there were no sentinels.

Q. You say you wanted your race to enter upon a new plane of higher Christian civilization. Was that the way to get on that plane?—A. I do not vouch for all that is in that circular, Senator.

Q. But you handed them out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you do not believe them?—A. Well, sir, I see men around here handing out Colonel Ingersoll's lectures, and I do not believe them.

Q. You believe in a hell, don't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I am glad to hear that. Now, in reference to your trial, you say you gave bond?—A. The church gave it; they deposited the money; Mr. Dickerson and Mr. Morton got it up.

Q. What was the paper you were said to have forged?—A. A school order.

Q. An order for school money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much?—A. \$54.

Q. What did the forgery consist in; in making it too big?—A. Yes, sir; that was it.

Q. But that order there was written by Aaron Perry.—A. I used to write them for a good many people myself. I have written them out for white ladies and others.

Q. This paper was in your handwriting?—A. No, sir; there were white men there who swore it.

Q. What proof was there; or didn't you hear any?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you have counsel?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. W. S. O. B. Robinson, of Goldsborough.

Q. He let you go on to trial without any testimony against you?—A. How could he help himself?

Q. Who presented that paper for the money?—A. I do not know, sir. All I know was what I heard there at the trial.

Q. The committee swore they never signed it?—A. No, sir.

Q. And it was for signing the names as well as making it too big that you were prosecuted?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was trying to make the money out of it?—A. It was Aaron Perry. They had done arrested him and turned him loose on straw bail, and waited to arrest me.

Q. And you say you was tried by a man who said a nigger was no better than a beast?—A. Yes, sir. He is an honorable man in most ways, and I like him, but he said that.

(The witness here produced a paper which he presented to the committee with the remark, "That was sent me by a justice of the peace.")

Q. (By Senator VANCE.) Do you own any property down there?—A. No, sir; only what the railroad has got. They say they have got it.

Q. Do you own any land?—A. Yes, sir; I own an acre.

Q. Whereabouts?—A. In the town of La Grange; part of it is in the town, and part out.

Q. Have you sold it?—A. I gave it away. I could not hardly say I sold it.

Q. Whom did you give it to?—A. I got \$60 in money and traded out the balance; to Henry Dillon.

Q. Why didn't you wait and hold on to it?—A. I had mortgaged it the year before for something to live on; the mortgage was due in a few days.

Q. How much did you mortgage it for?—A. \$28 or \$30.

Q. And you couldn't raise that much money?—A. No, sir; I do not think I could. I had nobody to borrow from, and everybody else wanted their money.

Q. Did you make any speeches to the people of La Grange on the exodus?—A. Last summer some of them wanted some of us to make a speech to them, and I probably said about twenty words on that subject. I said that I was going to Kansas; and then they met at every fortnight at the school-house to consider it.

Q. Did you have any sentinels?—A. No, sir; not while I was there. If they had while I was gone, it was contrary to the rules.

Q. Did you have any secrets?—A. No, sir; not then.

Q. When did you have any?—A. They had some people over at Wooten's and some meetings over there. I think a man told me they found it necessary to hold these meetings secret.

Q. Why was it necessary to hold them secret?—A. They said these white people being opposed to our leaving, they could not sell anything they had to advantage unless they kept the movement secret.

Q. They didn't want to leave without selling their goods?—A. No, sir; but they were told just to sell them as though they were going over to the next county.

Q. Was that the only reason why it was necessary to be secret?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any violence offered toward any of them?—A. No, sir; not that I ever heard of.

Q. The poor class of white people down there were willing for you to go?—A. Yes, sir. I have several white men's names, who said if I saw places for them to write to them and they would come.

Senator WINDOM (referring to the paper just previously presented by the witness). How came you to get this paper?—A. I say that Mr. Dukehart swore and Mr. O'Hara, a carpet-bag nigger from New York, both swore about me, and I wrote to those gentlemen, the justice of the peace, who was present at the trial, to send me a statement whether he thought it was a fair trial, and he sent me this.

Q. (By Senator WINDOM.) Read it.

The WITNESS (reading):

We, the undersigned, citizens of Moseley Hall Township, were present at the bogus trial of Samuel L. Perry, at La Grange, in November last, and do certify that there was no evidence against him at all. We have known him for several years, and believe him to be an honest colored man, and innocent of making out school orders and signing them for Aaron Perry, as charged against him. We further believe the charges were more against him on account of the exodus movement than on account of school orders that was claimed to be signed by him.

BARNA DAWSON.
PATRICK JOYNER.
CISERO WOOTEN.
RABUN HARPER.
JOHN WOOTEN.
HOMER BORDEN.
ISAAC DANAL.
RUFUS PARRY.
PETER DAWSON.
RIGHT RAWLS.
SAM PARISH.
REUBEN ATMORE.

I certify the above names are correct.

R. W. MOORE, J. P.

We could have got all the names you wanted if you had sent in time.

Q. Are any of these people who signed that paper white people, or are they all colored men?—A. The justice of the peace is a white man, elected by the legislature. He is a man who was summoned to swear to my handwrite, and could not do it.

Q. What is this other paper?

The WITNESS (reading):

LA GRANGE, NORTH CAROLINA,
September 20, 1879.

This is to certify that the undersigned have known Samuel L. Perry for several years and recommend him to be trusty and reliable. He has been teaching school here several years, and at the same time an acknowledged leader of his race.

JAMES C. CARTER.
A. J. MCINTIRE, Mayor.
B. F. ALDRICH.
S. D. POPE, P. M.
JOHN W. SUTTON.

Q. Is the mayor a white man?—A. Yes, sir. That little town is Democratic; and you know he is.

Q. Are they all white men who signed that?—A. Yes, sir, all of them. Mr. Sutton has been constable.

Q. What is the opinion of your people as to whether the fifteenth amendment, in case the Democratic party comes into power in the State and nation, will be executed faithfully or not?—A. I stated to Senator

Vance that a majority of the white people would be in favor of striking it down if they could.

Q. From what you hear of the state of things in Mississippi and Louisiana, what do you think about it there? Do you think the colored people have their rights guaranteed by it?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. What is the understanding of your people about this fifteenth amendment, whether their rights are abridged in the Democratic States?—A. They think they are.

Q. Do you know about how many colored voters there are in the United States?—A. I do not recollect right now.

Q. You know there is a very large number?—A. Yes, sir; especially in the Southern States.

Q. Don't you know in some of the States they are in a majority, and in some of the Congressional districts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But since the Democrats came into power they have ceased to be represented?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of your people have ceased to vote?—A. A good many of them. We know that we are cheated out of our representatives in the South.

Q. Isn't it the general opinion of your race that the fifteenth amendment is substantially abrogated in those States? Isn't that their state of mind? And don't you think they would vote if they could?—A. I do not know, sir. I could not say as to that.

Q. Are they not generally inclined to vote?—A. Yes, sir; but a great many of them don't vote, because they do not expect any success. We have elected men time and again and could not get them.

Q. Why, were you cheated out of them?—A. Yes, sir. We should have up here thirty-five members who were put in here after the war on account of the colored people.

Q. If by tissue ballots and all that, that amendment is abrogated substantially, is not that just as bad for the colored people as if it were repealed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it makes no difference to them whether it is repealed or virtually abrogated?—A. Yes, sir; they look at it that way. We don't expect anything more from it. Electors don't amount to anything with those people down there, and I have often said that if I wanted to get elected I would conciliate the canvassing board of the Democrats.

Q. I understand you to say that your old master class treated your people very well as servants but not as citizens?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is your relation as citizens that you complain of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is the general opinion of your race?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about the school facilities of North Carolina—what you had before the war?—A. No, sir; I don't.

Q. Do you know what you have got now?—A. No, sir; I don't know. I know that since the legislature passed that tax of ten dollars upon each merchant it has run up pretty high.

Q. You saw the statement in the paper about it; what was it before the war?—A. I think it was \$2,000,000.

Q. And it was reduced down by Democratic rule to \$100,000?—A. No, sir; I do not know anything about that.

On motion the committee adjourned to Monday, February 9, 1880, at 10 o'clock a. m.

TWELFTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Monday, February 9.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment; present, the chairman and all the members. The taking of testimony was resumed as follows:

TESTIMONY OF WILEY LOWEREY.

WILEY LOWEREY, colored, sworn and examined.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Where do you live?—A. In Kinston, Lenoir County, North Carolina.

Q. What is your business at home?—A. Well, sir, I run drays on the street, and I have been drayer there for two or three years. I keep store besides.

Q. In the town of Kinston?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you held any public office in the county?—A. I have been county commissioner.

Q. How long?—A. About eight years.

Q. Are you county commissioner now?—A. No, sir.

Q. But for eight years you were?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know any of the colored people who have left that county in this exodus movement?—A. There has not been many left from the town, but there has been some from the country. I was up at the depot and saw some of them going off, but I do not know them personally.

Q. Do you know the cause which makes them leave?—A. I think that this man Perry was the gentleman who was stirring them up. I think he is pretty much the cause of it.

Q. Did he make any speeches in Kinston?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear him?—A. No, sir; I never went to hear him.

Q. Was it reported to you what he said?—A. I heard it going around the street; but I paid no attention, and didn't think much of it.

Q. You don't know what inducements Perry held out to them?—A. I was told that he told them if they could sell their things and go to Goldsborough they would have free transportation.

Q. From Goldsborough on?—A. Yes, sir; and a great many of them went up there, and were there some time. But I don't know how they managed to get away.

Q. What wages did he tell them they would get?—A. From a dollar to a dollar and a quarter a day.

Q. Did you ever see any of the circulars that he put out?—A. No, sir, not in Kinston; but I heard of them all around.

Q. Was there anything like a society organized by these exodus people?—A. I heard that they were holding a meeting about it, but I never went to one of them.

Q. Was there anything to pay to get into it?—A. I think there was twenty-five cents a head.

Q. That was to join the society?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether it was secret or not?—A. It was secret, I suppose.

Q. Did any of these people leave your section by reason of not being allowed to vote freely?—A. No, sir.

Q. Or because they were persecuted by the white people in any way ?
—A. No, sir.

Q. Or not justly treated in the courts, when they were tried for anything ?—A. No, sir ; I think not. I think they left because these agents held out the positions that they could get higher wages ; and I think most of them have left on that account.

Q. And that is all that you heard about it ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear anything of the fifteenth amendment being repealed and the black people being put back into slavery ?—A. No, sir. It has also been stated that they left because their wages was not sufficient for them to live upon.

Q. State what the usual wages are that are paid down there ?—A. From eight to ten dollars a month.

Q. What does that include besides his pay ? Is the man boarded ?—A. Yes, sir ; that means eight and ten dollars a month and his board.

Q. I am speaking now of farm laborers.—A. Yes, sir ; that is it.

Q. Does he have a house to live in ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. His firewood and patch ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All that he wants to attend to ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Eight and ten dollars is given to a good hand ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are women and inferior hands worth ?—A. Five to six dollars.

Q. What time does the hiring generally last ; how many months on the plantation and at what rate ?—A. Well, sir, when we are coming to picking-out time the hands don't like to work for wages, as they make more picking out cotton.

Q. How much do they make ?—A. Women can make a dollar a day, and men can make as much. They can make more on the average picking out cotton than they can by working out by the month.

Q. When does the cotton-picking season begin ?—A. I think the last of September.

Q. What kind of prices does skilled labor bring, such as brick-masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths ?—A. From one and a half to two and a half a day.

Q. Is there any preference shown to one kind of workmen over others ?
—A. I generally see them working on the same building, and have seen it many times.

Q. If a white man has hands to hire, which has the preference, the white or the black ?—A. The white has the preference sometimes in wages.

Q. Which does he prefer to have ?—A. I believe the colored men.

Q. He would not turn one off on account of his color ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You mean that a white carpenter, then, would get better wages than a black one ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is not so in the case of field hands ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then the black people get better wages and have the preference there ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As county commissioner, it was your business to help draw the juries ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the colored people got a fair showing in that ?—A. Yes, sir ; they always got their fair proportion.

Q. Some of the witnesses say that many times, in some counties, they did not get their fair proportion.—A. There was no difference in our county. The tickets were put in one box and drawn by a small boy and put over in another one.

Q. In putting the names into the first box, the law prescribed a cer-

tain character as to education, intelligence, and so on, for a juror ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And in drawing the juries, you found more qualified white than black men ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when you found a colored man qualified, there was no discrimination against him ?—A. No, sir; not when I was there.

Q. And you were county commissioner eight years ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The mode of appointing them has been changed now, and they are selected by the legislature ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Before they were elected by the people ?—A. Yes, sir; and it is different from what it used to be.

Q. It has been pretended here that the judges don't act fair, and that a colored man is convicted quicker than a white man. Do you know anything about that ?—A. No, sir; I don't know of anything of the kind. There are some people who, if they don't come out all right, will clamor anyhow, but I know of nothing of that sort, and I have been about the court-house most of the time.

Q. Do you know that more white men get off than colored ?—A. Well, the colored men have more business in court than white men.

Q. Suppose you would put six white men and six colored men on trial for larceny, would the white men get off better than the colored men ?—A. Well, sir, I have seen that in some cases.

Q. Is it because the white man has money to pay a lawyer, and is a little sharper in hiding his rascality ?—A. Yes, sir; I think so; for you know the lawyer works for money.

Q. And the colored men are not able to cover up their rascality ?—A. Yes, sir; and generally they have no lawyers.

Q. Doesn't the court assign counsel to them ?—A. No, sir; I think there has not been much of it done of late.

Q. I want to ask you something about the education of the colored people—about their children. What chances have they in your county to educate them ?—A. I think we have good schools going on, and had them all the time.

Q. As good as the whites ?—A. I reckon they are.

Q. And as many of them ?—A. We have a great deal more in our schools.

Q. You have more schools than the whites ?—A. Not more schools, but more children in them. We have a good school that runs five or six months in the year.

Q. That is a free school ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are the chances for the higher education of your children ? Are there any colleges for colored people in reach of your town ?—A. None in our county.

Q. I mean in your end of the State. Are there any schools for the education of teachers ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And a very fine school in Greensborough, where the colored people are educated in the higher branches free ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the state of feeling in that section between the whites and the blacks ?—A. I think it is very friendly.

Q. You have no disturbances on public days, such as election days ?—A. No, sir; I believe everybody votes to suit himself.

Q. What are your politics ?—A. I am a Republican.

Q. Do you vote that ticket every time ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you formerly a slave ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were a freeman before the war ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you own property ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much, and what does it consist of?—A. Town property principally.

Q. Real estate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you made it since the war?—A. Yes, sir; most of it.

Q. Did you ever serve on juries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you ever a judge of election?—A. No, sir,

Q. Do you own a house and lot?—A. Yes, sir; I own a right smart of houses. My renters pay me between four and five hundred dollars a year.

Q. Then you are in favor of the landlord and tenant act? You don't think a fellow ought to be allowed to move his crops off the premises until he pays his rent?—A. No, sir; I don't. But there are some little restrictions that are pretty hard.

By SENATOR BLAIR:

Q. How far is Lenoir County from Warren?—A. I think 180 miles.

Q. How long was it after you left there before you moved to the one where you now are?—A. I was raised there.

Q. You always lived there until you came to Lenoir?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were always free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Always free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your age now?—A. I am forty-seven years old.

Q. Were you always free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were born free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were your parents ever slaves?—A. No, sir; they never was. My old grandfather was a hundred and five years old when he died, and was always free.

Q. Neither you or any of your ancestors were ever slaves in this country?—A. No, sir.

Q. What were your opportunities for education before the war?—A. I do not know, sir. Before the war I didn't know much; but the free colored people had a school going on in Raleigh.

Q. You said you were a county commissioner; where did you find such an education such as you found necessary in that position?—A. I just picked it up. I never went to school a day in my life.

Q. You found time to study and pick up a little arithmetic?—A. Yes, sir; I can read and write.

Q. What have been your duties as county commissioner?—A. Just what the others on the board had to do.

Q. What are the duties of the county commissioners?—A. Attending to the poor-house, appointing jurors, and looking after the roads and bridges.

Q. Did they have anything to do with the taxes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The valuation of property, and the assessment of taxes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who collected the taxes?—A. The sheriff.

Q. Who appointed the sheriff?—A. He was elected by the people.

Q. You spoke of a change in the mode of appointing county commissioners. Since that change was made have you been a commissioner?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have there been any colored commissioners since?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many commissioners are there in your county board?—A. There are five and they are all white.

Q. How was it before this change?—A. Generally there were about two colored and three white commissioners.

Q. Is that a Republican county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are the politics of the county commissioners now ?—A. They are all Democrats.

Q. How does that happen ?—A. By this change in the law.

Q. Do you imagine that change in the law was made to secure Democratic county commissioners in Republican counties ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think so.

Q. Do your people so understand it ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you no Republican officials in that county ?—A. The sheriff is a Republican and so is the register.

Q. How about your judges—those who try causes ?—A. Of the inferior courts, do you mean ?

Q. Take the judges of the higher courts first, for instance ?—A. They are elected.

Q. Elected by the people ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the highest court in the State ?—A. The supreme court.

Q. Is that the one you refer to ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then you have judges of the inferior courts, also ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you a county court ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What class of cases do they have jurisdiction over—criminal cases ?—A. No, sir, I think not.

Q. I mean do they try men for larceny, and all that ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is what I mean ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are those county judges elected or appointed ?—A. They are appointed.

Q. How was it before this change in the constitution—were they appointed, or chosen by the people ?—A. They were elected.

Q. All the judges were then elected ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Before the change the judges of the higher courts had jurisdiction in all cases ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And by this change jurisdiction in these smaller crimes is given to the county interior courts ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And who are those judges ?—A. They are Democrats.

Q. You say all these county judges are Democrats ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the county commissioners, also ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So the new constitution has resulted in thus changing the political control of these Republican counties ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you understand that was a part of the design in changing the constitution ?—A. I think it was, sir.

Q. Mr. Lowery, you have perhaps not visited any of our Northern States ?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you do not know the chances the colored man has there for acquiring an education and exercising all his civil and political rights ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you do not know that it is not an advantage to your people to go North ?—A. No, sir ; I do not.

Q. You say you do not know of but very few who have left your county ?—A. No, sir ; most of those who left there were from back in the country.

Q. You live in town ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it in a thickly-settled town ?—A. Yes, sir ; it is the county seat.

Q. Do you know how the colored people are situated out in the country ? Take the matter of public schools—I think it has been said that the country people do not have as much chance as those in town to send their children to school ?—A. I think we have very good schools all over the county. I have seen teachers who were teaching out there.

Q. Do you know how long the schools are kept open in the country ?
—A. Four months, I believe. In town we have them longer. I think ours in our town run ten months. Out in the country I think they run four and five months.

Q. The length of time depends, I suppose, upon the amount of property to support them ?—A. Yes, sir ; and the number of children.

Q. How many colored men do you know to have left your county ?—A. I was up at the depot one day and I saw a good many getting off ; but I don't think they were all from our county.

Q. Do you think there are twenty-five who have gone ?—A. I don't think many over twenty-five.

Q. About how many did you see getting on the train that day ?—A. I could not say. I think right smart of them were from Pitt County. I know the wagons were bringing them in from there. I just went up there to the depot and I saw them getting off.

Q. You mean getting on the train ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And "getting off" from the country to Indiana, or elsewhere ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your county seems to be a Republican county ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is a majority of the population colored ?—A. I think it is.

Q. How is the colored population divided politically ?—A. I believe they are pretty much altogether there.

Q. You mean all Republicans ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there one colored man out of fifty who is a Democrat ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there one out of a hundred ?—A. I suppose you might get that many.

Q. I suppose they all vote for Governor Vance, however ?—A. No, sir ; but there is a great many of them that always like him. While not many of them vote for him, yet, as a man, they like him pretty well.

Q. You speak in your testimony here of the condition of the colored people in your county principally ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not claim to know it so well as to the State generally ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is it or is it not your understanding that in some parts of the State the colored people have been subjected to hardships and cruelties, and have some causes of complaint ?—A. I do not know, really. I do not hear much complaint of them being oppressed. Some time back there was talk of it ; but for the last seven or eight years I haven't heard any of it.

Q. But you all still stick to the Republican party ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From what part of the State is this exodus most numerous ?—A. I think from our county, and from Pitt and Wayne and Greene.

Q. Do those counties all lie together ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have many of these people come back who went North ?—A. I have heard talk of several coming back, and a great many writing that they want to come back.

Q. Have you seen any of the letters ?—A. I have ; but I have not had any myself.

Q. Have you known of any political characters, or of any men who, so far as you know, had political reasons for it, going through your State to stir up this emigration to the North ? Do you know anything of its being a Republican movement ?—A. No, sir ; I think the men who did it did it for their own benefit. I never heard anything about it until I heard of Perry going around stirring them up.

Q. Perry, you said, was from your county?—A. Yes, sir; but not from my town.

Q. You think it was a business enterprise?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And some men thought they could make money out of it?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Do you know Louis Williams?—A. I do not know of him.

Q. He was one of the colored men who left there.—A. Those who left there were mostly from back in the country, and I did not know them. There were none who left the town, or from around the edges of it.

Q. Do you know Perry?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How does he stand there with the better class of your colored people?—A. I don't think he stands so well.

Q. The suspicion is among them that he was trying to make money out of this thing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know of any colored man who had labored and made money for himself who went off in this exodus?—A. I heard talk of one leaving; but he never sold his land. I reckon he just went to look and see for himself, and come back. We have in our county jail now two fellows who were going through the county selling tickets for the exodus.

Q. What kind of tickets?—A. Tickets to Indiana.

Q. What right did they have to sell tickets to Indiana?—A. None at all. They went out into the back country and got in with an old man out there. They asked him if he wanted to go, and he said, "Yes"; and they sold him tickets to take him and his whole family to Indiana for a dollar apiece; but he found out that the tickets were not good, and he came to town and got a warrant and had them arrested.

Q. They have taken a homestead in jail?—A. I left them in there.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Do you keep the jail?—A. Yes, sir.



TESTIMONY OF LEWIS H. FISHER.

LEWIS H. FISHER (colored) was sworn and examined as follows:

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. At Kinston, Lenoir County.

Q. In North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your occupation at home?—A. I am a merchant.

Q. Do you own property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much and of what kind?—A. It is personal property and real estate—farming lands and town lots.

Q. Do you farm some, also?—A. I rent out my land in the country.

Q. How much do you hold your property to be worth to-day?—A. Between \$4,000 and \$5,000.

Q. Were you formerly a slave?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your age?—A. I entered my thirty-second year last January.

Q. So you were not of age when you were set free?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you made all your property since you were set free?—A. Every dollar of it.

Q. What is your politics?—A. Republican, sir.

Q. Have you held any offices or official positions in your county?—

A. Yes, sir. I was first appointed on the school committee in laying off the districts in the beginning. After that—holding it for four years—I was elected coroner and held it two terms, or four years; after that I was appointed county ranger, and at the present time I am school committeeman again.

Q. For your district, or the county?—A. For the ninth district.

Q. Who appointed you a school committeeman?—A. I was appointed by the Democratic board.

Q. The board of county commissioners?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you state, if you know anything, what you know about these people who left your county to go West?—A. I know some of them.

Q. Do you know what inducements were held out to them to cause them to go?—A. The most that was agitated among them was the low wages at home and that they were going where they could get better ones. That was what they most seemed to talk about.

Q. What did they say was promised them?—A. They were informed that they could get \$1 and \$1.25 per day, and in some instances \$1.50 per day; and on the farms could get \$15 per month.

Q. That is what they were promised?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know what was said to them about transportation?—A. I heard that after they got to Washington they were to get free transportation; and some said that after they got to Goldsborough there was to be a sort of free train that would carry them for a cent a mile.

Q. Do you know who put those reports out among them?—A. I think I do.

Q. From what you have heard?—A. Yes, sir. There was a society up there in La Grange that sent Perry to Kansas to view the lands, and he came back and told them they could get places in Indiana and do better there.

Q. He told them that there was a demand for them out there, and that they could get these prices that you have mentioned?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever see any of those circulars that were distributed?—A. Yes, sir; some of them.

Q. Do you recollect the promises that were made in those circulars?—

A. Some portion of them, but I do not recollect all. I recollect that I saw where they said a man could get \$15 a month and a cow—

Q. And calf?—A. Yes, sir; and a dwelling and fire-wood. All who were good farmers were to get \$15 a month and those other things.

Q. Did you see any chromos or pictures of the kind of houses they were to have?—A. No, sir; I did not see any pictures of houses.

Q. What are the average wages of those kinds of hands in your country?—A. Labor runs down there according to the hands. I don't know of any lower wages than \$7 a month for a man. They run from \$7 to \$10, and in some cases, on account of skill, very good hands get \$12.

Q. What else is included with those wages?—A. House, fire-wood, garden patch, and sometimes a potato patch.

Q. Is there any stint about the land allowed for patches?—A. No, sir, I don't believe there is.

Q. A man can have as much land free as his family can attend?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, now, please explain the situation of your people there with regard to their right to vote and the exercise of their legal rights, whether they enjoy them or not?—A. Well, sir, I think they vote just

as they please. There is no intimidation there. People may ask them to vote this or that way, but they can vote as they please.

Q. You mean people electioneer with them the same as they do with white people?—A. Yes, sir; but there is no force about it.

Q. Is there any restriction put upon their holding public meetings, religious, political, or educational?—A. No, sir; not at all.

Q. How is it about education for your race down there?—A. Well, sir, we have a ten months' system there at this time and the county is divided up into districts, and as a general thing throughout the county they have four and five months' schools, just as the money is. Sometimes they can't get teachers and then they wait until the next session and run seven or eight months.

Q. They put two sessions into one in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the average session of the schools out in the county?—A. About four months.

Q. Are the school-houses convenient for the colored children out there?—A. Yes, sir: sometimes they have to go three or three and a half miles.

Q. The colored children as a general thing attend the schools more closely, do they not?—A. Yes, sir, to the public schools; because many of the white people won't send their children to the public schools. They send them to the pay schools.

Q. Private schools, you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any complaint to make for your people about their treatment in the courts; will the judges there do them justice?—A. I think whenever parties are convicted I see no discrimination on the part of the judges. Sometimes the colored people do not get their cases through as well as they would if they had money. I think it is the lack of money mostly that makes them lose in court.

Q. The white rascals, you think, are the smartest in covering up their tracks and in managing their cases?—A. Yes, sir; I am speaking of my county and that is the way of it there.

Q. So far as you know, and as an honest colored man, give this committee your opinion as to whether an honest, industrious colored man can do as well in North Carolina as anywhere else that you know of.—A. I think an industrious, sober man can always do very well there. Some advantage is sometimes taken of ignorant colored men. Sometimes they buy land and when they get it nearly all paid for and go to the records they find they can get no title to it.

Q. Isn't an ignorant, poor white man in the same predicament often?—A. Yes, sir; they are. I have often said that the poor whites and the poor colored people were all in the same dish.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Do you not punish men in North Carolina who swindle other persons by void titles?—A. Yes, sir; but then every man who buys has the privilege to go and see to his titles by the registry of deeds.

Q. Of course, I understand that, but what I wanted to know is whether instances of the kind you mention are never punished in North Carolina?—A. I haven't known of any. They always bring up the plea that the men could go to the records and see for themselves.

Q. That is no sufficient reply to the crime; but you say you have never known any man to be punished for this sort of imposition?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many instances have you known of this kind?—A. I know of one south of Kinston.

Q. What proportion of the colored men who are voters are also

owners of land?—A. I think the majority of the voters with us are colored.

Q. But what proportion, how many, whether one-tenth, one fourth, or one-hundredth of those who have the right to vote are owners of land, or have homesteads?—A. I know from eight to fifteen who own land in our county.

Q. How many do you know, irrespective of whether they own land, are voters in your county?—A. I do not know, sir. I know we have a majority of from 200 to 300.

Q. And mostly colored?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know of more than fifteen colored men who own land in your county?—A. No, sir; I do not know more than that many.

Q. I suppose in that county there are some fifteen or twenty thousand people?—A. I don't think there are that many.

Q. You make your answer about voting in such a way as leads me to suppose you do not tell all about it. Is there anything else, about the counting of the votes for instance, that you have on your mind?—A. No, sir. All the officers that we are allowed to vote for we generally elect.

Q. What officers are elected in the county?—A. The sheriff, the register of deeds and the clerk of the superior court, the coroner, and I believe we all go for the surveyor, Democrats and Republicans alike. The county treasurer is also elected.

Q. How is it about your representatives in the legislature? How are they chosen?—A. We vote for them.

Q. You choose a county delegation to your legislature?—A. Yes, sir; and we generally elect a Republican.

Q. Don't you elect but one?—A. That is all.

Q. And you get a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he chosen for one, two, or four years?—A. For two years.

Q. Then you do get your Republican representative?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What other officers are there in the county?—A. The magistrates we do not vote for.

Q. How do you come by your magistrates?—A. They are appointed.

Q. How?—A. By the legislature.

Q. Are they Republicans or Democrats?—A. They are Democrats.

Q. What are the other officers that you have?—A. County commissioners.

Q. They are appointed in the same way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What others, still?—A. Judges of the inferior courts.

Q. How do you come by them?—A. Through the county commissioners.

Q. Then the legislature elects the commissioners, and they appoint the judges?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then it comes to this, that Democrats value and assess property for taxes, and that the laws are administered by Democrats, and the only officers you Republicans get are officers who simply carry out the directions of the Democratic office-holders?—A. That is so.

Q. And that in a county that is largely Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So, under this change, it does not make much difference to you whether you vote or not?—A. No, sir; so far as those officers are concerned. We would like to vote for all our officers if we could be allowed to.

Q. Of how many judges does the supreme court consist?—A. I can't say. That is the highest court. The judges of the superior court, we elect them.

Q. How are they elected?—A. By districts.

Q. Taking the State together, how many of them are there?—A. I disremember whether it is nine or not, but I think there are nine judicial districts.

Q. Do you know how many of them are Republicans?—A. I do not know but one, sir, at present.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. There are Seymour and Buckstone, are there not?—A. Yes, sir; Seymour is in there. He was elected in our district, but that don't do us much good, as they have to change around.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. How many judges do you say comprise the supreme court?—A. There are three of them, I think.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. And they are elected?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Do you know the political sentiments of the supreme court?—A. I do not.

Q. In speaking of the schools you said something about private schools and that many white men will not send their children to the public schools; do you mean to say there is any prejudice on the part of these people against public schools?—A. I suppose it is because they think they are able to pay for their children's schooling and so send to them.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. The private schools are generally better than the public schools?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And hence are preferred by those who can afford to pay?—A. Yes, sir; that is the way of it.

On motion the committee stood adjourned to Wednesday, February 11, 1880, at 10 a. m.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Wednesday, February 11, 1880.*

The committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to its order of adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

Present, the chairman and all the members of the committee.

TESTIMONY OF F. B. LOFTIN.

F. B. LOFTIN was sworn and examined as follows :

By Senator VANCE :

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In North Carolina.

Q. What is the place of your residence in North Carolina?—A. My residence is in Kinston, Lenoir County, North Carolina.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am an attorney at law.

Q. What counties do you practice in?—A. In the counties of Lenoir, Greene, and Jones, and occasionally in Wayne and Craig.

Q. I have called upon you to testify in regard to the treatment of the colored people in the circle of your practice in the courts. You have had

some criminal practice?—A. Yes, sir; I have had, since I have been practicing, quite an extensive criminal practice, particularly in Jones and Greene Counties, and a good deal of opportunity to observe the courts there. I can state to the committee that so far as I have been able to observe, I have known no distinction made between the white and colored man. We have gentlemen of learning and eminence for judges, and who administer our law impartially, I think, between the white and colored man. I have never noticed any distinction on account of race or color.

Q. Have you colored men on the juries down there?—A. Yes, sir; we have. They are permitted to sit on juries without any discrimination whatever.

Q. It has been said here that more white men than colored men go free in proportion to the number indicted for offenses. How is that?—A. My observation is, that more white men who are indicted are convicted than colored men. I have noticed that where a white man is arraigned for larceny, or a felony, as his social condition is more affected than the negro's, and I think the juries are more severe on them than on the negroes. I remember a case at the last inferior court, where a colored man appeared for a colored man, and the argument he made to the jury was that they were to try him the same as they would a white man; and when the judge came to charge the jury he reiterated that part of the counsel's argument, and said they were to find the facts, and try him by the same rules as they would a white man.

Q. You are not a farmer yourself, but your father is?—A. Yes, sir; he is a tolerably large farmer. He owns some two thousand acres of land.

Q. Do you know anything of farming operations in that section as affecting these people?—A. They work on there very smoothly. We have had no trouble with them, but this exodus movement is affecting labor with my father some. He talks over his business to me and tells me about it. He usually makes contracts on the 1st of January, and this January, at the middle of the month he had not rented any land or made a contract. He ran off two or three families on that account before he could make contracts with the others.

Q. You mean he made them leave unless they would make contracts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you whether there is any political persecution, violence, or anything of that kind influencing them to leave there?—A. I have no hesitancy in saying that they vote just as freely and without compulsion as they could desire, so far as the white people are concerned. They vote very nearly the same way, and the only thing I have seen to forestall their action is when a colored man tries to prevent another colored man from voting.

Q. They don't allow him to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; they don't respect him afterward, if he does. I have seen violence offered between themselves, but have seen nobody hurt. I know my father had a waiting boy and I had a very particular friend who was running for the legislature and I wanted the boy to vote for him. He said before the election that he would do it, but on the day of the election he came and told me that the colored people were all mad and he could not do it. I said, "All right," and he voted the full Republican ticket.

Q. Do you know of any men discharging their croppers or workmen for not voting the Democratic ticket?—A. No, sir; I haven't heard of any case of that kind. When politics are running high about election time they talk that way—some violent men do, but after the election it

all passes off. I will cite an instance in our town. Our barbers are all colored men and vote the Republican ticket. We were trying to elect our senator, but could not do it. Some parties got angry at the colored barbers and one man sent off after a white barber. One came there and set up, but pretty soon they wouldn't patronize him and he had to leave. I do not think the better part of our people were in favor of any such move as that.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. To what extent does your father tell you this disturbance of his labor exists?—A. It is very general among his hands.

Q. How many hands does he employ?—A. I believe he works a four or five horse farm—thirty acres to the horse; I know he works that much.

Q. How many hands would that require?—A. From seven or eight to ten hands.

Q. Then he rents some of his land?—A. Yes, sir; the principal portion of his land is rented.

Q. And this disturbance of labor exists quite generally?—A. Among his hands it is very general.

Q. You know of no reason why that is true of his hands more than of others?—A. I have heard of others in the same fix.

Q. There is no reason why your father's hands should complain more than those of others?—A. No, sir; but I think, from what I have heard, they were pretty generally stirred up by this Indiana movement.

Q. Is the movement increasing or decreasing?—A. It is very generally passing away.

Q. You have no reason to think it will be in existence a year from now?—A. I think not. I think the colored people in our county are well treated, and where they are industrious and honest they accumulate something.

Q. Are they generally well satisfied?—A. I think they are, or were until I first heard of this movement last September.

Q. Have you come in contact personally with any of the negroes, and learned their reasons for emigrating?—A. No, sir; I have not had one of them to tell me.

Q. Do you know whether this is a political move or not; whether the Republican party down there has encouraged it?—A. I think this movement was gotten up by this fellow Perry and others. He is a very violent Republican down there. He spoke right in front of my office, on the court-house green, and told the colored people they were outraged by the white people and cheated and all that.

Q. Do you think he was talking for himself, or do you think the Republican party in North Carolina encouraged this movement?—A. I do not know of anything of the kind. All I know about that part of it I got from newspapers.

Q. All the testimony we have had here has been to the effect that the Republican press of the State was strongly opposed to it.—A. I know the white Republicans of our county haven't favored it. The white men of the Republican party are opposed to it.

Q. There are not many of them?—A. No, sir; our sheriff is one of the leading Republicans—James K. Davis. There are also W. W. Hunter, our clerk, and our register, and a Republican justice of the peace by the name of Coleman.

Q. These men are all opposed to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they depend upon the colored Republicans for their votes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They would hardly encourage the emigration of their own supporters, would they?—A. Those who are there I am satisfied are against it.

Q. Then the leading Republicans, white and black, in North Carolina are opposed to it?—A. Yes, sir; that is my judgment.

Q. Can you mention a prominent Republican, white or colored, who is in favor of the exodus?—A. Well, I can mention this negro, Perry.

Q. Do you look upon him as a leading Republican?—A. Any negro who speaks much gets to be a leader with them.

Q. Do you recognize him as, in any sense, a leader of Republican sentiment?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Is his movement, then, a political one, or a scheme to accumulate a little money for himself?—A. I think his principal object was to make money.

Q. Do you know any way in which he is aided by political influence?—A. No, sir; I have heard that the railroads pay him something, and that he had a society that paid him something.

Q. I meant to ask you whether Perry was trying to promote his own interests by it, pecuniarily or politically?—A. Pecuniarily; yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of some case in court, and of the lawyer cautioning the jury to try the colored man by the same rules they would a white man, and that the judge reiterated the remark—how was that?—A. Yes, sir; that was it.

Q. Do you think it would be necessary to remind them of that, and ask the same justice for him as for a white man, if there were not some prejudice usually among juries against colored men on trial?—A. No, sir. I think that was a case of overzeal on the part of his counsel.

Q. And the court in its overzeal reiterated it?—A. Yes, sir. I think it was unnecessary for counsel to have made it.

Q. Why, then, were you particular to remark that the judge repeated it?—A. I made that remark to show that our courts endeavor to prevent any differences between white men and colored men.

Q. Then it was a sort of vague sentimental statement of an abstraction?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. RUSSELL.

J. H. RUSSELL was sworn and examined, as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Russell, where do you live?—Answer. Indianapolis, Indiana.

Q. What business are you engaged in?—A. In the undertaking and livery business, and running a hack and transfer line.

Q. You are in the "undertaking" business—that is, you bury people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you live at Indianapolis, and are an undertaker by occupation?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I wish you would state to this committee about how many of these North Carolina emigrants you have buried since they commenced coming there to Indianapolis?—A. Up to the 28th of January, I think we buried from twenty five to thirty.

Q. What were they; men, women, and children?—A. Mixed; some men and some women and children, but mostly children.

Q. In what space of time did you bury twenty-five or thirty?—A.

From the time my attention was first called to it—say seven weeks to two months—the 1st of December to the 28th of January.

Q. In two months you buried this number?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been in this undertaking business?—A. About twenty months.

Q. Supposing there were one thousand to twelve hundred of these people who remained in Indianapolis, would that be an ordinary or unusual per cent. of mortality for that time?—A. It would be an unusual mortality among that number of people.

Q. What is the average in your city?—A. We have one hundred and seven thousand (107,000) population, and our average death rate is twenty-seven (27) a week.

Q. State whether Marion County, in which Indianapolis is located, employs a county undertaker to bury the poor, charging the expense to the public?—A. That is the contract; we have it.

Q. You are county undertaker?—A. County and city both.

Q. How many of these North Carolina folks did you bury as paupers?—A. Every one of them.

Q. They were all buried as paupers?—A. Yes, sir; every one.

Q. Were they charged to the charity of the city or the county?—A. Of the county. The city only pays for those dying in the hospital and the station-houses. The county pays where they die otherwise, and in public institutions.

Q. What is the expense of burying one of these paupers?—A. Five dollars and fifteen cents—grave and everything.

Q. Is that cheap or not?—A. Yes, sir; very. They get no carriage or hearse; nothing but a plain box.

Q. And have no religious services?—A. No, sir; unless it is before we take the box there. That is the general way.

Q. What were the causes of the deaths of these people?—A. Diphtheria and scarlet fever principally. Their difficulty was in not being acclimated. Some of them died with pneumonia.

Q. What was the condition, generally, of these people?—A. I did not go myself; but my men reported each family.

Q. What opinion of them did you derive from the reports?—A. They reported it bad in most every case. In some houses with only two or three rooms, there were ten or fifteen people together. They have no furniture and make their scanty beds on the floor, and all their general surroundings indicate poverty. One case of death in the southern part of the city occurred along in January. A family of nine—seven children and man and wife—had nothing at all except a pile of straw in a corner and one old comfort to cover them. One of the children was taken sick and died before they let it be known.

Q. Did you receive this as a report from your men?—A. Yes, sir; and I afterwards went down myself to see the destitution of those people.

Q. Did you take some steps to help them?—A. Yes, sir; we did.

Q. You are a Democrat?—A. I am not radical in any way. If I have any special friend in any way I vote for him, but I generally vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. What is your firm?—A. It is under the name of J. H. Russell & Co.

Q. You are pretty well mixed in politics?—A. No, sir; not particularly.

Q. What do think of there being a demand out there for these sort of people?—A. There is none whatever.

Q. Doesn't it seem to you, with your knowledge of their condition, a

shame and an outrage to encourage them to come out there?—A. Yes, sir; not only upon them, but upon the people—the tax-payers.

Q. Isn't it a great outrage upon the poor negroes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Isn't it a fact that there has been a large number of idle people in our State and actual suffering among them for want of employment during several years past?—A. Yes, sir; and old residents, too.

Q. Isn't it true that men in all kinds of business, even now, are being constantly applied to for work?—A. There is a surplus of labor in Marion County at all seasons of the year.

Q. And you know of no demand for farm labor?—A. Farmers complain of being applied to too much and of having to keep and feed men who come destitute and asking for work.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. I suppose you find the mortality in Indianapolis usually larger among poor people than others in the winter season?—A. Not in those months I mentioned.

Q. In what months do you have the most deaths?—A. We usually have them in June, July, and August, and in October and November.

Q. What are the causes?—A. They are the changes of the weather at that time of the year.

Q. Have you a poorer class there who are subject to more deaths in the winter than another?—A. The winter and poverty might increase the rate a little.

Q. There is such a class there as I have spoken of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think cold and hunger tend to increase the death rate?—A. My experience is that we have a larger death rate at other seasons of the year.

Q. Taking the poor—the paupers—don't you think the mortality is greater with that class in the winter time?—A. No, sir; I have had the contract for two years and I know our bills run up to larger amounts in the summer time.

Q. Isn't it true that the mortality is greater, as a rule, among the poor and destitute than among the well-to-do people who are able to attend to their sanitary condition and have physicians?—A. Those things might have effect upon the number.

Q. So you would expect to find among the poorer classes a greater number of deaths at any season?—A. Yes, sir; in proportion.

Q. You say you have buried twenty-five or thirty of these immigrants?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that the full number who have died?—A. I said since my attention was first called to the fact by my men that they were immigrants we were burying.

Q. Perhaps they mentioned it about the first case they had?—A. No, sir; not the very first, probably.

Q. You do not suppose there were many more than twenty-five?—A. There might have been three or four more.

Q. Possibly thirty, in all?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how many emigrants came to Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. There were a good many women and children among them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were all poor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they come as laborers in search of work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were any of them distributed among the farmers?—A. Yes, sir; there are a great many of them distributed.

Q. Do you know how they are doing—those who got work?—A. We

get reports that they are not doing very much. The people do not like them as laborers.

Q. Then Perry is about right when he thinks, for the negroes "Indiana is worse than hell"—or words to that effect?—A. No, sir; we don't think so.

Q. Haven't you heard that they find Indiana that sort of locality that Perry thinks it to be?—A. No, sir. Those who came there expected to find something great ready for them and were disappointed.

Q. They have been badly disappointed?—A. Yes, sir. We have plenty of men out there and no work for them.

Q. Do you find a general desire among them to get back?—A. A great many do, for the reason that they have been deceived in being brought there.

Q. Is there any general desire among the people to have this immigration increase?—A. No, sir; I think not, outside of the politicians.

Q. Who of the politicians do you think are at the bottom of it?—A. I think such men as John C. New and Martindale.

Q. They are leaders of the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir; but they stay in the background and use "Cy" Reynolds as a tool.

Q. How do you know that?—A. From conversations I have heard.

Q. Have you heard Mr. New say anything about it?—A. No, sir; I have not talked to him personally.

Q. What is the effect of this movement on public sentiment?—A. The public are against it, because these people are poor and have to live on the charity of the county.

Q. You think Mr. New would incur trouble with his party by doing this thing?—A. Not if he could stay in the background like he has.

Q. Don't you think the Republicans will find it out?—A. No, sir; not generally. I think some of them do know it, but have not the power to stop it.

Q. Who have not?—A. Those Republicans who are in active life.

Q. Nevertheless, you think they will resent it?—A. I think they will.

Q. You think he would do that knowing he would lose votes to his party?—A. I think he would.

Q. Then you think he is making a brilliant fool of himself?—A. I do not know as to that.

Q. You are a Democrat?—A. I am not a Radical.

Q. The Democrats are anxious that he should go on and do this thing?—A. No, sir; we are not.

Q. Yours is a pretty close State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have close and severe political fights there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think it is possible if the Democrats saw New and other leading Republicans doing things to injure their party these Democrats would want it done?—A. If it was a general thing it might do, but it is only done in certain localities.

Q. But they are anxious for it if it can be pretty well known?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. And you think this movement is going to hurt the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think the Democrats are willing to see the Republican party injured?—A. Well, sir, we don't like to have these people there on any terms.

Q. You have been paid over one hundred dollars for burying these people?—A. Yes, sir; about that.

Q. Do you think they are generally earning a living?—A. No, sir; I do not think they could live there at the wages they would receive.

They can live down South where the people understand them and live much better.

Q. Well, as I understand you, here is a movement that is directly to the injury of the Republican party, and yet you Democrats are opposed to it?—A. My idea is that the Democratic party is opposing it because it is to the injury of the tax-payers.

Q. Don't they want it kept up to injure the Republican party?—A. No, sir; I don't think so.

Q. They do not?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF SCOTT RAY.

SCOTT RAY was sworn, and testified as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Shelbyville, Ind.

Q. What is your profession?—A. I am a lawyer, and editor of the Shelby Democrat-Volunteer.

Q. Mr. Ray, you may state to this committee whether you know of any North Carolina emigrants coming into your county recently, under this emigration movement?—A. Yes, sir; some time this winter there was, I presume, 25 or 30 that came into Shelbyville.

Q. Are you advised of the purpose of this emigration, any farther than their coming to your county?—A. No, sir; I cannot say that I am directly.

Q. State what demand is there for the labor of these emigrants.—A. I think there is no demand there at all, for I think we have enough laborers there to supply all the demand—more, in fact, than is necessary to supply it.

Q. Do you know the condition and the employment of these emigrants at the time you came away from home?—A. The last I heard from them they were huddled together in a little hut on the side of the city, and living on the charity of the people, out of wood and with very little to eat.

Q. How many were in that house, did you understand?—A. I think all were there, or nearly all.

Q. Nearly all the 25?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many rooms were in that house?—A. I do not know, sir; it is a little cabin, and I think it has only one room.

Q. How are they being taken care of?—A. I think they were on the charity of the people there.

Q. Do you mean that sort which depends upon individual giving or upon public charity?—A. Individual charity.

Q. Then there has been no official charity extended to them yet?—A. No, sir.

Q. Those sort of people generally get into the poor-house, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; that is the result, I believe, generally.

Q. Under the laws of Indiana there is a county poor-house in each county, is there not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where those who cannot find employment, and have nothing to live on, can go?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What kind of people are those?—A. I think they are all women and children, except four or five.

Q. Have the men got employment?—A. They are trying to get em-

ployment about the town at sawing wood and doing the best they can at odd jobs.

Q. Before these people came was there any symptom or any talk of any movement to invite them to come to your place ?—A. No, sir; there was no invitation from any one in our town.

Q. Is there a Republican newspaper in your place ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is it called ?—A. The Republican.

Q. Has it discouraged their coming ?—A. No, sir; but rather encouraged it by holding out the impression that there was plenty of work to do, and all that.

Q. Mr. Ray, have you ever had any conversation with or heard him say anything about this matter—I mean the chairman of the Republican County Committee of Shelby County ?—A. Yes, sir; I had a conversation with Captain Byers. He has been the chairman of the Republican county committee until within the last few days.

Q. What is his name ?—A. Captain Henry S. Byers.

Q. You say he has been, up to within a few days, the chairman of the Republican county committee ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what conversation you had with him on the subject.—A. I had a conversation with him that day, which I reduced afterward to writing that same evening.

Q. Have you it with you ?—A. I believe I have.

Q. Will you please produce it ?

[The witness produced a paper.]

The CHAIRMAN. If you wish it, you can give it to the committee in the form as you have it there. Was he at that time the chairman of the county Republican committee ?

The WITNESS. I think they had appointed his successor on the Friday previous, and this was on the following Sunday evening.

Q. Captain Byers is a man of character and respectability, is he not ?—A. Yes; he is one of the leading Republicans of our county, and very generally esteemed.

Q. What is his age ?—A. I suppose 38 years.

Q. Did he ever hold any official position in your county ?—A. No, sir; not in our county.

Q. It is rather difficult for a Republican to hold office in your county, is it not ?—A. Yes, sir; our county is pretty solidly Democratic.

Q. Now, will you please read that paper.

The witness read the paper as follows:

"I had a conversation with Captain Henry S. Byers, ex-chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Shelby County, Ind., on Sunday night, January 25, 1880, in the city of Shelbyville, in the presence of Edward Small and George M. Goulding, two of the leading merchants of the city, in which Mr. Byers said: 'There is no disguising the fact, Ray; the exodus movement of the colored men to Indiana is a political movement of the Republican party, as I know it to be a fact. We intend to carry Indiana with the aid of the negro vote, and if the Republican party had taken my advice six years ago, they would have set the movement on foot and brought them here long ago. We intend to bring 8,000 of them into the State in time for them to vote this fall, and will place them in the close congressional districts and into the close counties of Indiana. While it is rather expensive, it is cheaper for the party than to be compelled to buy votes on the day of election, as we have always had to do.' I asked him if we was in a position to know whether it was an organized effort on the part of the Republican managers to bring them into the State for political purposes, and he said he

was, and then produced a letter with the heading of the Republican State central committee printed upon it, but refused to read its contents. I asked him if he had contributed any money for the purpose of bringing the negroes who had lately come into Shelby County, and he replied: 'Yes; I contributed all I was able to contribute.' Mr. Byers for several years has been one of the leading Republicans in Shelby County, and for several years has been its chairmen."

Q. Who was that made in the presence of, what parties?—A. Mr. George W. Goulding, a leading clothing merchant in our town, and Mr. Edward Small.

Q. What is Small's occupation?—A. He is a confectioner, and sells newspapers and cigars, and has been there for a number of years. Both of them are men of high character and standing.

Q. You say that Captain Byers produced a paper with the State central committee's printed heading on it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much of the letter did you see?—A. No more than the heading. When I asked him if he was in a position to know whether this was a Republican movement or not, he pulled the letter out and showed it to me, but he did not let me see the contents of it.

Q. But he was thereby making the impression upon you that he was in communication with headquarters upon this subject?—A. That was the impression I thought he intended to convey.

Q. How far is Shelbyville from Indianapolis?—A. Twenty-five miles.

Q. What do you know of the object of the coming of those negroes to Shelbyville?—A. When those negroes came to Shelbyville I met one of them, and he had a card, or a little slip of paper, with the name of a prominent Republican upon it.

Q. Who was that?—A. George M. Wright.

Q. Where did this negro tell you he came from?—A. From North Carolina.

Q. Where did he tell you he got Mr. Wright's name from?—A. He did not tell me.

Q. He came with this party of emigrants, did he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you talk with any of them besides him?—A. Yes, sir; I had a talk with some of the women the same day they got there.

Q. What is this about a mob or a riot in your town that we have heard of? There has been some talk here about it.—A. I was not there myself, but I took occasion to inform myself concerning it, and I ascertained that there was no mob and no riot, but there had been some outrages, and sensational reports had been sent to the Cincinnati Gazette and Indianapolis Journal concerning an alleged mob in Shelbyville; I suppose sent there for political effect.

Q. But there was, however, a strong feeling in the community against the coming of these emigrants?—A. Yes, sir; but it did not break out in the form of mobs or any other violence.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. So you think the negro can go to Indiana and exercise his political rights without being subjected to mob violence and the interference of the ku-klux?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Indiana is better in that respect for them than some parts of the South?—A. I do not know as to that.

Q. It is a fact, though, that the negro can go there and exercise his political rights?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As to this alleged riot, as you term it, in your town, Mr. Ray, please state what the circumstances were?—A. Well, sir, after this first

batch of negroes arrived at Shelbyville, word reached the city by telegraph from Cincinnati, that there was another car load coming to Shelbyville. Our folks were very indignant about it, and quite a number, probably 25 or more, went down to the depot to see who were coming, and how many got off at Shelbyville. That was the extent, and that was their intent, as I understand it.

Q. From whom did you understand it?—A. That was the information which I gathered from parties who were there, and who composed some of the best citizens of the place.

Q. And that you understood was the whole extent of their actions?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did any negroes come at that time?—A. I think there were some who passed through, but they did not stop; they were checked through to Indianapolis.

Q. There was no intention, then, among them to stop there?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. But the train stopped there, did it not?—A. Yes.

Q. Did these 15 or 20 citizens go in and look over these emigrants in the train?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. They simply went there and looked over the train, and stood around like other people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was not a very serious matter after all?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say that there was 15 or 20 of them that went down there?—A. Yes, sir; and among them were some very respectable people.

Q. You have with you here a written conversation between yourself and Captain Byers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I see that it is a very recent date, the 25th of January?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is pretty generally known out there that this investigation is going on here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it a matter of common knowledge to your people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you know that Captain Byers knows about it?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose so.

Q. And he knows that it has been charged here that this is a Republican movement?—A. Yes, sir; if he has been reading the newspapers, I suppose he does.

Q. Do you think that such facts as he told in that conversation would, if generally diffused through Indiana, help the Republican party very considerably? If it were known that the Republican party as individual politicians, or as a party, were raising money to bring colored people there to carry the State and swamp the Democratic party, what tendency do you think that information would have upon the prospects of the Republican party generally?—A. I think it would have a tendency to hurt the party.

Q. And especially when he can claim these people are poor, and not only curse citizens by coming, but curse the State?—A. Yes, sir; they are no benefit to the State.

Q. Now, Mr. Ray, as an intelligent man, do you think that Captain Byers would communicate to you facts like these, knowing you to be a Democrat?—A. Well, sir, the captain is a very frank man, and he often puts me in possession of facts about his party which I otherwise could not obtain. He has frequently given me information of that kind.

Q. Did you think, at the time you had this conversation, that you were going up as a witness before this committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you thought you would talk with him, and hear what he had

to say ?—A. I thought I would talk to him, and if he said anything that I thought important I would use it.

Q. And you secured that conversation and committed it to paper for use before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish to state here that I did not know anything of the paper whatever.

The WITNESS. No, sir; I never showed it to you.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. I see from your statement that this man says they were going to introduce 8,000 negroes into the State before the next election; now, how long a residence has a man got to have before he votes in Indiana ?

—A. Six months.

Q. The election is to occur next November ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And do you believe, as an intelligent man, that they are coming there ?—A. I do. There are 2,000 or 3,000 there now.

Q. Not all voters, are they ?—A. No, sir; they are not all voters.

Q. Perhaps three-fourths of them are women and children, are they not ?—A. No, sir; I think probably two thirds.

Q. The great mass of them, then, do not come there for the purpose of voting ?—A. Of course, the women and children cannot vote.

Q. Now, if the Republicans ever intend getting control of the State, don't you think they are acting very foolish to bring in three persons who are not voters in order to get one who can vote ?—A. I do not think the original intention was to bring these women into the State. I think they thought they would bring in the men, and it has since turned out that the men would not come unless the women and children accompanied them.

Q. And you think that they are really going to bring them in there ?—A. Yes, sir; I think they will get enough in there if they can.

Q. How many colored Republicans do you think they would have to bring into the State of Indiana to break up the Democratic majority ?—A. Eight or ten thousand.

Q. Then you do not think that this importation of voters is likely to cause much defection from the Republican party ?—A. I think it has a tendency to drive the poor white men from the Republican party into the Democratic party.

Q. What is the Democratic majority in the State on a popular vote ?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. It is pretty nearly even, is it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think it is more than 5,000 or 6,000 majority ?—A. I think it is about that.

Q. And you think the Republicans, between now and the 1st of May, are going to bring 8,000 colored Republicans there from other States for the purpose of carrying the State in the interest of the Republican party ?—A. I think they are going to bring them there and try it.

Q. And you base that statement on this statement of Byers ?—A. Yes, sir, partly; and this gentleman who is at the head of the emigrant society here in Washington, Mr. Holland, I believe, who testified, said he was going to enter into the movement with greater vigor, and send all the people he could to Indiana.

Q. Do you think that the Republicans there believe that there is a legitimate demand for the emigration of white and colored people to Indiana, and that they are glad to receive any emigrants who desire to come, and the negro being a natural Republican, they desire to have these men come more than any other ?—A. No, sir I think the Repub-

lican party is actuated by the very worst of motives in carrying out this scheme. I think they are bringing them into our State for a political purpose.

Q. Do you think they are bringing them in there for a political purpose?—A. Yes, sir; I think they would do almost anything.

Q. What, this party of high moral ideas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think these Republicans are doing this thing—paying the way of these negroes, and helping them along for six or eight months, from the very worst of motives?—A. I think it is for a political purpose, and I do not think it is done without any regard for the condition of the negro himself or his material welfare and benefit.

Q. Do you have any feeling against men coming in there and voting the Democratic ticket?—A. I would not object to it.

Q. You would not object, but you do not want them to come there, even if they vote the Democratic ticket, since there is a surfeit of labor, do you?—A. I think if a man wants to come into the State, and wants to vote the Democratic ticket, it is all right.

Q. And if a good Republican editor says he is willing for a man to come in there and voting the Republican ticket, how about that?—A. I think that is all right.

Q. Are you willing for the laboring people to come into the State—the poor people, even—if they vote the Democratic ticket?—A. I do not think they would do very well to come in there; as I say, the State is full of laboring people, sufficient to meet all the present demands.

Q. You mean until business starts again—that times are dull there?—A. Well, sir, we have got plenty of labor to do all that is required at all seasons of the year.

Q. Is it your opinion that Indiana has ceased to be a desirable State for people to emigrate to?—A. I said it in this way, that I think there is enough there to till the soil and supply all the present demand for workmen.

Q. Then, as a Democratic editor, if you were to write anything for publication in your paper on this subject, you would say to the laboring people of this country and the world, "Do not come to Indiana," would you not?—A. No, sir; I would not say that. If I was called upon to express my sentiments on the subject, I would express them just as I have done to you.

Q. Then, if you were an honest editor, would you not say that?—A. Well, sir, they could take their choice and chances.

Q. Is it not your duty as an editor and sentinel of the watch-tower of this journalistic Zion to tell these people all to come there?—A. No, sir; I do not think it is part of the duty of the press to do anything of that sort.

Q. It is against the interest of the people and tax-payers, and if it is to their interest not to have these people come, and to the interest of the people themselves to stay away, do you not think it is your duty to do that?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. These gentlemen, Small and Goulding, are both good Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; they are solid Democrats.

Q. Was this a prearranged conversation?—A. No, sir; it was not.

Q. Where was it held?—A. It was held in front of Mr. Small's place. Mr. Byers came up, or rather Mr. Goulding went in to get a cigar, and I suppose Byers came up to do the same thing.

Q. And you thought it was a good place to put your questions in?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you not think that he was hoodwinking you?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Well, Republicans are a pretty smart people out there, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; some of them are.

Q. Might it not be that in this case the biter was being bitten?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. He might have been fooling with you, though?—A. Well, sir, the captain was very serious in what he said.

Q. He looked like it, at any rate?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES E. BAKER.

JAMES E. BAKER was sworn and examined, as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your occupation, Mr. Baker?—Answer. I am land clerk in the auditor of state's office.

Q. Where?—A. Indianapolis.

Q. Mr. Baker, you may state if you have given some attention to this movement of colored people into our State.—A. I have, sir.

Q. About what time was your attention directed to it?—A. About the 18th of October, 1879.

Q. What directed your attention to it at that time?—A. There was a party who gave his name as Aaron W. Heath, who was brought to our office as the advance agent of the emigrants from North Carolina.

Q. A colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What sort of a colored man was he?—A. A real sharp, intelligent colored man; rather above the average, I thought.

Q. Do you know where he is now?—A. No, sir; I saw him last on the 23d of October.

Q. What did he come to your office for?—A. He came there for help. He took us for Republicans.

Q. Who came with him?—A. Mr. James C. Miller, assistant adjutant general.

Q. Did Miller play Republican on him?—A. Yes, sir; I think he did.

Q. Who else was there?—A. Miller and I and the darky. He gave us a statement of his mission there, which we wrote down and took to the clerk of the supreme court to be sworn to by him.

Q. How much conversation did you have with him before that was done?—A. Fully an hour. I spent pretty much a full day with him.

Q. Look at that (handing witness a paper) and see if that is the statement he made.—Yes, sir; that is the statement the darky gave us.

Senator VOORHEES, the chairman, read the statement, as follows:

STATE OF INDIANA,

Marion County, et. :

I, A. W. Heath, colored, aged 30, being a resident of Kingston, Lenoir County, North Carolina, being duly sworn, say that I left the place of my residence in September, 1879, and went to Washington, D. C., when I landed at Washington City October 1, 1879; and when I first landed at Washington I inquired for my aunt, Harriet Brooks, and found her, and staid there for one week, being sick. I then went to J. M. Adams, secretary of the emigrant society, 1333 V street, northwest, at Washington City, and he gave me transportation to Indianapolis. Mr. Hawkins, who stays on the second floor of the Treasury building, also advised me to come here. I think Mr. Adams said his home was here. Mr. Adams told me when I got here to apply to Dr. S. R. Elbert, at Indianapolis, Ind. I called on Dr. Elbert; he gave me but little satisfaction.

He advised me to get a job and go to work here. This did not satisfy me, for the number I was hunting homes for would not be benefited by my securing a job for myself. I think the whole colored population—in fact, as many as several hundred—desire to come. I represent a large body that want homes, and as soon as I get places found I am to inform Mr. Adams, and he is to send 10,000 pamphlets to Ohio and Indiana, stating the condition of the colored people. We have been instructed to get away from North Carolina by the 1st day of June next, so that the census may show us to belong in Indiana, and not in North Carolina, for if we are taken there the Democrats will elect the Congressmen, and our moving won't do us any good at all. I am a Republican, and always have been. I think some 400 or 500 voters from my own neighborhood are expecting to come. I met this morning in the city of Indianapolis a school teacher (colored) who told me to go and see Mr. Martindale. I went to his room, but he was not in. If I can't get location for myself and the families that want to come here, I am going to Kansas, even though I have to walk all the way.

A. W. HEATH.

Witnesses:

JAMES E. BAKER.

JAMES MILLER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 18th day of October, 1879.

GABRIEL SCHMUCK,
Clerk Supreme Court, Indiana.

Q. Did he write his own name?—A. Yes, sir; and that is his statement without any coloring, just as he made it.

Q. This statement was written out by whom?—A. By me.

Q. And read over to him?—A. Yes, sir; after we came to the clerk's office.

Q. And these interlineations were put in as he desired the changes made?—A. Yes, sir; he could read writing, and write himself.

Q. How long were you with him?—A. Nearly the whole day of Saturday, and then I was with him a while on Monday.

Q. This was on the 18th of October?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To whom of the prominent men of Indianapolis did you submit this statement when you got it?—A. When I got it in the evening I called together Governor Hendricks, Mr. Brown, William Henderson, W. W. Wooten, T. W. Wooten, attorney-general, and Joseph Nichol, of the leading Democrats of Indianapolis.

Q. You showed it to me, didn't you?—A. Yes, sir; and Senator McDonald was present.

Q. This affidavit was made and shown to Governor Hendricks before he made that speech about the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; that was the first affidavit captured in Indiana.

Q. This man went to Greencastle in a mail-car, did he not?—A. Yes, sir; I was there and saw him drop off. I was there as an advance agent to warn those people of his coming. I saw Mr. Lewman and we went down there to the train, and he (Heath) dropped out of the car. He had a six-quart bucket and an old carpet-bag.

Q. You saw the paper that Mr. Lewman has testified to, directing him to Rev. Mr. Clay and to Langsdale?—A. Yes, sir; I saw that. On the back of it was "Holloway, P. M." He dropped from the train and came up to Lewman and asked him if he would show him to the post-office, and Lewman said "yes," and that he kept the office. Heath did not recognize me, as I hid my face from him. I did not want him to see me there after having played such a trick on him in Indianapolis just a day or two before. So I kept in the background.

Q. What did he tell you about seeing Martindale in Indianapolis?—A. He was at the office on Monday and said he was going to see Martindale. I suppose the reason he came to our office was that I kept the land office and he had been told he could buy a great deal of land at one dollar and a quarter per acre, with four years to pay for it. He

said that he wanted to get homes for these colored people who were coming.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. How old a man was this Mr. Heath ?—A. I should judge between thirty and forty years of age.

Q. Was he a man of family himself ?—A. I did not see any family with him, or ask him about it.

Q. You say he was an intelligent man ?—A. Yes, sir ; really above the ordinary Northern darky.

Q. He told you his mission as you have stated it ?—A. Yes, sir ; and he regretted very much that Perry and Williams had gone away the day before.

Q. He was seeking, he said, to provide homes for his people ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What Republicans did he see about it ?—A. He saw Elbert and Martindale, as I understood.

Q. Did you direct him to any of them ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did Mr. Miller go with him ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think so.

Q. He said he wanted to find these various Republicans ; how did you divert him from finding those men ?—A. We did not do it.

Q. He wanted to see those men ; how did you prevent his following out his purpose ?—A. We did not prevent him.

Q. You persuaded him ?—A. We did not, at all. We were in conversation with him, and he thought he was in the hands of friends.

Q. How was that ?—A. We played Republican on him.

Q. In what way ?—A. We gave him the ordinary Republican side of the story.

Q. You and Miller both ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You talked with him all day ?—A. Yes, sir ; I did.

Q. And in your assumed capacity as Republicans you got this affidavit ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he thought you were Republicans ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he believes it to this day ?—A. No, sir. He found out differently before he got away.

Q. You are a Democrat ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it is the party of "reform," and all that ?—A. Yes, sir ; that is the reason I got that affidavit. My conscience is not smarting me about it at all.

Q. You say Heath was an intelligent man ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he state the reason why he wanted to bring these people to Indiana or Kansas ? Was he making any complaints ?—A. No, sir. All he said was that he was told they could get a house free, cow and calf, and winter's provisions for a laborer in Indiana, and could buy land at \$1.25 per acre and have four or five years to pay it in.

Q. He did not bring any of the families with him ?—A. No, sir.

Q. He came to spy out the land ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think he would make a reliable report to his people of the condition of things in Indiana ?—A. I do not know, sir, as to that.

Q. You do not think he would transmit false intelligence to his people who were depending upon him for the truth ?—A. I do not desire to express an opinion on it. I think he is an honorable colored man, so far as I know.

Q. Then, from at least one source, the colored people of the South would be apt to get a proper report ?—A. He did not dwell long in In-

diana. He went to Greencastle Monday night, and Tuesday morning, I understand, he was on his weary way to Kansas.

Q. And all the friends he found in Indiana were Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; until Monday, when he got into some Republican hands.

Q. Do you know where he is?—A. No, sir. I understand that at Greencastle they made up enough money to ship him to Saint Louis on his way to Kansas.

Q. Do you know where we can find him, probably?—A. No, sir; I have not seen him since the 23d of October. Then he was at Greencastle and went away the next day, I understand.

Q. He did not stay there to be buried by Mr. Russell, then?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF M. W. STACK.

M. W. STACK was sworn and examined, as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Stack, where do you reside?—Answer. Terre Haute, Ind.

Q. What do you do there?—A. I am chief of police of the city of Terre Haute.

Q. Have you noticed these colored folks coming in there from North Carolina?—A. I have, sir; most of them.

Q. What is their condition, generally?—A. They are very destitute, the most of those whom I have seen.

Q. What part of them have gotten employment since they reached there?—A. Very few of them have gotten anything to do, and those who have have not retained it.

Q. Why is that; if you can state it?—A. I know from several sources of four or five who had been employed, and in two or three days after had been discharged, and who have had no employment since. I know of others who sought employment for several weeks and who have not been able to find it. Eight or ten of them, perhaps more, have gotten work.

Q. Do you think, from your intimate knowledge of the laboring classes in Terre Haute, that there is any demand for this destitute labor there?—A. Not at the present time.

Q. None at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Isn't it a fact that we have many people there who are out of work and cannot get it?—A. I think I could to-day command two hundred men at one day's notice in Terre Haute. I could get that many in twenty-four hours for any kind of work.

Q. And at pretty low wages?—A. Yes, indeed.

Q. How is it out in the country?—A. My knowledge of affairs in the country leads me to think there is nothing doing at this season to cause a demand for this labor. Those who are already there are doing nothing.

Q. What provision has been made for those emigrants who are not employed? How are they living?—A. There are a few of them who have had a little money, so one of them explained to me, and they rented a house. There are two others who have been there for some two months or more, one of whom has bought property and got a home there. These others are scattered around among the colored people where they live,

and some others have gone to a colored settlement five or six miles in the country.

Q. To Lost Creek ?—A. Yes, sir; to Lost Creek.

Q. How did those old settled negroes take this influx of new ones ?—

A. In conversation with them, they say they do not like it.

Senator BLAIR. We have no questions for the witness.

On motion, the committee thereupon adjourned to Thursday, February 12, 1880, at 10.30 a. m.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Thursday February 12, 1880.*

The committee met, pursuant to order, at 10.30 a. m., and proceeded with the examination of witnesses.

Present, the chairman and all the members.

TESTIMONY OF HUGHES EAST.

HUGHES EAST was sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. East ?—Answer. At Indianapolis, Ind.

Q. How long have you lived in Indianapolis ?—A. Nearly five years; will be on the first of May.

Q. Where did you live before that ?—A. At Bloomfield, seventy-five miles west of Indianapolis.

Q. Are you a native of Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir,

Q. Have you lived all your life in the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What has been your business ?—A. Since I have been in Indianapolis ?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I have been a grain and provision dealer.

Q. Now, before you went to Indianapolis ?—A. A few years before I left Bloomfield I was in the live-stock trade, and had some warehouses on the railroad, and dealt in pork. Before that I was a county officer.

Q. Has your attention been called in any way to the arrival of North Carolina negroes in our State recently ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had any talk with them ?—A. I have had more or less conversation with some half dozen or more of them.

Q. Look at that paper (handing a paper to witness) and see if you can identify it.—A. Yes, sir; I recognize it.

Q. What is it ?—A. It is a statement made by one Silas Isler, a colored man, whom I chanced to meet in the auditor's office in Indianapolis.

Q. How came he to make it ?—A. He came in with one or two others, in company with a young man from the Sentinel, and said he wanted to make a statement, and I wrote this out just as he wanted it.

Q. Did he approach you on the subject, or you him ?—A. I went down to the office to attend a meeting of citizens to invite Parnell to Indianapolis. I went into the auditor's office, and soon after these men came in there. I had seen one of them before probably, but not this gentleman who made the statement.

Q. Who was it brought them there ?—A. A young man named Tarkington, I think, introduced these boys to General Manson and myself, and to perhaps one or two others. He introduced the subject, I think,

himself, saying the boys wanted to make a statement in reference to their situation; that they were out of money and needed relief.

Q. How old was Isler?—A. Some twenty-two or twenty-three years old.

Q. What degree of intelligence did he show?—A. About the ordinary degree for a colored man in Indiana.

Q. Who wrote that statement?—A. I did.

Q. Did you read it over to him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you write what he told you?—A. Yes, sir, as near as I could gather his ideas and embody them in language.

Q. You may read that statement to the committee.

The witness read as follows:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *January 10, 1880.*

I, Silas Isler, of Lenoir County, North Carolina, make the following statement: I am from the State of North Carolina, Lenoir County. I left home about five weeks ago with my father and mother, leaving my wife and child there. I lived with Mr. Alfred Canady, near La Grange, say four miles. I was induced to come to Indiana by the representations made by Sam. Perry and Peter Williams, both Republicans, who said there was plenty of work in Indiana. That men would hire us as soon as we arrived, right from the train, and pay us from \$1.50 to \$3 a day. That 400 or 500 houses were ready for us, all furnished for us, and we could get land at \$1 to \$1.50 per acre on seven years' time in any quantity to suit us, and that the women folks could get from \$20 to \$25 per month. I paid my way here from money made in picking cotton, and father and mother sold three cows, and horse and buggy, and corn and fodder, and all in the house but their beds, to get money to come on. I have only made since I come on five dollars, at 40 cents a day, and it is hard for father and me to make enough to live on in the plainest and cheapest way. We were better off in Carolina, and want to go back. They told us Indiana was Democratic, and they wanted us to vote the Republican ticket, for the Democrats "were using the offices for fraud and corruption." And Mr. Perry said, "We must all be Republicans; we want no Democrat negroes in the party going to Indiana; we want all the party to be strong hearted Republicans," and the people would take care of us. I was well treated in North Carolina, and so was everybody who behaved themselves, both white and black.

his
SILAS X ISLER.
mark.

Witnesses to signature:
J. C. TARKINGTON.
HUGHES EAST.

Q. Who attest that paper?—A. Mr. Tarkington and myself, but it was made in the presence, also, of General Manson, auditor of State.

Q. See whether you recognize that paper (handing another paper to witness).—A. Yes, sir; this is the statement made by Mr. Williams.

Q. What is his name?—A. Lewis Williams.

Q. Where was it made?—A. The same afternoon, and in the same building. He was an older man than Isler, and a man of some intelligence.

The CHAIRMAN. Please read that statement to the committee.

The Witness read as follows:

INDIANAPOLIS, *January 10, 1880.*

Lewis Williams, from Lenoir County, North Carolina, makes the following statement:

I, Lewis Williams, of my own free will, make the following statement: I am from the State of North Carolina, Lenoir County. I left my home in North Carolina about five weeks ago. I was induced to leave North Carolina by representations made by Sam. Perry and Peter Williams, both Republicans, and one or two others, who were also Republicans. These men said there was plenty of work in Indiana; that men would be ready to hire the immigrants as soon as they arrived, right from the train, and pay them from \$2 to \$3 per day for farming and for such other work as the men

could do. That there were at least 500 houses waiting for them all furnished and ready to receive them, and that provisions would be furnished for six or seven months gratuitously. That land would be furnished in such tracts as the immigrants might want, and that from six to seven years to pay for it in would be given, and that these lands could be had at from \$1 to \$1.50 per acre; and that women as cooks, chamber-maids, and house servants, could get from \$20 to \$25 per month. All of those representations I have found to be untrue. There is no demand for labor, no lands for sale at the prices named, and no such wages as I was promised are paid. In four weeks I have been able to earn \$8. I paid my own way to Indiana, but about three-fifths of the immigrants could not pay their way from Washington, and had to have it paid for them by parties in Washington, and were destitute of comfortable clothing, and when they arrived were in a suffering condition. The immigrants were told that they must vote the Republican ticket when they arrived in Indiana, because the Democrats had used their offices for fraud and corruption. We were told by Perry and Williams that we must all be Republicans; we want no Democrat negroes in the party, and they want all the negroes to be valiant-hearted Republicans. I was induced to believe the representations made by Peter Williams because he is my cousin. My observation leads me to believe that the colored people who have come from North Carolina to Indiana are far worse off than they were in North Carolina. Since I have been in Indiana I have met a good many Republicans, white and colored, and have been uniformly told that the State of Indiana is Democratic, and that the colored immigrants would be expected to vote the Republican ticket. These Republicans have told me that now, being in Indiana, I was a free man and could vote as I please, but I was as free in North Carolina as I am in Indiana. I am a married man and have a wife and two children to support, who are with me. While in Washington I was led to believe from conversation with white and colored people that the money raised to forward the destitute negroes to Indiana was furnished entirely by Republicans, and I know positively that in North Carolina no Democrat in any way helped to entice us from our homes, but advised us to stay, for they were certain we should be deceived. I am personally acquainted with Governor Vance, now United States Senator from North Carolina, and if he were in Indianapolis to-day he would shake hands with me as quick as he would with any man in the State, and I am willing to refer to him as to my character.

his
LEWIS x WILLIAMS.
mark.

Witness to signature:
JESSE C. TARKINGTON.

Q. You say he was a man of more than ordinary intelligence?—A. Yes, sir; he impressed me as a right sprightly colored man.

Q. Did you read that over to him?—A. No, sir; I did not. It is not written in my hand. It was written in the same room at the time, and the intelligence he evinced makes it certain he understood it.

Q. That seems to be a copy?—A. I do not know as to that. The original ought to be here, I think. I did not see him write it, but I had a talk with this man myself.

Q. Did he tell you he had made such a statement?—A. I do not recollect that he did. I told him what I had heard of it, and he said it was a truthful statement.

Q. What did these men say about getting away from Indiana?—A. That was the burden of their talk. They were very much discouraged, and evidently in need of aid. Indianapolis is a charitable place, but the great number of these people made it hard to furnish them with anything. They were praying to get home, and said if we would get them to Washington they would walk home.

Q. Have you seen many of them since they came there?—A. Yes, sir; not to communicate with many of them, but I have seen them passing on the street; passing our board of trade on their way from the depot up to the quarters where they were taken care of.

Q. Do you know how those who are not employed are living now?—A. Very few of them have any money, as I am informed by reading the colored paper there. They have a standing committee of colored people to look after these folks, and I understand they make an effort to take care of them.

Q. Mr. East, do you regard yourself well informed as to whether there is a demand in Indiana for more laborers than we already have? —A. I think I am reasonably informed on that point.

Q. State your conclusions in regard to it?—A. I am sorry to have to state that Indiana has a great many worthy poor people now who cannot get employment in her borders.

Q. They are no small number?—A. They are a great number.

Q. Isn't that fact forced upon the attention of the people every day? —A. Yes, sir; of course. If a man is not so cold that none can approach him he hears these appeals for employment every day, coming from worthy men.

Q. Isn't it true that worthy men and women are searching for employment daily to earn bread and clothing?—A. I think that has been true every year for several years past.

Q. And been especially so since the crash in 1873?—A. Probably for a year or so it wasn't so great, but it had to come, and there has been a great deal of suffering since. There has been some little improvement for the last year.

Q. But there is still enough suffering to give everybody serious concern?—A. Yes, sir; I have appeal after appeal to get men places and cannot do it.

Q. From your intimate knowledge of the situation, is not this immigration, however induced or caused, the greatest crime against these poor colored people that you have ever witnessed?—A. I think it is cruel to the colored men—woefully so. I live in the northern part of the city, on Illinois street, where these colored people are quartered. I took a stroll with a Republican friend one day just to look at them, and the scene was pitiable.

Q. How were they living?—A. They were lying about the church floor, which a fire made comfortable, and the colored people and some white people were trying to help them.

Q. How many of them were there?—A. I could not say.

Q. Any number?—A. A considerable number.

Q. Men, women, and children living there all together?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Eating and sleeping there?—A. I did not see them eating, but I think something to eat is brought there to them.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Where are these two witnesses, Isler and Lewis Williams?—A. I think they are there yet. I had not seen them for a day or two before I left, but I think they are there.

Q. Were these statements of theirs sworn to?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?—A. Well, sir, nothing was said about their swearing to them.

Q. They were brought in there by this attaché of the Democratic Sentinel to get their testimony?—A. No, sir; I do not know anything of the kind, sir.

Q. Why did you take the statement?—A. Because I was glad to reduce it to writing in view of what was going on here.

Q. You did it for use here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why didn't you reduce it to the form of an affidavit?—A. I would ask the question whether an affidavit would be admissible? I know that in a court of record it would not be.

Q. I would like to have you explain more fully to the committee that while preparing the paper you thought it would be more likely to be received as evidence if not sworn than if it was?—A. I do not say I

thought so. I took it simply because I wanted to remember and have this committee remember what these men had said in case they were called here as witnesses.

Q. Do you know why you were summoned instead of those men ?—A. I do not think Senator Voorhees knew I had those papers when he summoned me.

Q. Who were present when this statement was gotten ?—A. General Manson, auditor of State, and Mr. Maynard.

Q. Is Maynard a Democrat ?—A. A Democrat ; yes, sir.

Q. Who else was there ?—A. This young man Tarkington.

Q. You three Democrats were there when you first heard that these men were to make statements ?—A. I did not hear it.

Q. Who first introduced them ?—A. I think young Tarkington introduced them.

Q. Why did they come to you ?—A. They did not come to me. I was there and met them.

Q. Could this colored man read ?—A. I do not know. He said he could not write, and I read it all over to him.

Q. You do not know whether the other man could read or not ?—A. No, sir. And in answer to your question why they were not brought here as witnesses I will state that it was not my province to bring anybody. They were anxious to get here, and I would have brought them if I could.

Q. These affidavits were taken at the same time ?—A. Those are statements, not affidavits. Yes, sir ; they were made the same afternoon.

Q. You say you have heard a good many say that if they could only get to Washington they would walk back home ?—A. Yes, sir ; those two are not the only ones I spoke of.

Q. Who else ?—A. Peter Drew is another. His statement is here, I believe, though I did not see him make it. Another party made a statement to which he was qualified in the Sentinel office, some days after. I believe those four are the only ones I have heard express a wish to come back.

Q. How many were in that building you visited ?—A. That church-building ? I did not count them.

Q. How long had they been there ?—A. I do not remember that.

Q. Were not they a very recent arrival ?—A. I do not think they had been there but a few days.

Q. Was that the receiving room for them ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think it was regarded for a while as the place for them.

Q. That is where the colored residents were taking care of them ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I think the trustees refused them permission to go into the church any more.

Q. That was the last arrival ?—A. The last arrival, I think, remained in the depot. I think the Independent News stated they were still in the Union Depot when I left, and their leaders were loud in their indignation.

Q. You spoke of the condition of these people as "pitiable ;" do not both Democrats and Republicans contribute alike to their relief ?—A. I do not know much as to the condition of this particular charity.

Q. I speak now of this particular charity.—A. I think they do ; but there is some prejudice against these people.

Q. Do you think it is such as to keep a humane person from helping people in their pitiable condition ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you heard anybody speak of it?—A. I heard General Manson say he had exhausted all his pocket change on them.

Q. How much change was that?—A. Some five or six dollars, I think. I heard Holloway say he had sent them a barrel of pork; also five dollars for their support.

Q. And General Manson gave them money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is a Democratic official?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Holloway, a Republican official?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you infer because Republicans gave them help and support, the exodus is therefore a political movement?—A. No, sir; I have not said any such thing.

Q. Do you infer because Republicans gave to them as charity, the movement is still a political one?—A. I think the Republicans and Democrats alike, in Indiana, will give to people whom they know to be suffering.

Q. But not for political purposes?—A. The Democrats and Republicans out there give pretty liberally for political purposes in Indiana also.

Q. Are the Republicans more liberal generally in such matters than the Democrats?—A. I have no idea that the Republicans are more liberal just now to these people than the Democrats, though the Republicans rather encourage it, and ask the people to come there.

Q. Are not the Republicans more friendly, as a rule, to the colored people than Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I think they may be.

Q. They manifest the same feeling now toward them as before the exodus?—A. No, sir; I do not think their sympathy goes so far as to be wholly removed from the hope of political advantage from the exodus.

Q. Tell us why you think so?—A. I see the county of Marion, the county in which Indianapolis is located, the colored men have the balance of power, but the Republicans use them, and hardly ever give them any of the offices. They ask for office but never get it. The Republicans are very kind in their expressions, treat them nicely at election times, appoint some on the police, perhaps, but when it comes to the offices they do not give them any.

Q. Do the Democrats give them a chance at the offices?—A. We nominated one named Christie for an office, but he was beaten by the Republicans and their hostility to him.

Q. Do you know of any movement by Democrats from Indiana to North Carolina, in consequence of this exodus?—A. No, sir; I think there is none.

Q. Have you any information in regard to the importation of white people and voters across the line from Kentucky into Indiana?—A. I have this information: I read in this Independent News, a colored paper, where the editor took to task the editor of another paper for stating that this exodus movement ought to be counteracted by the importation of whites across the line; that the Democrats have the advantage now, and it would be a good thing to keep it.

Q. It was rebuking the Democrats for that proposition?—A. No, sir; it was giving us a warning.

Q. Do you know that this hue and cry was raised against these poor negroes in order to divert attention from and cover the importation of white Democratic voters?—A. No, sir; I do not think there is a word of truth in the statement.

Q. It has been reported as true to me?—A. Some men might have said that, but I do not know of any particle of truth in it.

Q. You said, I believe, that there is some improvement in affairs in Indiana the past year?—A. Yes, sir; some.

Q. Is it very great?—A. Yes, sir; that might not be too strong to say that it is great, because the depression before that was very great.

TESTIMONY OF GEN. M. D. MANSON.

Gen. M. D. MANSON was sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. General Manson, where do you reside?—Answer. Indianapolis.

Q. How long have you lived in Indiana?—A. About thirty-eight years, sir.

Q. Where did you reside before going to Indianapolis?—A. At Crawfordsville.

Q. What circumstance made you change your residence?—A. I was elected auditor of State, and I removed to the capital.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Since last April.

Q. You are auditor of State at this time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you serve in the lower house of Congress?—A. I served during the Forty-second Congress.

Q. I believe you likewise served during the war somewhere else?—A. I went into the military service the next day after Fort Sumpter was fired upon, and I resigned, on account of a wound received in service, December, 1864.

Q. Do you regard your acquaintance in Indiana as large and thorough as that of most men?—A. I have a general acquaintance over the State.

Q. Has your attention been arrested by this immigration of colored people into our State from North Carolina during the past few months?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What first attracted your attention and caused you to give it any notice?—A. I saw notices in the newspapers of a contemplated migration of negroes from the South, but the first I knew of it actually was when this man Heath, of whom Mr. Baker spoke in his testimony, was in our office. That was about the 20th of October. I do not think there was any general movement of them into the State until November, and they have been coming regular ever since.

Q. Have you noticed them on their arrival?—A. Yes, sir. For the first few weeks the immigrants went up Illinois and Meridian streets; Illinois street goes up from the west end of the depot. Since that they have changed their tactics and go up Tennessee street. The State offices are on that street—corner of Washington and Tennessee streets. Quite a number of these folks were passing by about three weeks ago, and some of the boys on the street called at them and attracted some attention. I stepped to the door and asked what was the matter. One of the immigrants shook his finger over and said: "God damn you, we will show you after the next election whether you will holler at us."

Q. He seemed to know there was to be an election?—A. Yes, sir; and he was going to show those fellows at the State-house not to "holler" at them.

Q. Who was conducting them?—A. I do not know. They had guns with them; there was one gun about every fifteen feet in the squad.

Q. How many of them were men ?—A. Less than half of them were men.

Q. They were men, women, and children ?—A. Men, women, and children.

Q. How many of them were there ?—A. A pretty large body of them.

Q. Have any of these people been about your office and the State-house ?—A. There have been a great many of them about there.

Q. What appears to be their reason for coming there about the State officers ?—A. They seemed to think the State officers would send them back home from Indiana to get rid of their votes.

Q. The State offices are filled by Democrats, are they not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these people came there to get sent back home ?—A. Some of them have an idea that there is a fund there to be used to help them.

Q. What did you tell them on that subject ?—A. I said we had no fund, and that the Democratic party, nor I, had anything to do with bringing them into the State, and we would do nothing to send them out of it.

Q. Were you present when Isler and Williams made their statements ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they dictate them ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they say about swearing to them ?—A. They offered to swear to them but there was no officer in the building who could administer an oath. I do not think I could, because while I had the right to do so in certain matters of State, I do not think I could in other things. They would have been sworn, but there was no notary or the clerk of the supreme court there.

Q. Now, general, on this subject of charity—what is your experience on that subject ?—A. Well, I think nearly every one who came to the office and said he was in a destitute condition got something. I know Governor Williams has been exceedingly kind to them.

Q. Hardly a day passes, does it, that they do not get something out of him ?—A. I know his office is next to mine, and that none ask him without getting it.

Q. They are in a miserable, destitute condition, are they not ?—A. Yes, sir; the most of them, but some of them are in good condition. This man Williams, who made the statement, had money enough to pay his way to Indianapolis and had five dollars at the time. He had understood that Martindale made a statement to a newspaper reporter that the Republicans would furnish them with money or work. He went to see him, and when Martindale came into the office he asked him for money or work. Martindale asked him what he followed; he said "farming," and Martindale asked why he did not go to the country and get work. He replied that he had been all around Indianapolis for a distance of ten miles and could get neither.

Q. Did the judge (Martindale) promise him any money ?—A. No, sir; he did not give him any, or promise him any. The man said it would take seventy-five dollars to get himself and family back.

Q. What is your general opinion of the prospects at this time of negro laborers from the South, or laborers from anywhere else, coming to our State to better their condition ?—A. I do not believe that the colored people can benefit themselves by coming to Indiana. While it is a liberal State, the people have never looked very liberally on the colored people. When the present constitution was adopted, there was a clause (No. 13) to prohibit colored immigration. Although the general con-

stitution was only adopted by 20,000 votes, that clause was adopted by 80,000!

Q. Is it not true that while the school law is general on its face, it is almost a dead letter, because the people do not like mixed schools?—A. It was so at first, but I think, to some extent, that is dying out. I know of colored children going into schools, where there are not colored schools in proper distance. In Indianapolis we have a very fine colored school.

Q. Now, tell us, in your opinion (and nobody is better able to tell), whether there is a demand for labor, aside from the race of the laborers, at this time in Indiana?—A. There is not a demand for foreign labor at this time. There could be much more used than is there if it only brought capital with it. It takes capital to create such a demand. We have vast stone quarries and mines of coal to open, but it takes capital to manage that.

Q. Is there any idle labor in Indiana?—A. There is idle labor, and has been much of it for the last two years. I know a competent engineer, by the name of Scanlan, who has been many years employed in and about Indianapolis, and who has been exceedingly anxious to get a place in the new asylum building. He said he was destitute, and finally offered to work for board for himself and wife. He has been so pressed that I know Adjutant General Russ went around and raised money to pay his rent. I do not know whether he is in Indianapolis yet, or not.

Q. Is not your attention constantly called to people who are wanting work?—A. There is a great desire for something to do in Indianapolis.

Q. It has been sought to represent here that the people of Indiana are hostile to immigration. Do you know of any hostility there to the coming of any except paupers who become objects of charity? Is there any hostility to any man coming there who can support himself?—A. None, whatever. The people of Indiana gladly welcome all immigrants from all countries who can support themselves; but they are not satisfied to have paupers of any country, north or south, Europe or Asia, brought into the State and dumped upon them.

Q. We have a law against that, have we not?—A. I am not a lawyer, and I do not know as to that.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. The representations made here by witnesses from North Carolina, black and white, are to the effect that a common field-hand there averages, for the best hands, ten dollars per month, with rations, a house to live in, with firewood free, and the ordinary garden patches; and that women and children get from five dollars up to seven, eight, and nine dollars per month; now, I ask you if common farm labor is any better paid in Indiana?—A. No, sir; it is not, taking the year around. The ordinary price of labor, with board, is fifteen or sixteen dollars a month during the cropping season, running from the time they commence plowing for corn on until the oats are harvested. Almost anywhere that the farmers are gathering corn, they do it by paying by the bushel. I have had some gathered myself that way.

Q. How many hands do the farmers employ according to the acres of land they cultivate?—A. There are few farmers who have many hands all the year around. The best of our farmers employ three or four all the time during the cropping season. Nearly all the time else, they have no more than one or two.

Q. Suppose a man is employed at fifteen and sixteen dollars a month, and all that; has he a house and so on, as I described awhile ago?—A.

No, sir. The most of the laborers are young men, or they take something in the shape of land to work.

Q. These wages, then, include only board ?—A. Yes, sir ; and washing.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You think it is a lack of capital rather than a surplus of labor that makes the demand for laborers light in Indiana ?—A. Yes, sir. We could employ more labor if we had more capital.

Q. Indiana is not a poor State, is it ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there not a good deal of accumulated capital in the State ?—A. I cannot say that there is. There are a number of people pretty well off in most of the counties ; but the people generally are not rich.

Q. You say your people have no hostility to those who can support themselves ?—A. Yes, sir ; I say so.

Q. And you are willing to have people come there who have muscle ?—A. Yes, sir ; the people are willing and anxious to have people come in there who can make a living, either by labor or the use of capital.

Q. Do not the majority of the people who make an honest living do so by muscle ?—A. Yes, sir, I suppose so, if you throw out these fellows who hang around the capitol.

Q. Do you mean the capitol of Indiana ?—A. No, sir ; I mean here—the carpet-baggers.

Q. Are you opposed to people coming to Indiana who bring their honest muscle and willing hearts, seeking to make a decent living ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are not these people from North Carolina of that class ?—A. I do not know ; it remains to be seen whether they are or are not.

Q. Are not these people able to make their way in the world if they are given a fair chance ?—A. I do not know, sir, as there is much prospect of it when we have to run them into a poor-house as soon as they come there.

Q. Do not they come there with muscle ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did not you say that a man who had no money had better stay away ?—A. I said if he had to go into a poor-house as soon as he got there he had better and ought to stay away.

Q. Your conclusion is, then, that the immigrant ought to have money before he comes there ?—A. I think they ought to have money enough to support themselves until they can get work.

Q. Your judgment is if they do not have money enough to support themselves they had better stay away ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What would you reply to the Irishmen who are flying from famine and oppression, if they should come to Indiana ?—A. The Irishman can generally take care of himself.

Q. He generally votes the Democratic ticket, does he not ?—A. Sometimes he does.

Q. You think if two or three hundred Irishmen were to come in there the Democrats would not “kick,” or would they ?—A. I do not think they would put on mourning. They have been very valuable citizens to Indiana, in the making of canals and building railroads.

Q. Do you think your people would object to any more of them coming in there ?—A. I do not think they would try to bring them, and I do not think they would object if they did come, my dear Senator.

Q. Have you ever heard of a number of people coming into Indiana from Kentucky, about election time ?—A. Yes, sir—in Republican newspapers.

Q. Did you ever hear of any Democrats protesting against it?—A. No, sir; I do not suppose they thought it was necessary to notice that charge. Our idea is that that charge is made as a counter-irritant.

Q. I am told that your charge as to the negroes is made as a counter-irritant to the one about the people from Kentucky?—A. I never heard of any such charge against the Democratic party, but I have heard that the Republicans have brought negroes over from Kentucky time and again.

Q. You stated that the colored men Isler and Williams dictated every word in those statements?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think they were pretty intelligent men?—A. Yes, sir; but I have no doubt Mr. Maynard and Mr. East, who are scholars, changed the grammar somewhat.

Q. You say they dictated every word?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, we will let that drop there?—A. Yes, sir; we will let it drop.

Mr. WINDOM. It was somewhat remarkable was the reason I spoke so closely of it.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; these are remarkable times.

Q. Well, this man Heath—when did you meet him?—A. How did you get the information that I met him?

Mr. WINDOM. I was told so.

The WITNESS. I said that I did not see him at all.

Q. Did anybody telegraph to Lewman that this man was coming to Greencastle?—A. There was no such telegram sent to my knowledge.

Q. Was not a messenger sent there?—A. There was.

Q. Who sent him?—A. I sent him.

Q. How came you to send him?—A. I understood that Heath was in close consultation with Holloway and Denny and was going there to Greencastle to see the postmaster and make arrangements to import the darkeys; so I sent Mr. Baker to go and inform Lewman and Mattison of it.

Q. Did you hear he had made an affidavit?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear what it was?—A. I had heard that he said the object was to get the negroes out of North Carolina in time not to be enumerated in the census, and into Indiana in time to be counted there.

Q. Who told you that?—A. My clerk.

Q. The one who made the writing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What directions did you give to this clerk as the body-guard of Heath?—A. He was not a body-guard.

Q. Well, forerunner?—A. Yes, sir; forerunner. I wanted him to go before and give the glad tidings to the Democracy of Putnam County.

Q. What did you tell him?—A. I am sorry, my dear Senator, but I cannot tell you now.

Q. Well, the substance of it?—A. I think I said to go and tell them that this man was coming, and that there was a scheme to import negroes into their midst.

Q. Did you tell him they were coming?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that he (Heath) was the advance agent?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not tell Lewman how to palm himself off on this fellow as a Republican?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not tell them down there how to receive him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know how they did receive him?—A. Only as I have heard of it.

Q. This man whom you sent was the same one who had taken the statement from Heath?—A. Yes, sir; the same man.

Q. Did he tell you when he returned that he had communicated with Lewman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he tell you that Lewman told the man he (L.) was postmaster?—A. He said they met him at the depot; but I do not think he said that Lewman told him he was postmaster.

Q. Did he tell you of the conference between Lewman and Heath?—A. I think he left on the early train next morning.

Q. What did he report to you?—A. He reported that the darkey had got there and had been received by Lewman; but I cannot remember all that he said.

Q. What do you think, anyhow, of that conspiracy to cheat this poor darkey?—A. Well, I did not consider it of enough importance to think about.

Q. You thought it important enough to send a man ahead of him?—A. I thought it important enough to send a clerk to Greencastle, and he came back and said the fellow had gotten there.

Q. Cannot you remember anything more that he said?—A. Well, he stated that Lewman met the man, and Lewman told me afterwards that he did meet him and had gotten the papers, or whatever papers he had with him, from him.

Q. Did your clerk see the papers?—A. No, sir; but I have seen them since.

Q. What did Lewman tell you he told the man?—A. I do not remember.

Q. Did not he think it was a pretty good joke that he had deceived the negro and made him think he (Lewman) was a Republican?—A. He never told me that.

Q. He swore to it here?—A. He told me he took him to a hotel.

Q. Do you know of any one playing a trick on one of these men in your office and making believe he was a Republican?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. You heard your clerk and other witnesses make the statement yesterday?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect that in their testimony they said they played Republican on a darkey and got this statement out of him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You heard your clerk say he kept out of his (Heath's) sight at Greencastle, because he had played such a joke on him at Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir. There are several offices in the auditor's department, and I am in the back part of the building and do not see the clerks always.

Q. I want to ask generally about how many there were in that squad which passed up by the State-house?—A. It would be nothing but a guess, and I would not pretend to say it would be correct.

Q. Give us an idea?—A. Well, I should judge, from the space they occupied, there must have been seventy-five.

Q. And you think less than half of them were voters?—A. I think there were not one-half who were.

Q. Do you think one-fourth were?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the nature of the calls made to them from the State-house?—A. I do not know. I was at my desk, but there was a good deal of laughing from some of the young men on the sidewalk. They had been talking to them, I think.

Q. Were they making sport of them?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Do you think it was emigrant himself who made that remark you

quoted ?—A. It was a man in the crowd, near the middle of the procession.

Q. It was a little political jeering between the two parties ?—A. I did not suppose so until this man made this remark, and then I supposed he thought he was coming to Indiana to vote.

Q. Those were Democratic clerks who were about ?—A. There were Democratic clerks in the door, but I do not know whether these people on the sidewalks were Democrats or not.

Q. May it not have been Democratic negroes who answered back ?—A. There are not many of that kind, and I do not think they would answer back that way at the State-house.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Will you give your reasons for believing that the negroes will be better off in the South than in the North ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If you please ?—A. I believe that in the Southern States, where the negroes were raised in the same community with the whites, the whites are kinder to them than they are in the Northern States where they have not mixed so intimately together as in the Southern States. It seems to me they can do better in their old homes than in strange States like Ohio and Indiana. When I was in New Orleans in 1876—in November—there were some thirty or forty negroes there, of the most intelligent class, who called upon the gentlemen from the Northern States. In talking with them I asked them why it was so many negroes voted the Democratic ticket. One of them said that they were naturally Republicans, and they looked to it as the party that freed and enfranchised them ; that they had no quarrel with the Republican party of the country, but that carpet-bag rule in Louisiana was intolerable ; that it had confiscated twenty millions of dollars of their property. Major Bascom who was there (an Ohio man) said he was at the election in East Feliciana Parish, and he never saw a quieter one. The electioneering was done mostly by negroes. There was a Tilden and Hendricks club of twelve or thirteen hundred members, and Governor Wickliffe headed the ticket, to whom the people, black and white, all feel kind. I think the people of the South like them ; they elect them to office, while such a thing as electing a colored man to office is unknown in the North, except in one case—the city of Cincinnati. There a very respectable colored gentleman, named Williams, was elected. There was an exciting election and a long ticket, but there were twenty-six hundred Republicans who stopped and took time to read the ticket and scratch his name.

Q. Did he fall that far behind the vote, or the vote of his party ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. When was that election in East Feliciana to which you referred ?—A. In 1876.

Q. I suppose you have never heard of any bulldozing or anything of that kind in Louisiana ?—A. I am surprised that you should ask me that.

Q. You have heard of it then ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You do not believe much of it ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any troubles down there now ?—A. Not much since they got rid of the carpet-bag rule.

Q. A good many of them have left there in the last few years ?—A. I do not know.

Q. You think the great curse of the country is carpet-bag rule ?—A. Yes, sir ; I emphatically think so.

Q. You do not believe any of those stories of bulldozing?—A. I do not believe much of it.

Q. You do not believe in "tissue ballots" either?—A. I have one, I think, from South Carolina that is called a "pudding ticket"—a Republican ticket.

Q. How are they fixed?—A. White men fix them and the negroes vote them.

Q. Do you justify the use of tissue ballots?—A. I do not know anything about the use of them. White men in the South, I suppose, are the same as in Minnesota. You like to carry your elections and so do they.

Q. We do not like to carry our elections by stuffing ballot-boxes.—A. We do not know about that. I have not been up there to see. Indiana does not do it, and still we like to carry the elections, and when we elect men we like to have them put in, and not counted out.

Q. You do not count out in Indiana?—A. No, sir; we do not count out anybody. We do not believe in the processes of Kellogg and the returning-board in Louisiana.

Q. And never stuff ballot-boxes?—A. The Democrats often protest against the Republicans stuffing the ballot-boxes, but I never heard of the Democrats stuffing any.

Q. And you do not approve of bulldozing, I presume?

The WITNESS. What is bulldozing?

Mr. WINDOM. It is going out with shot-guns, red shirts, rifles, and clubs, and riding around at night, killing and murdering people on account of their politics.

The WITNESS. Do you find that definition in Webster's Dictionary?

Mr. WINDOM. I am giving you my definition.

The WITNESS. I will say this, that I know of nothing of the kind, except as I have heard it produced here in Congress.

Q. (By Mr. WINDOM.) And what do you think of it, as thus produced?—A. I think they produced what is not true.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Do you understand that twenty-six hundred Republicans scratched the name of Williams in Cincinnati?—A. Yes, sir; that is my information.

Q. Do you think they were Republicans?—A. I do not know of any Democrats voting that ticket.

Q. How do you know that this falling off of his vote was due to his color?—A. He was represented to be the most respectable man on his ticket, and the falling off was therefore on account of his color, I suppose.

Q. What is your authority for making that statement—that "he was the most respectable man on his ticket"?—A. I make it from seeing it in the newspapers at the time and since. I do not know that any newspaper said it in so many words, but from what they said of him and the others with him, I judged so for myself.

Q. Why did you judge so?—A. I can give you no special reasons, except that I judged from my reading about him.

Q. Where did you read anything about him?—A. The Cincinnati Enquirer said before the election that he was going to be scratched, and all the papers said nevertheless he was a man of high character.

Q. The Enquirer is a Democratic paper?—A. Yes, sir; but there were notices of the case in all the other papers. I read the Enquirer more than the others.

Q. You saw some notices of the fact in other papers, though?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All the information you have on the subject you got from newspapers?—A. Yes, sir; and from politicians.

Q. Do not you know that he was scratched on account of his character, and that it was charged upon him that he got money here in Washington by swindling, and the colored men scratched him on that account?—A. No, sir; I never heard of that.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, that is the charge that was made against him.

The CHAIRMAN. I am well acquainted with that canvas, and I say I never heard of it any time or any where till now.

The witness was thereupon discharged.

STATEMENT BY O. S. B. WALL.

O. S. B. WALL arose and said: Mr. Chairman, I desire to make a statement upon that last point about Mr. Williams. Mr. Williams came here to this city and stopped here awhile to establish a newspaper. He wanted to get subscriptions, and Mr. Douglass, Mr. Langston, and myself gave subscriptions. He went off and took the subscriptions in his pocket. It was talked of freely, and I talked of it in Cincinnati when I was there in the convention to nominate Hayes, and I have heard it was talked about to him (Williams).

Q. (By the Chairman.) You think that accounts for his running behind his ticket?—A. I don't know, sir; I think it might have had an effect of that kind.

Adjourned to Friday, February 13, 1880, at 10.30 a. m.

TESTIMONY OF HUGHES EAST.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 13, 1880.*

Committee met pursuant to adjournment and proceeded to take testimony as follows:

Present, Senator Voorhees, chairman; also Senators Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

HUGHES EAST was recalled by the chairman.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. East, have you any extracts from Republican newspapers on that subject?—Answer. Do you mean as to the emigration?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I have a few extracts from some of the newspapers.

Q. From what papers?—A. From the Indianapolis Leader, the colored organ there, and some extracts from the Vincennes Commercial. Here is one from the Commercial:

The colored people from the South who want work can get it in Indiana. Let them come with a boom.

Another one:

We believe that the negroes have a right, under the circumstances, to come to Indiana; and we hope they will come in such numbers as to redeem the State from Democratic rule.

Q. What sort of paper is that?—A. That is a white paper.

Q. What sort of paper is the Leader?—A. The Leader is a Republican paper.

Q. What do you know of the manner in which a certain sum of money was being raised to bring a number of emigrants to Indiana who had been stopped here for want of means?—A. I have a statement here that about one hundred and fifty of these people were here in this city, unable to proceed. It is an extract from a letter of Mr. O. S. B. Wall, president of the Emigrant Aid Society. He says:

We have about exhausted the resources of the charitable. These people have no sympathy with the exodus, as they are rebel sympathizers. We have hopes that the State of Indiana will help us.

Yours,

O. S. B. WALL.

That was published in the Leader, the colored organ at Indianapolis. Soon after that a dispatch was sent to have credited to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad \$625, and these negroes would come on. I am informed that the money was raised. The matter of raising the money was placed in the hands of a committee; and Mr. Wood, who is here, and who was a member of that committee, told me yesterday that the money was raised and the men came on.

Q. Does Mr. Wood know how the money was raised?—A. Yes, sir; he said Mr. Bagby had more to do with the matter than he had.

Q. That is all you know of the money branch of the case?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard a few other things, but that is about all.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You do not know anything about the raising of any money yourself?—A. No, sir; I did not help raise it, but I understood that it was raised.

Q. Where?—A. In Indianapolis.

Q. How much?—A. Enough to bring the men.

Q. What men?—A. This party that were here?

Q. You have simply heard that it was raised?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know of anybody in Indiana who was supposed to have assisted in raising it?—A. That is all I know about it.

TESTIMONY OF L. C. MORRIS.

L. C. MORRIS was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Morris, where do you reside?—Answer. In Indianapolis.

Q. What do you do there?—A. I am a railroad passenger agent.

Q. Of what firm are you a member?—A. I am connected with Morris & Mills.

Q. How long have you lived in Indianapolis?—A. I have lived in Indianapolis five years; I was raised near there.

Q. How do you describe your business?—A. As a railroad passenger agent, to solicit emigration business.

Q. Are you employed by the railroads?—Yes, sir; all of them.

Q. Then you are in the railroad business?—A. No, sir, I am not; nor am I in that part of the firm of Morris & Mills.

Q. Mr. Morris, state to us what you know of money being raised to send negroes to Greencastle by Mr. Reynolds.—A. I learned that there was a party coming through, and I was interested in having them come

over the Vandalia road. I found that Reynolds had something to do with it, and I said to him that I wanted them to go that way. I wanted him to give me the numbers of the tickets; he said he would give them to me and he did so.

Q. How many tickets did he give you the numbers of?—A. Of twenty-seven tickets.

Q. He gave you the numbers and he gave you the tickets?—A. No, sir; I asked him to give me the tickets and their numbers. It was necessary to show up the business over the lines of road; and that was the only way in which we could do it.

Q. Do you think you were instrumental in getting them to go over that road?—A. I hoped to be so.

Q. I mean did you get them to go, or did Reynolds get them?—A. Well, sir, I was talking to Perry and others to go over that road, and Reynolds did not seem to care which way they went. I tried to influence them to go over that road and they went.

Q. Mr. Morris, what number of tickets did he furnish you?—A. He did not furnish me the tickets; he furnished me the numbers of twenty-seven full tickets.

Q. Where did he get those tickets?—A. He purchased them there at the Union depot.

Q. He bought them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. With his own money?—A. I do not know, sir, where the money came from. I saw him at the window, and afterward he came and gave me the numbers.

Q. He is the railroad transfer mail agent there, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Employed under the government?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you don't know whether he was buying those tickets with his own money or somebody else's?—A. No, sir.

Q. He did not tell you?—A. Nothing was said about the money part of it.

Q. And you did not feel sufficient curiosity to inquire?—A. No, sir; we had only a few moments' conversation.

Q. All you wanted, I suppose, was for the Vandalia Road to carry the passengers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What conversation did you have with anybody with regard to where the money was raised to enable Perry and Williams to come back to Washington City?—A. I think the first I knew of it was when the money was produced to get the tickets. It was handed to me, and I procured their tickets, checked their baggage, and they started East.

Q. Who handed it to you?—A. My brother, V. K. Morris.

Q. What was said at the time?—A. Nothing was said at the time; but a few days afterward, in our uptown office, I got an idea that the money was handed to him or to Mr. Mills, either by Perry himself or by Colonel Jordan.

Q. Colonel Jordan is register in bankruptcy, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Perry and Williams were returning here on this business—to bring more emigrants?—A. That is the understanding, as I learned. They had not their railroad arrangements fully made at that time.

Q. They were railroad agents, and were returning here for that purpose?—A. I suppose that is what they were coming for.

Q. You understood that it became necessary for them to return to Washington?—A. Their object was to return to Washington, and to North Carolina, but to stop here and take the Pennsylvania Railroad. I sent for the Baltimore and Ohio agent, who makes his office with me,

and he got there in time to telegraph here to send them on to Baltimore, which was done.

Q. You understood that they were to return here on emigrant business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that money was furnished to help them on in it?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Money was furnished them to come to Washington?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State whether you ever had any communication with or from any member of the State Central Republican Committee, or anybody employed by them, on the subject of this emigration business.—A. I do not know certainly; I believe there was a gentleman who clerks there, who came down and inquired of me how much it would cost to send these people to Greencastle and Terre Haute.

Q. What was his name?—A. J. W. Horton.

Q. You say he clerks for the State Central Republican Committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a full clerk there?—A. I think he is a deputy clerk.

Q. Well, he is employed there anyway?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he made inquiry to know what it would cost to send these people to Greencastle and Terre Haute?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that before or after this lot was sent?—A. It was before.

Q. Did you tell him?—A. Yes, sir; I gave him the rate.

Q. Did he make a memorandum of it?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. Did the conversation between you stop there?—A. No, sir; we talked on in a general way as to the number that were coming, and all that.

Q. What did he say?—A. He asked how many I thought had gone out, and how many would come. That was about the substance of it.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. How many colored people have come to Indiana in this exodus movement?—A. I am not aware, but I should judge some seven or eight hundred.

Q. What has become of them?—A. They are distributed around among the counties near to our county.

Q. Among what kind of people?—A. Among Republicans.

Q. I mean, are they among farmers or manufacturers?—A. Farmers principally, if not wholly.

Q. Have they pretty generally found employment?—A. Mr. Perry stopped there at my office pretty generally, and he told me they had done so, and so did others.

Q. To what extent have they been employed?—A. I do not know as to them all; I know but few of them personally; there are only a few who have employment that I know personally.

Q. Do you understand that they have pretty generally found employment, and will get along, or are they in a church out there starving, as has been stated here?—A. My understanding is that they went away into the country mostly and were provided for.

Q. Are there any of them who are in the church now?—A. I am not aware of any who are in the church.

Q. You think that those in the State outside of the church are doing well?—A. I have heard of some exceptions, but generally I think they are doing as well as could be expected, considering how they came there.

Q. Did you say that there are none in the church there now?—A. I am not able to say; there are none who are out of employment that I know of personally, except those in the church.

Q. How many are at that church ?—A. I could not say, but I should infer there must have been over a hundred at the time I left. Eighty-seven came in at one time, and there were some children who were not enumerated.

Q. That is their headquarters ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is sort of like the emigrant headquarters, I presume, in New York City ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are the arrivals continuing ?—A. The parties are not so numerous as they were, and there are not so many in the parties when they arrive now.

Q. Do you know of any expected increase in the numbers arriving ?—A. I do not.

Q. Do the Republicans and others generally expect any increasing influx of them ?—A. I do not know anything about that.

Q. What are the chances for the Republicans carrying the State if the people get there before the first of May ?—A. I do not think that will be dependent upon these colored people.

Q. You do not think that the Republicans are dependent on these people to carry the State ?—A. I do not think they are.

Q. Do you know of any more who are to come ?—A. No, sir ; I am not aware of any.

Q. Then the contributions that were made, if any were made by Republicans, were for the purpose of taking care of these people there who were suffering ? And then you know of the payment for those twenty-seven tickets to Greencastle ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not that in the nature of a charity ?—A. I suppose so, as they had to be supported somewhere.

Q. Either there or in Indianapolis ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I do not know where the money came from.

Q. I asked you if the use of that money to send these people to Greencastle was not really a charity ?—A. I do not know whether they had any money or not ; I think some of them had ; one man, I heard, had \$1,200 and another had a large sum of money.

Q. What was the object of buying tickets for these people if they could buy them themselves ?—A. I understood they bought the tickets for the poor and needy.

Q. Then it was a charity ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not a fair inference that the buying of these twenty-seven tickets under the circumstances was a charitable act ?—A. Yes, sir ; it was if they were needy and could not buy them themselves.

Q. So far as you are concerned you acted entirely in a business way ?—A. Yes, sir ; entirely.

Q. You did not act for political reasons ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You spoke of a clerk at the Republican committee headquarters ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say that he talked to you ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you talk with Democrats ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then you did not mean to say that he connected the Republican party with this movement, because he talked to you ?—A. No, sir ; I did not mean to be so understood. I do not connect the conversation with the central committee at all.

Q. So far as you know and believe, is the exodus of the southern negroes a political movement ?—A. Originally I think it was not.

Q. What is it now ?—A. I think it is.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. In speaking of Mr. Horton, you only meant to state the fact that

a deputy clerk of the Republican State central committee of Indiana came down to you and asked you how much it would cost to send these people to Greencastle and Terre Haute?—A. I meant to say that Mr. Horton came up only as a gentleman who knew me and asked me that question.

Q. You think he left his clerkship behind when he came to you?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. He did not tell you so, did he?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are about the depot most of the time, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I have a copy of the Indianapolis News, of the 31st of January, 1880. Is that a respectable paper?—A. I believe it is; it often says things, however, that I do not agree with.

Q. It is the evening paper, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I see an article here wherein it says that "the party of negroes which arrived here last night are still in the waiting room at the depot," &c.; is that the party you referred to as arriving? Or do you remember of a crowd being huddled up there for two or three days?—A. Yes, sir; I think there was a crowd came in there, and staid several days. But if they remained longer than Saturday I did not know it.

F. A. ARNOLD, sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. Greencastle, Ind.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a newspaper publisher.

Q. Of what paper?—A. The Star.

Q. Have you given some attention to this emigration of colored people into your county?—A. Well, my attention was first called to it by articles published in the paper called The Banner, published in our town, perhaps at the beginning of the summer, and I felt some interest in the matter; looked after it a little in a business way; made some inquiries in regard to it, and accidentally heard that circulars had been printed in our town and sent to the South encouraging this emigration. I endeavored for some time to obtain a copy, but failed. I believe the first copy of the circular that I ever read was furnished me by the sheriff of our county, Mr. Lewman, probably in December. They had been printed as early as June, if I remember aright.

Q. Here are the articles which have been produced before the committee.—A. I understand that you have them here in evidence.

Q. I have a statement here, which appears to have been published in your paper, which I would like you to look at and see if you identify it as true of your own personal knowledge? (Handing witness a paper.)—A. (Examining.) Yes, sir; this is an interview with some of those colored people who called at my office, and obtained money to go home with.

Q. An interview with whom?—A. Well, there were four of those colored people from North Carolina, and a man by the name of McMerick was rather the brighter of the four, and he was spokesman for them.

Q. Were they talking with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is their conversation faithfully reported in that article?—A. Yes, sir; the substance of it. It is not in their dialect.

Q. I wish you would read that article.—A. This interview was on the first Monday in December, if I remember aright, and the weather was rather cold.

We were going to Kansas, but circulars were sent to our country from Greencastle,

Indiana, saying we could get good houses there. Our delegates Perry, and Williams, both of whom are teachers and preachers, came back and told us that there was houses here for 10,000 colored people or more. They said that the people of Putnam County would furnish work for the colored people at \$15 and \$25 a month, cow and calf, garden, and wood to burn. I arrived; have no home furnished me, and "boss" says he can't do anything more for us. I have a family in South Carolina, and telegraphed them not to come. In the South I can make a better living than I can here, and not freezing to death. We have nothing to wear but the clothes we have on; no underclothing; no overcoats; no warm shoes or stockings, and no money. The men that telegraphed back to Carolina want to go there, where they have work, homes, and warm weather. I seen the circulars from Greencastle that were sent asking us to come up here. Massa Langsdale took charge of us at Indianapolis and brought us to Greencastle. In the South we got \$7 to \$8 a month, house to live in, and ground to raise garden stuff, corn, potatoes, &c., and an extra acre or two sometimes; and the women can work there, too, in the fields and help support the children. They promised to pay our way back if we did not like it here, but they won't keep their promises; won't give us homes, nor send us home.

The other darkies in the party seconded McMerrick's story all the way through, and wished for a chance to take the back track.

The Saturday afternoon previously, a number of these colored people had gone to Vandalia depot, and had made up a pony-purse to carry them back to North Carolina.

Q. Were they soliciting money from you to help them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether they succeeded in raising money enough to carry them back?—A. Well, I think not; when they came to my office they had a written petition soliciting contributions. I think, perhaps, they had a dollar or two subscribed. A few days afterwards, one of my country correspondents wrote me that four colored persons, answering the description of the men who had been at my office, were tramping eastward, with the intention of going back to North Carolina—as he termed it, kicking sand.

Q. Did you have other interviews with others of these emigrants?—A. Well, I do not remember any. I may have had casual interviews with them—talking with them on the street. Nothing of importance, however.

Q. What do you say on the subject as to whether there is a demand for labor for the emigrants in Putnam County?—A. I do not believe there is any demand for it. I think there is more labor in our county than there is capital to employ it. We have much spare land, but no means to work it. Men have to subsist while they work it.

Q. Have you observed whether any of these emigrants are out of employment?—A. Many of them are out of employment. I see them standing on the street corners. I do not know how many. I have in my pocket a copy of The Banner, the paper which first encouraged this movement, containing a correspondence from Fillmore, situated in the township east of us, in which the correspondent says—I do not remember the exact language—the paragraph is this:

Wheat is in a fine condition now. Corn ground is very scarce; a great many are unable to secure what they would like to put in corn.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. What is the date of that?—A. The 29th of January. I have received it since I have been here.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Is there any other point, Mr. Arnold, on which you wish to be heard in regard to this subject?—A. I do not know of anything special.

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL GEORGE W. RUSS.

General GEORGE W. RUSS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. You may state your name and residence.—Answer. George W. Russ ; Indianapolis, Ind.

Q. What is your profession ?—A. I am adjutant general of the State.

Q. State whether you have given any attention to the emigration that has taken place of colored people into our State from North Carolina.—A. I have, since I learned of the fact that negroes were being brought into the State.

Q. I will ask you whether your acquaintance with the neighboring people of Indianapolis and Marion Counties, and the parts thereabout is general and full, or otherwise ?—A. I am quite well acquainted with the laboring classes in our city and elsewhere over the State.

Q. What do you say as to whether there is a demand for labor that would call an emigration there at this time ?—A. I do not think there is any demand at this time that would demand destitute people of any color or class.

Q. You think there is no demand for laborers in our State, even though they were willing to work ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is it not true that we have a great many idle people there who are disposed to work and cannot get it ?—A. A great many ; I have seen a great many.

Q. Have you looked into the question of the employment of these emigrants since their arrival ?—A. I only know what they have told me when they called at my office.

Q. What have they told you ?—A. There have been a great many at my office who said they failed in getting employment. Resident colored men have also called on me and denounced the movement, stating that there was no occasion for colored people coming there ; that is, people in their condition, their financial condition.

Q. You mean by that that the resident colored people are opposed to this emigration ?—A. Some of them are.

Q. There are politicians among the colored people as well as amongst the white people, are there not ?—A. Yes, sir ; some pretty shrewd ones.

Q. Well, how is it on that point ? Do the colored politicians oppose or favor this emigration ?—A. I think, Senator, with few exceptions they oppose it.

Q. Who do you rank as the leading politicians of the colored folks at Indianapolis ?—A. Dr. S. A. Elbert, Moses K. Broyles, James S. Hinton, and R. B. Bagby.

Q. You named Dr. Elbert, Bagby, Hinton, and Broyles ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, what is their position on this exodus of their race from North Carolina ?—A. I think, with the exception of Bagby, the others whom I have named are doing all they can to assist this emigration.

Q. To promote it ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. That is, the leaders of the colored people there ?—A. Yes, sir ; with the exception of R. B. Bagby. I suppose he objects.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You misunderstand me or I you. I asked you whether the leading politicians of the colored people of Indianapolis were in favor of or opposed to it ?—A. I said with a few exceptions. I named all the ex-

ceptions and the leading politicians. I answered you, and said that I thought those whom I have named were in favor of it except Bagby, and he is opposed to it.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. So that your statement is that the colored politicians are opposed to the exodus ?—A. No, sir ; I have named the colored politicians. Did you ask me for the colored politicians ?

Q. I said the colored politicians.—A. I thought you said the colored population. I would have to answer that the majority of them are. They seem to be.

Q. Hinton is quite a leading man ?—A. Yes, sir ; about the only colored man who got a place under the Republican party while they were in power in our State, the only one who got a place of any prominence.

Q. Now, if I understood you correctly, the politicians of the colored race are disposed to favor this movement, while the body of their people are not as favorably inclined to it ?—A. I think the large majority of the colored people of our city are opposed to it.

Q. It is taxing their charity to the utmost, is it not ?—A. They are complaining bitterly.

Q. Do they complain upon that point ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have they talked to you in regard to it ?—A. Yes, sir ; a great many of them or quite a number.

Q. Well, how do they put their complaint ?—A. They say that they are a poor people, they have too little to live upon themselves, and to tax them with providing houses and sustenance for the emigrants is more than they can afford.

Q. How do those colored people now residents at Indianapolis—I ask for information—how do they account for this avalanche in their midst of their colored brethren from North Carolina ?—A. A great many of them seem to be anxious to know the cause and ask me such questions, if I knew. I tell them I do not ; I only had an opinion. Others have expressed opinions as to the cause.

Q. Do they in any respect look upon it as a political fraud ?—A. Some of them do. One colored man, quite an intelligent man among them, has been quite independent in his politics, but is classed as a Republican, told me that he was a member of the relief committee appointed at a meeting of the colored people ; that they had a suspicion that other parties were operating in this, that is, that they were interested in bringing the parties there and proposed making this committee responsible for their relief or protection while they were there, and consequently responsible for any suffering. They appointed James S. Hinton, so he informed me, who was a member of the relief committee, to visit the Republican State central committee room, to learn, if possible, if there was any other arrangement that they were not aware of. The information that Hinton reported to the committee was that at the State central committee rooms he was informed that Mr. Byrom, Hinton, and McKay were acting for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. My attention was diverted for a moment.

The WITNESS. This relief committee appointed James S. Hinton to visit the Republican State central committee rooms, and learn, if possible, if anything was being done that this committee was not aware of, any moneys that they were collecting that they were not handling. He informed me that Hinton reported to the committee that he was informed at the Republican State central committee rooms that Mr. Byrom, of In-

dianapolis, and Captain McKay, were acting for the State central committee.

Q. Byrom and McKay, who are they?—A. They are both city councilmen—prominent men in our State.

Q. What color are they?—A. White.

Q. What is the color of their politics?—A. They are Republicans?

Q. What were Byrom and McKay doing in these movements?—A. This committee were informed—so he told me—by Byrom and McKay, that Moses K. Broyles, colored, and S. A. Elbert, also colored, were handling the funds. They notified both Byrom and McKay—so he informed me—that they refused to act longer for other colored men who were handling the money collected.

Q. Now what money was he alluding to that was collected?—A. That I do not know. I am only giving you the information that he furnished me. This committee appointed by the colored people refused to act longer as a relief committee unless they had the handling of the funds, the money collected, or the money used. This colored man who told me said he would not act no longer on a relief committee if they had to bear the burden, and if they could not use the funds they refused to act longer.

Q. Have you any objection to giving the name of your informant?—A. W. H. Woods.

Q. General, if you have an opinion that this is a political movement on the part of certain prominent Republicans in Indiana to get colored voters in there to control elections with, you may give the reasons that have led you to such a conclusion?—A. At first, Senator, I did not think it was a political movement; I thought it was got up by colored men to make money from the railroad companies, but from what I have learned since, and conversations that I have had with white and colored Republicans, I have changed my opinion, and am now of the opinion that it was a political movement at that time.

Q. Well, are there any points that you desire to give as bearing upon your change of opinion, and as causing it?—A. In conversation with different parties who came into the office, invariably I found Republican politicians favoring it. I saw a subscription list for the purpose that had been taken around by a colored man, upon which were the names of the prominent Republicans of our city, subscribing from \$5 to \$10 each—I believe \$10.50; and I have failed to see the name of any Democrat. I asked this gentleman why he did not call upon Democrats, and he said that he had instructions not to do so.

Q. Did a good many colored men talk with you?—A. Permit me to say that I am considered quite a friend of theirs in Indianapolis. I was on Mr. Hinton's bond when he was State commissioner, and I have done a good deal of work for them. I have helped and labored, and I suffer for it to-day.

Q. So that there is not a very marked hostility between you and the colored people of Indianapolis?—A. No, there is not.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. They helped a little in preserving the Union in the late unpleasantness?—A. I have always been of the opinion, Senator, and it was my opinion then, that we could have had all the honor of putting down the rebellion without their assistance.

Senator BLAIR. Very likely; I do not want to interrupt the examination.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say they came and talked with you, general; did not all of

the emigrants come and talk with you on this subject?—A. Yes, sir; there have been several in there begging money.

Q. How did they seem to be pleased with their new homes?—A. Some seemed to be very much displeased; some seemed to be very anxious to get back to their old places.

Q. Recurring again to its political character, have you ever seen a Republican newspaper oppose this emigration or advise against it?—A. I have not.

Q. Is it not true that where they do not directly encourage it, they abuse the Democrats for opposing it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There used to be an old term applied to the Democratic party, charging it with sympathizing with the rebellion; how would that term describe the attitude, in your opinion, of the Republican party in encouraging the emigration of the colored people into the State of Indiana, taking the principles of the leading men of the town and the conversation among them as to the immigration of North Carolina negroes into our State; that is to say, do they not, as a general rule, sympathize with the movement?—A. I think, Senator, that the sympathies of the Republicans in Indiana with this movement are much stronger, much more universal, than were the Democratic sympathies for the Confederate cause.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I have not a doubt of it.

Senator WINDOM. He is stating it pretty strong.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I hold in my hand a paper that it seems to me I have not seen before, the Indianapolis Journal, dated Saturday, February 12. It is a paper that has just been laid down before me; consequently, you and I cannot be charged with having concocted the production of this testimony, because you have not seen it, nor have I, and I have not had time to read the whole article. You identify this as the Indianapolis Journal of February 12?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. An article headed, "Our colored citizens; a meeting at the Colored Baptist Church last night. What has been done by the North Carolinians, and where the help came from." It is a long article, and states how the amount was raised and how it has been expended, as follows :

The mass meeting held at the Second Baptist Church (colored) last night to consider the workings of the relief societies among the colored immigrants was well attended. Rev. Moses Broyles presided. The business of the evening was the report of the Emigrant Aid Society. At the close of the meeting Mr. Burley, of Bloomington, Ind., engaged several of the immigrants to go to Monroe County to work on farms. The following is the report of the committee :

"On Wednesday evening, December 3, 1879, a meeting was held in the lecture room of the Second Baptist Church to organize an aid or relief society to care for the colored emigrants, as we learned that some of them were on their way here from North Carolina, and that they would arrive here destitute. After the preliminary organization of the meeting, the object of the same being stated, on motion it was voted that a society be organized to-night for the purpose of helping and caring for those people when they arrive here, similar to and in co-operation with the relief society which was organized at the A. M. E. Church November 21. It was further resolved that the organization be known as the Christian Emigration Aid Society, Rev. Moses Broyles, president; Rev. Wm. Singleton, vice-president; Mr. G. W. Prince, secretary; Mr. Conrad Burley, corresponding secretary; and Rev. J. R. Raynor, treasurer, with the other three Baptist ministers, viz: N. Simons, Thomas Smith, and C. C. Wilson, honorary officers, as they brought their churches into the organization. The society organized with the representatives from the six colored Baptist churches of this city. There was also an executive committee appointed to co-operate with the other officers of the society, consisting of two members from each church, Messrs. R. B. Turner and B. Rankins, of the Second Church; Messrs. Jesse McCrochlin and Thomas Pentacost, of the Mount Zion Church; Messrs. Wesley Jackson and Stephen Williams, of the New

Bethel Church; Messrs. David Tucker and Wm. Whitehead, of the Olivet Church; Messrs. Siah Russell and Solomon Moss, of the Tabernacle Church; Messrs. Thomas Durham and Charles Williams, of the Calvary. All these officers and ministers constitute the executive board of the organization. This board has been holding weekly meetings since that time, and appointing sub-committees to meet the people at the depot, and see that they are cared for. On the night of December 4 eighty-seven immigrants arrived. Although fifty had gone on to Greencastle several weeks previously, these eighty-seven were the first who stopped at Indianapolis. Although the arrival of these found our society without money or provisions, the churches, committee, and ministers sent provisions to them, and a committee of ladies prepared a nice breakfast the morning of December 5, and our committee went to the committee of the relief society of the Vermont Street Church and informed them that we were prepared to take care of half of those people who arrived. Accordingly they were divided, half of the emigrants remaining at the Vermont Street A. M. E. Church and half came to the Second Baptist Church. From that time up to Christmas, there arrived in the city 460 emigrants from North Carolina. These were about equally divided between the two societies, who were about equally efficient in providing and finding them homes and employment. About the 20th of December, the people taken care of by the relief society at the A. M. E. Church were removed to the Blackford Street Zion Methodist Church. December 24 the Christian Emigrant Aid Society rented the hall on the corner of California and Pratt streets and removed the people from the lecture room of the Second Baptist Church to that place, where those who have arrived since have been temporarily quartered until they found homes and employment. About that time the relief society ceased entirely to meet and call for the emigrants as they arrived in the city. The two hundred who arrived on New Year's eve were provided and cared for by the Christian Emigrant Aid Society. Six hundred and twenty-five emigrants have arrived since the relief society ceased to help them in any way. This burden has since that entirely fallen upon the Christian Emigrant Aid Society. Since that time this society has had an average of from twenty-five to two hundred emigrants. This has been very heavy upon this society, the members of which are all poor. As before stated, the society was without money when the first emigrants arrived. The churches and committees brought in provisions abundantly for the people for the first few days. Then the churches commenced holding prayer meetings among the emigrants. As they (the emigrants) were good revival singers and prayers, many people came to hear them. At the close of these meetings we lifted collections, all of which amounted to \$50. About the same valuation in provisions were given by the churches and friends, so that up to the 17th of December we had collected through the six churches \$50 in money and \$50 worth of provisions and clothing. On the evening of 17th December the board met, and seeing that the churches were unable to support the emigrants who were abundantly coming, appointed a soliciting committee to go out into the city and collect money and provisions. The soliciting committee consisted of Mr. Conrad Burley, Rev. J. R. Raynor, Rev. Anderson Simmons, Rev. Wm. Singleton, Rev. Moses Broyles, Rev. E. C. Wilson, and Rev. Thos. Smith.

This committee has collected in money.....	\$246 85
Money raised by the churches.....	50 00

Total raised.....	296 85
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Which has been expended as follows:

To 2 months' house rent.....	\$12 00
To 5 stoves for emigrants.....	23 14
To cooking and washing things.....	3 50
To carpenter work and materials.....	5 14
To washing and other help.....	3 50
To lamp-oil.....	4 40
To cleaning up the church.....	3 25
To whitewashing same after they left.....	3 00
To lamp-oil and candles.....	5 15
To meat and salt.....	53 15
To bread and meal.....	45 25
To railroad fare.....	53 75
To hominy.....	10 15
To beans.....	11 40
To wood.....	25 25
To coal.....	29 50
To sugar and coffee.....	6 25

Total amount paid out.....	296 85
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Balance, nothing.

The above is what has been collected and expended. The society is indebted as follows:

To Thomas Nelson for wood	\$4 00
To Wm. Porter for wood	3 50
To T. Eames for meat	4 60
To Louis Weasner for groceries	3 88
To Geisensanner for bread	4 50
To Mr. Amsley for meal	50
To house-rent due the 24th instant	6 00
Total indebtedness	23 98

"The means of the society are entirely exhausted, and we need only the money to pay indebtedness, but there are families in the city who need help, and we ask a generous public, in behalf of humanity, to help the society to prevent those people from suffering until they can find employment. They came here expecting to obtain remunerative employment. Just so soon as they are so employed, they don't have to be helped. The society has not, directly or indirectly, expended a cent in aiding a single emigrant to come to the State or city, and it is determined not to spend any in that way. There has come into the State from North Carolina, since they commenced, 1,135, including women and children; about one-fourth of these are men."

Senator BLAIR. What date is that?

The CHAIRMAN. This is Saturday, and it falls under the notice of this Emigrant Aid Society.

Q. (To the witness.) You would concur in that statement from your knowledge?—A. Heartily.

Q. Do you regard it as a kindness to the colored race for them to be taken to Indiana in the winter time and quartered there at Indianapolis upon the charity of their own race and the white race, in the present condition of our labor system?—A. I consider it a very great outrage upon our people, and also upon those negroes who were sent there.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. What is your official position in Indiana?—A. I am adjutant-general of the State.

Q. Your political sentiments are Democratic, of course?—A. At present they are.

Q. How long have you been a Democrat?—A. Since plundering, and robbing, and whisky-rings, and carpet-bag rule in this country.

Q. Can you fix the date when you experienced this change of political sentiment?—A. When I became convinced that I was on the wrong side—immediately. I was four years, I think, in changing my opinions.

Q. About when did you commence to act with the Democratic party?—A. In 1876.

Q. When did this robbing, plundering, and so forth, which you mention, occur in the Republican party?—A. Well, there was a good deal of it during Grant's first administration, and a great deal more of it in his last administration.

Q. It commenced in 1876?—A. I voted for him twice, however.

Q. Well, to leave that part of it, allow me to ask you if you yourself have taken considerable interest as a Democratic politician in promoting this investigation?—A. Not as a politician.

Q. As a Democrat?—A. Individually, I have.

Q. You have been anxious for the investigation, have you?—A. I have been anxious that the facts should come out.

Q. You have spent considerable time in making inquiries and procuring evidence for its presentation here, have you not?—A. Nearly all of it came to my office without solicitation.

Q. It sought you, then?—A. Yes, sir. If I am not mistaken as to the reputation I have in my city, any one who is in a suffering condition or imposed upon would come to my office who knows me.

Q. Not in relation to your political sentiments at all?—A. Independently of those.

Q. So that your connection with or the knowledge you have of this exodus in no sense results from your interested political character as a Democratic politician, but rather as a humanitarian?—A. Both.

Q. To what extent do you think that you have been identified with the political aspect of this investigation?—A. When I became satisfied in my own mind that the Republican party was perpetrating this outrage, or interested in it, or encouraging the immigration of these poor, ignorant, destitute people into our State, I then took quite an interest against the party.

Q. When did your conviction come that the Republican party was encouraging it? How long—a week ago?—A. Perhaps a month ago.

Q. And since that time you have been making active investigations as a politician into it?—A. No, sir; not as a politician.

Q. I do not use the term in an offensive sense. We are all politicians, or want to be.—A. I felt this way: If it could be proved that the Democratic party was responsible for this exodus, I was willing to lend any aid I could to convict them.

Q. I wanted to get your real animus. Now you state that at some time you were persuaded that it was a political movement, but I have not understood you to state any very definite evidence of it. Will you not state the evidence, not the surmises, and what it was that changed your opinion as to the political aspect of this exodus?—A. We form opinions not from an isolated fact, but from the general inferences that we may gather from a combination of facts. It is a fact, and a notorious fact, that the Republican press of the State is encouraging it, and that alone ought to satisfy me that the party is interested in it.

Q. Can you mention any other fact besides this that the Republican press generally encourage it in Indiana?—A. The Republicans in the city with whom I have talked, while some of them do not seem to encourage it directly, they defend it.

Q. Thus, they say this, that these people have a perfect right to come to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As good a right to come as white people?—A. I have heard that argument frequently.

Q. Do you object to that?—A. Do I object to it?

Q. Do you object to these people going there with the same inducements and the same desire for freedom as the white people who come to Indiana?—A. I certainly would not advise them to come.

Q. But suppose they elected to come, saw fit to come, you would advise any destitute person not to come to Indiana?—A. I suppose they have a right to come.

Q. Well, these Republicans whom you speak of simply defend their right to come, the same right as they say everybody has a right to come to Indiana?—A. You remember that Mr. Mills did not put it in that way. He said they wanted some 20,000 bucks there.

Q. I was asking you what you based it upon, and you say Republicans defend their right to come the same as they defend the right of everybody else to come?—A. Yes, sir; I say that some of them come because they want their votes.

Q. Do you understand that Republicans want them to come as paupers, and with the prospect that they will remain as paupers, simply

because they want their votes?—A. I do not believe that one-fourth of the people of the State of Indiana desire them to come, or would encourage it.

Q. And you don't say that the Republicans, generally, desire them to come?—A. I say that the leading Republicans desire it.

Q. Can a pauper vote in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; he can.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. They don't require a property qualification in Indiana as they would up in the New England States to enable them to vote?—A. A man may be ever so poor, but he is not too poor to cast a ballot in Indiana.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. That is good; and you base your opposition to the colored man coming there upon the ground, simple and purely in your own mind, that he is too poor to get a living in Indiana?—A. Will you let me answer in my own language.

Q. Yes, sir; in your own way.—A. I oppose it, first, because there is no demand for his labor; he will only meet with suffering and want.

Q. That reason applies to all the laboring people coming there, does it not; all poor people coming to Indiana?—A. Destitute people, paupers; yes, sir.

Q. Laboring people—laboring emigrants—who are obliged to depend upon their labor for a living; that is what you mean, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; I don't think there is any demand for that class of labor.

Q. Your opinion is so broad that it covers the white as well as the negro?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are strong and vigorous, able to do work?—A. I have not seen any of them doing work.

Q. But you have seen these people, and they are able, strong, vigorous men; able to do work, are they not?—A. If I was going to select a man to work upon a farm I would certainly select some one not on account of any political prejudice, because I may state I have very little against the negro, but I would select some one other than the negro; I would prefer a German.

Q. You are a very intelligent gentleman, at any rate, if not a lawyer; with little less circumspection I ask you whether these colored men and women who come there are not strong healthy people?—A. I think not, sir.

Q. Well, I will ask it in this way; do you not think they are fair representatives of the laboring population of the South, or of the colored laboring population of all parts of the country?—A. Senator Vance would be a better witness on that question.

Q. He is not under oath.—A. I will give my opinion; those who are the better class of blacks are not coming to our State.

Q. What do you mean by the better class?—A. I will explain it in this way; an industrious black man in the South will have a home.

Q. I am not asking you about that, I am asking you as to the personal vigor of these colored people who are coming to Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the witness have a little chance.

The WITNESS. I have seen some from the South, very healthy men, that you could not get a day's work out of in the year.

Q. You have disconnected that other answer from the question I am asking you. Did you not say that this population, who come there, have come there as paupers; that you did not consider it a laboring popula-

tion?—A. I certainly don't consider them capitalists; they certainly have not the balance with the bondholders.

Q. I will give it up, as I don't see you will answer the question.—A. I don't know whether a majority of them are willing to work or not.

Q. I do not wish to talk with you about it because it comes to nothing, but let me ask you if this colored population, as a rule, who have come out there during the exodus have been distributed through all parts of that State?—A. Did you say a majority of them?

Q. Yes, sir. Now, I want you to be sure and understand me. I don't want you to understand me if the children are not at work and getting a living, if the population that comes to that State is not now self-sustaining?—A. From the information that I have now, it is my judgment that one-half of them had employment.

Q. But my question is, whether, as a whole, these 1,000 people or so who have come there are not to-day self-sustaining; there may be a few who are not earning their living, but are they not earning as an entirety more than they are expending in that State?—A. Let me digress a little. I don't know the condition of the parties who are sent in the interior portion of the State.

Q. You understand they have gone there to get work?—A. But I spoke of those who have remained there at Indianapolis.

Q. O, I mean— A. I cannot answer for those who have gone elsewhere. I understand there were two carloads that went yesterday. I don't understand that there is any employment for them.

Q. You don't understand, as a whole, that this population who have come into your State, 1,000 or so, are self-sustaining?—A. I don't.

Q. This is the winter season?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You expect that they will suffer soon?—A. No, sir; I don't think they will in our city now.

Q. You don't think that these colored people will be able to get a living?—A. No, sir; there are a great many in our city now who do not get a living.

Q. A great many will starve to death in Indiana, will they not?—A. A great many more are destitute who were there before these people went there.

Q. Are any of these people who went to Indianapolis employed in that city since they went there?—A. I don't know of any.

Q. How many do you actually know of in that city who have come from North Carolina or elsewhere in the progress of this exodus?—A. I could only answer that by memory and from seeing them pass by the office. My office is on the street opposite the other State offices, and I could only see them in the street passing by.

Q. You say you know of none who have found employment?—A. I state that I don't know of any. I could not name one.

Q. You don't know very much about it in that way?—A. I know more perhaps concerning those who are destitute and who come to my office seeking assistance than I do of those who have been successful, who have been getting employment.

Q. Many of them have gone to other parts of the State, have they not?—A. There may have been many.

Q. Don't you think it at all strange that in the progress of such a movement there, in the transit would be more or less of suffering, and that without regard to the colored emigrant, while people are in this state of transit?—A. I think it depends a great deal upon the section of country they would move from whether they would be acclimated or

not. I don't think there would be as much suffering in moving from Ohio into Indiana or from Pennsylvania to New York.

Q. But is it not a fact that in all great movements of population there is more or less individual suffering. You recollect the Pilgrims had a hard time in the first settlement of this country?—A. Well, there is more or less suffering occasioned from moving from one locality to another, and more coming from the South.

Q. You could not condemn this movement as a whole because 27 persons had died in Indiana?—A. That is in Indiana in a very short time.

Q. At one time in Indianapolis, a great city, where they have arrived and where the people suffering would be likely to be left?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you have known something of the inclination of these people to get back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything of them actually getting back to North Carolina?—A. I don't.

Q. Have you known the fact which one witness mentioned that many, or at least some, of these emigrants were men of property?—A. I have heard some of them had means, but never met any of them.

Q. What amount have you understood that some of them possessed?—A. Well, I have never heard any amount at all; on the stand this morning when a witness said \$20,000.

Q. Have you any at this moment information which would lead you to modify your statement that these people are paupers?—A. There may be an isolated exception, but from their appearance and from the conversation I have had with them, I would certainly class them as paupers, destitute people.

Q. But would you not admit now that they are generally people who look as though they could earn their living if they had the chance to work?—A. I would feel very much discouraged if I had as large a family as some of them have, with no bedding, clothing, or house to make a living in Indiana; it takes less for them to live in North Carolina than it would in Indiana.

Q. Is it not likely that they would get a pretty solid compensation for their labor in Indiana; are not wages higher in Indiana than in the South?—A. I have posted myself more in reference to that. I have some interest in the South. I have said this to my friends. I am speaking of laboring men. Northern Alabama has the same climate as North Carolina, very much the same climate.

Senator VANCE. Very nearly the same.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. But the question is as to whether you are posted as to the wages paid in Northern Alabama?—A. I have advised a great many of my friends to go there, in preference to remaining in Indiana, where they can buy lands much cheaper.

Q. You are not sending paupers down there; you are not encouraging a movement of that kind?—A. If a man has not a dollar in the world, or a home, or much clothing to wear, I don't know that I could give him much advice.

Q. I asked you if, as a rule, you are not aware that the wages are higher in the North than in the South, though I don't limit it to North Carolina or Indiana?—A. If the same class of laborers who are coming to Indiana could do better in Alabama, I would advise them to go there in preference to remaining in Indiana.

Q. Irrespective of politics?—A. Yes, sir. My plantation is in a Republican district.

Q. Then you have not any definite knowledge more than you stated ; you don't know whether these are better off in Indiana than in North Carolina or not ?—A. Taking everything into consideration, the number of days that they can work, and the expense of living, I think the wages better in Northern Alabama than they are in Indiana for laboring men.

Q. Well, that is one reason why you are opposed to the exodus, is it not ?—A. I stated the cause of my opposition.

Q. Well, General, then I understand from you that you claim that wages are better and higher in the South than in the Northern States, and that understanding is one of the reasons why you are opposed to the colored man coming to the State of Indiana ?—A. I have not stated that the per diem is higher in Alabama than it is in the Northern States. I said I would consider the wages in Alabama—I think that the wages are better in Alabama than in Indiana.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. I understood you to say, General, that one reason why you thought this exodus was a political movement was because the subscribers to the papers for relief contained none but Republican names. Did you say that ?—A. Perhaps I named that among other things.

Q. And you thought that because Republicans, and none others, subscribed to the relief of these people, that therefore it was a political movement ?—A. I do not know, Senator, whether that money was paid for the bread and butter and clothing of these people, or whether it was paid for their railroad fare. If I had known for what purpose it was used, I might have changed my opinion.

Q. But you do not know for what purpose it was used ?—A. No, sir ; I do not know.

Q. Have you noticed the entire amount that was raised, as it is stated in the paper from which Mr. Voorhees just read ? (Referring to The Indianapolis Journal of date February 12, 1880.)—A. No, sir ; I do not think I heard the amount, but it is under \$300 I know.

Q. Did you not hear of any Democrats subscribing to this relief fund ? Would you suppose that they would encourage the raising of money for this fund ?—A. I would not.

Q. Why would you suppose that it was for political purposes in the one case and not in the other ?—A. If it had been presented to Republicans and Democrats alike, I would have thought that it was a humanitarian movement, and subscribed for charitable purposes alone, but it had the ear-marks of a Republican document, when I looked at it.

Q. Now this report from which the chairman read shows a total amount of \$296.85, raised for the relief of these people in your city ?—A. Whose report is it ?

Q. It is the report made at this meeting by the committee. I will read to you. (Reading from The Indianapolis Journal of February 12, 1880) : "The mass meeting held in the Second Baptist Church (colored) last night, to consider the workings of the relief society among the colored emigrants, was well attended, the Rev. Moses Broiles presiding," &c. It gives a report of the money raised by friends of the colored people there, and the total amount paid it states at \$296.85, and it itemizes the accounts for which it was paid.—A. Does it name the tickets which were purchased ?

Q. It does not.—A. Does it name the twenty-five dollars paid to Williams and Perry here ?

Q. It does not mention any tickets at all. Do you know whether

\$25 was paid for tickets ?—A. I do not ; that is what I wanted to find out.

Q. Do you know of *any* \$25 being raised ?—A. I know of its being raised by hearing the testimony here.

Q. You say that the Republican papers, so far as you have seen them, all sympathize in this movement ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Their sympathy in it is strong, isn't it, apparently ?—A. It is not to be mistaken, sir.

Q. Any more, do you think, than in the other case you spoke of ?—A. To what do you refer ?

Q. You spoke of the sympathy of the Democratic papers for the rebellion. Do you think that the Republican papers are as strong in their sympathies for this movement as the Democratic papers were in favor of the rebellion ?—A. I was a boy in the Army at that time and I—

Q. Didn't get the papers, I suppose ?—A. No, sir.

Q. I understood your answer to Mr. Voorhees' question awhile ago to be that you thought the sympathies of the Republican papers were even stronger in favor of the present exodus than the Democratic papers were in favor of the rebellion ?—A. That was my opinion from the sentiments I had heard.

Q. Then you made that comparison to show how strong the sympathies of the Republican press of Indiana are in favor of this exodus, did you ?—A. Well, I would make it even stronger, perhaps.

Q. But it serves you for the purpose of a comparison, does it ?—A. I hardly know whether I ought to make such a comparison, for I have only resided in Indiana since the war.

Q. Well, didn't you agree with the comparison made by the chairman ?—A. I only answered that in my opinion the Republican papers are much more unanimous in favor of the present exodus than the Democratic papers were in indorsing the rebellion.

Q. But you do not know what the Democratic papers did at that time ?—A. No, I do not ; I only judge from the Democrats I met then, and that I meet and talk with now, as to the course they pursued in the war.

Q. Then the comparison suggested by the chairman as to the Democratic sympathy with the rebellion and the Republican sympathy with the present exodus does not amount to much in your case, because you can only judge from hearsay, and not from your knowledge ?—A. Well, it may not amount to much as a comparison ; I speak only from general impressions made at the time in the Army. I met General Manson, who is here, in the Army ; he was a Democrat then and he is a Democrat now.

Q. He did not edit a paper then ?—A. No ; he was in the Army then.

Q. But we are speaking of papers now.—A. The only knowledge I have is what I then knew and what I have heard since.

Q. Then you cannot very well make the comparison which the chairman suggested in his question to you ?—A. Perhaps not, sir.

Q. Have you heard anything of this Democratic exodus from Kentucky into Indiana ?—A. Not until you asked the question.

Q. You didn't hear of it in the papers ?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF W. H. WOODS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 13, 1880.*

W. H. WOODS sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State your name, Mr. Woods.—Answer. W. H. Woods.

Q. And your residence.—A. Indianapolis, Ind.

Q. And your occupation.—A. I am a barber by trade.

Q. How long have you lived in Indianapolis, Mr. Woods?—A. I have lived there about four years and a half—four years possibly—about four years and a half.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. I lived in Parsons, Kans., before that.

Q. Are you a Northern man by birth?—A. No, sir; I am not.

Q. What State were you born in?—A. In Tennessee—Nashville, Tenn.

Q. You are a Republican in politics, Mr. Woods?—A. I am, sir.

Q. You take some interest in politics as well as other people at Indianapolis?—A. A little, sir.

Q. State whether you have taken an interest in these people that have come to our State from North Carolina.—A. I have taken no interest in getting them there.

Q. No, but since their arrival.—A. I am a member of the citizens' relief committee, and have had something to do with taking care of those that have come.

Q. Well, what duties have you performed in that respect, Mr. Woods?—A. Well, I have, as a member of the committee, had something to do with trying to collect funds for the purpose of buying provisions, &c., to take care of these people.

Q. Have you succeeded in collecting a considerable fund for that purpose?—A. I think I collected, myself, nearly, about—well, something about seventy-odd dollars.

Q. What do you know about some people of your race applying to the Republican State central committee?—A. Well, all I know about that is that our committee had about exhausted all of the money we were able to collect from the friends on the street; and we had learned that there was some funds that had been collected, or at least some parties had signified that if the money could be rightfully expended, that they would donate something, or give something in that direction. I believe that the Hon. J. S. Hinton, down at the Republican State committee rooms, one day, had made some inquiry (as he had heard it reported, I guess, on the streets, that there was some money—I do not know where else he got it; and while he was in the State Central committee rooms, I believe), he asked what was going to be done with these people; that they were there, and our people had exhausted about all the means that we had on hand; and I believe that he was told that the matter had been left with a man by the name of M. H. McKay, I think the name is, and a man by the name of Byram.

Q. Do you know these two gentlemen?—A. I had not met Byram.

Q. Do you know Mr. Byram by reputation?—A. Yes; I know him by reputation.

Q. Was he a man of some prominence?—A. M. H. McKay was in the city council there. Byram was a man of some prominence; I think he was an ex-councilman or ex-alderman; I don't know which.

Q. Did you understand that Mr. Hinton was informed that the matter was left, by the Republican State central committee, to these two gentlemen?—A. Yes; he was simply referred to these two gentlemen; he said the matter had been left with these two gentlemen, and that we would have to call upon these gentlemen; that if we would call upon them they would give us satisfaction relative to the matter.

Q. Did you call upon them, Mr. Woods?—A. After Mr. Hinton had reported this matter to the committee, and as our committee had exhausted at that time about all the means they had, I thought that if there was any money that had been collected for taking care of these people, the best thing we could do was to try to get hold of it. So I wrote a resolution in the committee that a committee of five be appointed to wait upon these gentlemen and see if there was any means that had been collected or left with them to take care of these people; for I thought it necessary that they should be taken care of.

Q. Was your resolution adopted?—A. Yes; and the committee was appointed.

Q. Who was chairman of that committee, yourself?—A. No. R. B. Bagby.

Q. Were you a member of that committee?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. Did you wait on Mr. Byram or Mr. McKay?—A. We waited on Mr. McKay. Mr. Byram was notified I believe by Cyrus T. Nixon, if I am not mistaken, to meet the committee at Marshal Dudley's office, I believe, for a conference, but he did not appear, neither did Mr. McKay. We afterwards waited on Mr. McKay at his office in the Odd Fellows' Hall.

Q. Well, what satisfaction did you get, Mr. Woods?—A. All the satisfaction we got, so far as Mr. Dudley was concerned, at his office while we were there, and from Mr. McKay, was that Mr. Nixon stated to us that he had been appointed by somebody, he did not state who, to go through the State soliciting funds, and he had made a failure of it.

Q. That is, Nixon stated that?—A. Yes; and that he had caused Dr. S. A. Elbert to be appointed in his stead; and if there was any funds that had been collected that McKay and Byram knew of and had the money—if there was any collected—that he had made a failure. Marshal Dudley stated to us that all he knew about it was, he (Dr. Elbert) had subscribed ten dollars, and that he supposed Dr. Elbert had the money if he did not turn it over to McKay. So we protested against Dr. Elbert being appointed to collect the funds as he did not belong to the committee—was not a member, having been defeated for corresponding secretary of the committee by Benjamin Thornton. Not being a member of the committee, we thought he had no right to handle any of the funds that should come into his hands, because he was rather hostile to the committee, and we was satisfied in our minds that if he collected any funds toward taking care of these people, we would not get any of it. That was our opinion, so we protested against it. They requested us to give a written statement to that effect, and we did.

Q. Was Mr. McKay present when Nixon made this statement?—A. Not at that time.

Q. This was an interview you had with Nixon in Marshal Dudley's office, was it?—A. Yes, in his office, at which we expected to meet McKay and Byram.

Q. Who is Mr. Nixon?—A. I believe he is a prominent politician of Indianapolis, and I think he was at that time a member of the legislature. I think so.

Q. He is a white man, is he?—A. Yes, sir; he is.

Q. And a candidate now for nomination to the legislature, is he not ?—
A. I believe he is.

Q. Mr. Woods, he said that he had been appointed to canvass the State for funds, I believe you stated ? He did not say, however, whom he had been appointed by, did he ?—A. He did not ; he simply said that he had been appointed to go over the State and collect funds, and that he had made a failure of it and that he had caused Dr. Elbert to be appointed in his stead. Or, in other words—I will give it to you in his own words—that he had written out a recommendation for Dr. Elbert to be appointed, and that recommendation had been signed by McKay and Byram ; that if any wrong had been did in Dr. Elbert being appointed to collect funds, he was responsible for it.

Q. What employment is Nixon in ?—A. Well, Senator, to tell you the truth, I don't know what he is doing. He has an office there, but I don't know exactly what he is employed in.

Q. You did not know that he was employed in the United States marshal's office ?—A. I don't know whether he was or not.

Q. Now, passing from the office, did you see McKay at all in connection with this business ?—A. We did.

Q. Where did you see him ?—A. We saw him at his office.

Q. What did he say to you ?—A. Well, this written statement that we made and signed at the committee. I went first in company with Mr. Nixon to McKay—or Nixon said that after this written statement—that would relieve him of having Dr. Elbert appointed, and he desired some one of the committee to go down with him and present this written statement against Dr. Elbert's collecting any funds, to McKay ; and I was solicited to go down with him and present this written statement to McKay. He said McKay could remove Dr. Elbert if he desired to do so, and could simply lay the matter before McKay. So he and I laid the matter before McKay. Next day the committee called on McKay to know what he was going to do about it. McKay said to the committee that he considered that Dr. Elbert was responsible to them for all the amounts he collected ; and if he collected any, the committee would get it, and that we might call on him and not Dr. Elbert for the money.

Q. Did you mention to Mr. McKay that Mr. Hinton had informed you that the State central committee left the matter to him ?—A. We did ; we told him that we had learned—we had been referred to him and Mr. Byram by some gentleman up at the committee room of the State central committee, that there was some funds collected and left in their hands for that purpose ; and if there was any, we would like to have it, as we thought we were the proper persons to handle the funds ; to take care of these people.

Q. You were seeking funds to take care of these people after they had come there ; to feed and clothe them and take care of them, if you could, were you not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. McKay, Mr. Nixon, and Mr. Dudley all knew that that was your object in getting the money, did they ?—A. We so stated ; that that was our object in getting funds ; that we had exhausted all we had.

Q. Did you ever get any of it for that purpose ?—A. I believe Mr. McKay furnished the president of our association, Mr. W. C. Trevau, \$10.

Q. Did he say that was all he had ?—A. He said it was all he had at present.

Q. Did he deny having collected any ?—A. To tell you the truth, Senator, it seems as though he did not want our committee to use the funds

that's the truth of the matter; and he had rather it would come through Dr. S. A. Elbert's hands and Rev. Moses Broyles's.

Q. They are political leaders of your people there, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; they are.

Q. And it looked as though the Republican State central committee preferred to disburse the funds through them than through your committee, which was purely a charitable committee?—A. I do not know what the Republican State central committee had instructed them to do, but these gentlemen seemed to desire that.

Q. These were the gentlemen you had been referred to through Mr. Hinton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever see Doctor Elbert on the subject?—A. I think I never had any particular conversation with him about the matter, because I did not think he was the proper man to handle the funds, and I did not talk to him about it, because I had signed a written recommendation against his collecting funds, and presented that to Mr. McKay, and I thought that a sufficient reason, so I was not disposed to consult with him about it.

Q. You did not ascertain how much Elbert had, did you?—A. We did not find out that from McKay, because he seemed as though he did not care to give us any information as to how he got the money.

Q. The money had been collected and he would not give you any satisfaction as to the amount Elbert had in his hands; is that it?—A. No, sir; we never did find that out.

Q. What steps did you take in that connection, as a committee, when you found that state of affairs?—A. Well, when we found that state of affairs, and as we believed the means was somewhere, although we could not get them, we thought that if Dr. S. A. Elbert and Rev. Moses Broiles was the persons these gentlemen desired to have handle the funds if any was collected—our committee thought that Rev. Moses Broiles and Dr. J. A. Elbert was the men to take care of them, so when our committee had a meeting next we simply resolved to do nothing more unless we was furnished means to do it with, as we had exhausted all we had. And we have not did anything since leaving it to these gentlemen to attend to.

Q. Was there anything, Mr. Woods, connected with this matter that made an impression on your mind that there were political objects in view?—A. Well, after we had called upon these gentlemen—up to that time—I thought there was not; but after we had called upon these gentlemen, and the manner in which we was treated by them, it kind of looked to us, as we termed it, as if there was "a dog in the well." We thought there was something somewhere, and they didn't desire to let us know anything about it, and, after pressing the matter as far as we could, we dropped it.

Q. Who was on this committee with you?—A. Mr. R. B. Bagby.

Q. He is a very respectable man, is he not?—A. He is principal of the school there, number 24, I believe.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And who else?—A. Mr. James S. Hinton.

Q. He has been canal trustee, has he not?—A. Yes, sir; he has.

Q. Who else?—A. William F. Floyd, I believe, and Benjamin Thornton and L. E. Christy.

Q. In other words, it was a responsible committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Responsible for the handling and disbursement of money?—A. We thought so, sir.

Q. Yes, I think so too. You have not been able to determine why

the money was not disbursed through you except on the hypothesis that there seemed to be "a dog in the well," as you expressed it?—A. That is what we thought.

Mr. VANCE. Down in our country they call it "nigger in the wood-pile."

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You stated at the outset of your examination that you were a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know anything—I do not know whether you do or not—about the manner in which the money was raised there to bring these people on from Washington, or whether they had any money to get through with?—A. I do not, sir.

Q. Don't you know how that money was raised?—A. I do not know how that money was raised.

Q. I mean not merely of your own knowledge, but from information?—A. No, sir; all I know is, the agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad called upon us one night when our committee was in session, to know whether a dispatch, I think, had been received for money to be sent to Washington.

Q. Do you remember how much he stated that money was?—A. My impression is he stated there was a dispatch sent for some six hundred dollars, I think.

Q. Mr. Woods, do you think that six hundred dollars could have been raised among the colored people at that time in the course of twenty-four hours, or forty-eight hours, for the purpose of buying transportation from Washington City to Indianapolis for these colored emigrants?—A. Well, I know that it could not.

Q. You don't *think* anything about it, you *know* it?—A. Yes, sir; I *know* it.

Q. You were satisfied, then, that if six hundred dollars, or any such sum, was raised for such a purpose, it had to be raised outside of the colored people?—A. If any such sum was raised, it must have been raised outside of our people.

Q. Do you remember that soon after the Baltimore and Ohio agent spoke to you there was an arrival of some hundred and fifty to two hundred of these people?—A. I believe there was, sir.

Q. Were you informed that the money was raised—not as to how it was raised, for you have said you did not know that—but were you informed that the money was raised there for them?—A. All I know about that is that we referred the agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to Mr. R. B. Bagby, chairman of the executive committee, and whatever disposition they made of it I don't know.

Q. Well, do you know whether, in point of fact, there was a sum of money raised for that purpose at that time?—A. I could not state positively whether there was or not.

Q. Well, upon information?—A. I understood that the money was sent on.

Q. You understood that money was sent on?—A. Yes; I understood that, but I don't know whether it was or not.

Q. Well, this investigation is not governed by the close rules of a court, and you can give us what you have heard. How did you come to understand that, Mr. Woods?—A. I don't know; I think I just merely heard it talked of generally, rumored around, and I got hold of it. A great many rumors were going around, and it may have been a false one for all I know.

Q. Yes ; but you think there was a general understanding, in which you participated, that money had been sent on to them ?—A. Just as I stated before, we thought there was a "a dog in the well," and there must be some money in some place, and that is all I know about it.

Q. You pulled out of the business pretty much after that, didn't you ?
A. Our committee has not did anything since, and didn't intend to, unless they gave us some money to do it with.

Q. Are you a man of family, Mr. Woods ?—A. I am.

Q. What family have you ?—A. I have only a wife, sir.

Q. You still are occupied there in the Bates House, in the barber-shop, are you ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Woods, you write sometimes for the press in behalf of your people, do you not ?—A. I do ; yes, sir.

Q. And you are a member of the Republican club of your ward, I believe ?—A. Yes, sir, I am.

Q. Are you familiar, Mr. Woods, with the condition of these emigrants at this time in Indianapolis ?—A. The most that I have seen of them, sir, has been in connection with our committee work. In fact, I believe my committee handled four hundred and thirty-eight of them.

Q. What do you mean by "handled," Mr. Woods ?—A. That is, they came into our hands, and we took care of them for a time ; that is, they were put in the hands of our committee ; we quartered them in the church and we fed them for a time.

Q. Well, what proportion of them have been able to get employment ?
—A. All of those we had we disposed of ; we got places for them here and there over the State.

Q. You got places for them in different parts of the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You sent a good many of them away from Indianapolis, did you ?
—A. Yes, sir ; we sent about all of them away from Indianapolis.

Q. Did Mr. Langsdale, of Greencastle, communicate with you on the subject ?—A. I do not know whether we had any direct communication from Mr. Langsdale or not.

Q. What proportion of these people have not been employed ?—A. I do not know, sir ; this Christian Aid Association, of which the Rev. Moses Broiles is president, got a good many of them places around the city there ; I don't know how many of them is employed. Those we had we sent away.

Q. Have you seen any of them unemployed ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think there is a good many of them over there that is not employed in the kind of headquarters of Moses Broiles's old building, on the corner of California and Pratt streets, I think.

Q. It was in behalf of these that the constant appeals for public charity were made, was it not ?—A. I believe so, sir. I heard you read a report to this committee, or a portion of it, awhile ago.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Mr. Woods, what is Mr. Byram's christian name, please ?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Can you ascertain while you are here, and give it to me before you go away ?—A. No, sir ; I cannot.

Q. Do you know Mr. McKay's given name ?—A. I think it is M. H., if I am not mistaken—Mr. M. H. McKay.

Q. What is Mr. Nixon's given name ?—A. Cyrus T., I think.

Q. Cyrus T. ?—A. Yes, sir ; Cyrus T. Nixon.

Q. Mr. Woods, there are two societies there, among your people, tak-

ing care of these colored emigrants, are there not?—A. Yes, sir; there are.

Q. And there was some disagreement or misunderstanding among them, was there not?—A. There was just this misunderstanding about it, Senator, that Dr. S. A. Elbert and Rev. Moses Broiles, together with some more of our prominent colored citizens there, called a mass-meeting to appoint a committee, and the committee was appointed. The Rev. Moses Broiles was put up for president, and he got beaten, I believe, by Elder Trevan. Dr. S. A. Elbert was put up for corresponding secretary, and he got defeated by Benjamin Thornton, and that seems to have displeased them in some way.

Q. It resulted in ill-feeling between the two organizations, did it?—A. Yes, sir; they went off and called a meeting of the five Baptist churches in the Second Baptist Church, and formed what we called a "Christian Aid Association," with the Rev. Moses Broiles as president.

Q. And that still further promoted the ill-feeling or rivalry between the two committees, did it, so that they did not work together harmoniously?—A. Yes, sir; it did.

Q. I am not trying to get at the merits of the case; I am only trying to find out the facts.—A. I am only stating to you what I know.

Q. Yes, I know. Now, when you went to Mr. McKay about the money, he did not seem to favor your committee, did he?—A. He did not seem to favor our committee, because it appeared to us, as we found out on investigation, rather, that they were desirous of having Dr. S. A. Elbert and Rev. Moses Broiles handle whatever funds should be collected.

Q. That is, they preferred that their committee should handle the funds?—A. Yes, sir; and we thought that is the reason why the Rev. Moses Broiles and Dr. S. A. Elbert formed this other organization, because they didn't happen to be elected as officers of the citizens' committee.

Q. Very likely; but the impression you had was that they preferred their committee to handle the funds?—A. Yes, sir; that is the impression we got, that they desired these gentlemen to handle the funds, if there was any funds.

Q. Have you heard of any funds being raised, except for the purpose of relief and charity?—A. Only as I stated a while ago, I heard a rumor about six hundred dollars; that is all I know.

Q. But you didn't know?—A. I didn't know positively that it was; no, sir.

Q. You didn't know whether \$600 was sent out at all?—A. I didn't know positively, at all; no, sir.

Q. You have given us all the facts you have that made you give any credence to the rumor, have you?—A. That is all I have in that respect. Mr. Bagby may possibly give you some information. The matter was referred to him, to Mr. R. B. Bagby.

Q. Can you give me your best opinion about how many of the whole number of these people that arrived there—of those able to work—have failed to find employment—abled-bodied men, I mean?—A. No, sir; all that are there unemployed are in the hands of the Christian Aid Society, and I don't know anything about whether they are working or not.

Q. You do not know, then, how many have not succeeded in finding employment?—A. I don't know; we took care of ours.

Q. You found employment for how many?—A. Our secretary's books show that we handled four hundred and thirty-eight, I believe.

Q. These were all disposed of, and found employment?—A. Yes, sir. The committee here took a recess of ten minutes.

After recess, 2 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MINGO SIMMONS, COLORED.

MINGO SIMMONS, colored, was sworn and examined, as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you live when you are at home?—Answer. In North Carolina, Greene County.

Q. What is the county seat of Greene County?—A. Snow Hill.

Q. How far do you live from there?—A. Ten miles, it is called, from my house.

Q. Have you been out to Indiana recently?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you go?—A. I went by here on the first train that went there.

Q. How many were on that train?—A. We took fifty-three, I think.

Q. Were they all men?—A. There were three women in the crowd.

Q. Have you a wife and children?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where are they?—A. In North Carolina.

Q. Did you have them out there with you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where are you going now?—A. I am on my way back home, when I leave here.

Q. Are you going home to stay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't you like it out there?—A. No, sir; not so well.

Q. You think you can do better at home?—A. Yes, sir; at present prices I can.

Q. Could you get no work at Indianapolis?—A. I had a little to do at Greencastle.

Q. How much?—A. When I first went down there I laid around three or four weeks before I got any work to do. Then I went to work for a gentleman named Peck.

Q. Where did he live?—A. He lives across from the south depot.

Q. Did he give you any work to do?—A. He gave me some work to do; a little work.

Q. How much did he pay you?—A. He gave me 50 cents a day, and I boarded myself out of that.

Q. He is a pretty prominent man there, is he not?—A. He is said to be, sir. They were all strangers to me.

Q. Mr. Peck has a large farm out there, has he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He lives pretty well, there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do for him?—A. I gathered corn.

Q. Did you do a full day's work?—A. Yes, sir; unless there came rain, and broke it up.

Q. Where did you board?—A. There at his house.

Q. Did he charge you—did he take it out of your pay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did your board cost you?—A. I do not know, sir. I did not stay there long.

Q. How long?—A. Three weeks.

Q. How much money did you get from him?—A. I did not get much.

Q. Well, can you tell us about how much?—A. I do not know, sir; it was all gone before I got it. I had to keep eating, you know, or die.

Q. When you settled up at the end of three weeks, how much did you get?—A. Not a cent.

- Q. Was it all charged against you ?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. When you got through with your three weeks' work, you found you were just even and had nothing ahead.—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You did not have to pay anything to him to get to leave there, did you ?—A. No, sir.
- Q. What had you got from him besides your board that it brought you out just even ?—A. Nothing at all, sir ; I worked there three weeks, and the weather is terribly bad out there at this time of the year ; and including bad days the board taken out, and me still eating, there was nothing for me left. You know I had to keep on eating, rain or shine.
- Q. When he charged you for the rainy days that you did not work, you just came out even ?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You could have done as well as that in North Carolina, could you not ?—A. I could have done better, sir.
- Q. Where did you go then ?—A. I went to a gentleman named Elsbury O'Hara.
- Q. Did he tell you that he was very fond of your race of people ?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Mr. Peck was a Republican, was he not ?—A. I understood so.
- Q. Mr. O'Hara was ?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Do you have any politics yourself ?—A. Not so much, sir.
- Q. You voted down in North Carolina, did you not ?—A. Yes, sir ; just as much as I pleased.
- Q. How did you vote ?—A. I always votes the Republican ticket.
- Q. How will you vote when you get back there—the same way ?—A. I expect to, when I get back, vote the same ticket.
- Q. Nobody ever bothered you about it down there, did they ?—A. No, sir.
- Q. You say you left Mr. Peck's and went to Mr. O'Hara's.—A. Yes, sir ; I hired with him, and staid there, I reckon, a month and a half ; and I cleared ten dollars from him.
- Q. In what length of time ?—A. I reckon I staid there a little over a month and a half.
- Q. On what terms did you work, by the day or by the month ? How much was he to give you ?—A. Ten dollars.
- Q. And he to board you ?—A. Yes, sir ; he boarded me out of that, at that time. I cleared \$10 in a month and a half and more.
- Q. How is it that you did not clear \$15 ?—A. I got some clothing from him, and that cut it down to \$10. When I had gone there with him, I asked him what he was going to give me, and he said \$10 a month and house rent, and board myself out of that.
- Q. You staid with him six or seven weeks ?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Do you think you could have done that well in North Carolina ?—A. I could have done better in North Carolina. I can get \$10 a month there, and half of Saturday afternoon, and as much ground as I want, and a horse to plow it with, and my board.
- Q. You were never offered anything like that out there, were you ?—A. No, sir ; nothing like that at all.
- Q. Are the rest of your people, who have gone out there, in Putman County, getting on better than you did ?—A. You mean those emigrants ?
- Q. Yes, sir.—A. No, sir. Some of them are getting only \$5 a month.
- Q. Men folks ?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Do you know any of the men who are working for Mr. Stevenson ?—A. No, sir ; they came out from another party.
- Q. Do you know what he is paying them ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do all those who are out there get work ?—A. No, sir ; not all of them get work.

Q. What are those doing who have not got any work ?—A. They are just walking around there.

Q. Living on what places give them ?—A. Yes, sir ; going from place to place.

Q. Do the women get places out there ?—A. No, sir ; I saw some of them on Sunday, and talked with them about that.

Q. Why don't they get places ?—A. They say they do not suit out there.

Q. Do they get as much as they get in North Carolina when they are employed ?—A I have heard of some of them getting \$4, but I hain't seen that ; women in North Carolina gets \$5, and some of them \$4, according to what sort of hands she is.

Q. How much did you ever get in North Carolina ?—A. I have got \$12, but I put it down to \$10 all round ; they call me an extra hand down there.

Q. How old are you ?—A. I am thirty-two this coming July.

Q. How much of a family have you ?—A. I have six children and a wife.

Q. Did you live on a piece of rented ground in North Carolina ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you own it ?—A. No, sir ; I lived with a gentleman, Mr. Richard Hardy.

Q. And he gives you a piece of land to cultivate ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you farm some for yourself ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have to pay rent ?—A. I pay half the cotton, and a third of the corn and fodder.

Q. How much can one man make at that rate ?—A. Well, it is owing to the ground.

Q. You have fair, average ground, have you not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, take yourself, now ; how much do you make on it ?—A. About eight bags.

Q. You do not mean bales of cotton ?—A. Yes, sir ; I call them "bags."

Q. How much land would it take to raise eight bales of cotton ?—A. We generally put in down there about twelve acres of ground in cotton.

Q. Can you get eight bales or bags of cotton off from that ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much is a bag of cotton worth, delivered at Snow Hill ?—A. Well, sir, it is owing to what the price is.

Q. Well, this year for instance ?—A. Well, sir, this year for a five hundred pound bag it is worth 10 cents a pound.

Q. That would be \$50 a bale ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So, if you get four bales out of eight, you would have \$200 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you would have a patch of ground to cultivate, and a place for your cow and calf, and all that ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say one-third of the corn you raise goes to pay the rent ?—A. Two-thirds of it goes to pay the rent, and one-third comes to me.

Q. Have you a pretty good house ?—A. Yes, sir, I had, because it has not been so very long since it was built.

Q. Did you live comfortably ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you get your fire-wood free ?—A. Yes, sir ; I would go down in the marsh and get as much as I wanted—and light wood, too.

Q. What did you do last year ?—A. Last year I hired out for the sea-

sou to a gentleman ; he had some green marsh down there to clear up, and I hired with him.

Q. What do you call a "season" in North Carolina ?—A. From the time we plow until we gather in.

Q. What did you do for that gentleman last season ?—A. I commenced last winter cutting off timber ; he was to give me five acres to clean up, and all I got off from there I was to have.

Q. For cleaning it up you were to have what you could raise on it for one season ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was this last year ?—A. Yes, sir ; this last year past.

Q. And then you made a crop on the new ground ?—A. Yes, sir ; part of it.

Q. Did you raise cotton ?—A. No, sir ; I raised corn. We do not put cotton in the marsh.

Q. Nobody had abused you then, in North Carolina, to make you uncomfortable ?—A. No, sir.

Q. The white people treated you kindly ?—A. Yes, sir ; nobody ever bothered me at all.

Q. Did you belong to anybody before the war ?—A. Yes, sir ; I belonged to a gentleman in Newbern, named Smallwood ; and then I came to the place where I live now.

Q. You never had any trouble in court, did you ?—A. No, sir ; never at all, at no time, except that I have been on the jury.

Q. Can you read and write ?—A. No, sir ; I cannot read and write.

Q. Now, you said you had no trouble there of any kind ; how did you come to go to Indiana ?—A. Well, sir, Samuel Perry was knocking around there among some of the boys, and he said there was a circular telling us to go out to Kansas ; and he said they would give us land and plenty to do ; that the government wanted us to go out there ; and then he began to hold meetings ; some of them said they were political, and some of them said that if the government was not in it they were not going. Some of the Republicans and Democrats of the negroes both said so ; but they kept up the meetings, and at last we started Perry out to Kansas, to that big place down there that he talked about, to pick out somewhere for us to go. He came on here ; he took up a collection, I do not know of how much money, to pay his way ; when he was to come back he was to take us on. When he was here in this city he sent for more money, and we took up another collection, and sent it to him ; but whether he got it or no I do not know. He wrote again to know whether we would like to go there, to Kansas. He said that Indiana was a better place ; that in Kansas we would starve out ; and he said how would we like it in Indiana. He sent circulars down there and all that, and we said all right, to go on. We thought it was a long way to go to Kansas. He came back so soon that I did not think he had been down there anyway. He came back, and said that he had seen Mr. Langsdale and Mr. Clay, and they had fixed up a circular. He said, " Now, boys, all is fixed for you, and they want you out there ;" and he said, " You must go there." He said that we could not go any farther, nor go to Kansas ; he said that we would go to Indiana ; that they had furnished the money ; but he said, " They won't furnish the money for you to go to Kansas, but you must stop there in Indiana." I said all right ; I would do that. And he said that the Preacher Clay said that the women could get \$10 a week out there for peeling tomatoes and for waiting girls. That was pretty high, you know, and it took with the negroes powerful. I asked what would become of the old women in North Carolina. He said we could leave them or take

them. He said that funds were all ready made up there for us; so we concluded to go out. I thought I would bring my wife with me, and he appointed a time for us to come. That day, though, I thought it was best to leave my wife and look at the thing for myself. He held another meeting, and he said, "Now, men, the party don't want any women out there." He said, "The party has been so badly fooled that we don't want them out there." He said, "They want to see our faces first, and know that its all right;" and that is the reason why only three women went out in that first crowd.

Q. How much did he tell you the men got out there?—A. He said we would get \$15 month now, and more in the spring.

Q. When spring opened, how much were you to get?—A. From eighteen to twenty or twenty-five dollars a month.

Q. Do you know what that circular said? Was it read over to you?—A. He was reading something, but I do not know whether the circular said it or no.

Q. What do you think of Perry?—A. Sam Perry? I think he is a bad fellow.

Q. You think he is a bad fellow, do you?—A. Yes, sir; I am down on people going around among the ignorant people to fool them.

Q. He fooled you, did he?—A. Yes, sir; he fooled the whole bustin' bilin' of us.

Q. What did you find about the schools out there? That was one of his big points, was it not?—A. Yes, sir; but about the schools, I found that true.

Q. What did he say about the climate?—A. He said it was just one degree colder there than in North Carolina.

Q. What do you think about that?—A. I think he did not get that down right. But it is not the cold out there that I am standing back home on. It is my labor and forage I am after. I am frost-bitten now; I never was before in my life; and if I live I am never going to be no more.

Q. What were you doing when you got frost-bitten?—A. I was shuckin' corn; it was wet and muddy and miry out there.

Q. Do you think you want to be frost-bitten any more?—A. No, sir; not by him nor Indiana either. But I sort of smelt a rat when I first came to this here depot, down here. I said to him, "Why ain't you doing what you were going to do?" He said he hadn't seen the leading parties yet. I said I did not know we were going to stay here more than a day, and now it was two days; and he said it was no difference to me, and for me to keep still. I said, "What did you come to this place for?" We came here at your beck and call, and you ought to come to us now and help us out. We had to go to the other depot down here; and he began to wean off from us clean till we got to Green Castle; I went to Indianapolis, but to Greencastle I would not go.

Q. At what time did you get there?—A. I got there over night.

Q. Did you pay your own way out there?—A. I paid \$19; that is what I paid to the emigrant society and the exodus.

Q. Did you pay Perry anything?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you come to pay it?—A. I paid my fareage; and Perry said the head authorities said for all that had had money to pay out for the rest up here to Washington City, and from here the road was already opened for us. There were several standing around there who wanted to come, and who had no money, and I pulled out my money and paid it for them on Sam Perry's say-so. I paid that money to get here, and then I paid another dollar right here at the depot.

Q. What did you pay that for ?—A. To help the others. Peter Williams had his roll-book going along raising a collection, and I gave him a dollar.

Q. Where is Peter Williams now ?—A. He is in a coal mine down below Greencastle.

Q. Do you know T. C. Williams ?—A. No ; I do not know him.

Q. Do you know Scott ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know Taylor Evans ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you got any money to go home on ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you get the money to come here with ?—A. I sent home for it.

Q. To whom ?—A. To old Dr. Howard's son.

Q. Is he a friend of yours ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he send you the money ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you got anything to go home on from here ?—A. No, sir ; it cost me \$27 from Greencastle here.

Q. Not from Greencastle here ?—A. I think that is what I paid, sir.

Q. They robbed you, then. Where did you buy your ticket ?—A. I bought it at Indianapolis ; I paid my fare on the train from Greencastle to Indianapolis, and bought a ticket from Indianapolis here ; I think the man I got it from said he paid \$16 for it ; and then \$1 on top of that to Greencastle was \$17.55.

Q. And that is what you paid ?—A. Yes, sir ; that is it.

Q. How much money did Mr. Howard send you ?—A. Twenty dollars.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Did you write any letters back, or have any written, to your colored friends at home telling them not to come there ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who wrote them for you ?—A. One colored fellow, who went there with me ; he wrote them.

Q. You cannot write yourself ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were those letters received there ?—A. Yes, sir ; right smart of them. I got letters back from them.

Q. Did anybody deceive you about those letters ?—A. I got one man to write a letter for me, I do not know who he was, and he did not write it exactly as I wanted him to, and I threw it into the fire, and burnt it up.

Q. What did you tell him to write ?—A. I said, this is not the place for colored folks ; that they said it would be better in the spring, but there was no capital or labor for them ; that it was very cold, and they better not come out there.

Q. How did he write it ?—A. He wrote to them to come right on ; that it was all right, and that I was as fat as a bear, and weighed over 200 pounds.

Q. How did you come to find out that he had deceived you ?—A. I didn't seal up the letter ; he wanted to send it right away ; but I kept it for this man near me to read ; I bu'sted it open, and showed it to him, and told him what I had told the man to put into it ; he saw it, and read what that white man had said, and it didn't work right.

Q. Who was that man ?—A. He was a white man at Greencastle ; I don't know his name ; I don't know many folks out there.

Q. Did anybody say anything to you before you went there, or after you got there, about how you were to vote ?—A. Well, sir, they said, "I reckon you are all voters?" and I said, "yes;" but I don't know whether the man that said that was a Republican or a Democrat. Di-

rectly I caught up with another fellow, and he said, "All you folks that are coming ought to come before the 1st of May; after that we don't want no more of you." I said to the boys, "Look here, boys, this is poor encouragement; our folks in North Carolina can't get out here before that time."

Q. Do you know what he wanted them to be there by the 1st of May for?—A. No, sir; I don't know what his politics was; but he said after the 1st of May he didn't want another one of us darkies to move in there.

Q. Where was he when he said that to you?—A. It was at the depot down at Greencastle.

Q. Did he say that to anybody else?—A. There were four or five others standing about there.

Q. You think you can do better in North Carolina than you did out there?—A. At present prices I can.

Q. You have an opportunity to educate your children in North Carolina, haven't you?—A. Yes, sir; we have schools there.

Q. Do you have the same chance as the white people?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. How did you happen to be summoned before this committee?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Who first spoke to you about it?—A. Do you mean before the committee? I don't know who was the first man who spoke to me about it.

Q. Where were you when you were spoken to?—A. I was in Greencastle; I was talking about coming, and they wanted me to stop here when I came through.

Q. Who did?—A. Some persons down there.

Q. Did Sheriff Lewman want you to stop here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he tell you what he wanted you to testify?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he tell you what to say?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he tell you what he wanted you to do?—A. No, sir. He said that they might want me before this committee.

Q. Do you know Sheriff Lewman?—A. I never saw him but three times, and but twice to know him.

Q. Do you know Mr. Allen, his deputy?—A. No, sir; I do not know him.

Q. When did you get the money to come here on?—A. I got it last Saturday; it came Thursday, but I was out in the country when it came.

Q. Who handed you the money?—A. Sheriff Lewman got it for me; I saw by the first letter where they were going to send it.

Q. Did Sheriff Lewman pass himself off on you as a Republican?—A. No, sir; he said he was a full-blooded Democrat.

Q. Did you hear of his passing himself off as a Republican on others?—A. I heard of it, but I do not know it. I saw him at Greencastle, and then I came up to Indianapolis and saw him.

Q. It was after you was here that he gave you that money?—A. Yes, sir; I never got it, however, until Monday; it was on Thursday before last, and I did not come to town until Saturday.

Q. You had talked with him about it before?—A. I said I wanted to go home; he was asking me how I liked the country, and I told him, and I said if I had money I wanted to go home.

Q. Did you hear anything of the Democrats not hiring your people out there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear of some houses that were burnt out there?—A. Yes, sir; I heard of one that a tree was sawed down on it.

Q. Was that because they were going to let colored people live in it?—A. That is what I heard.

Q. You thought then, that if you were getting into a place where there were such Democrats as that, it was no better than it was at home?—

A. No, sir; for I do not know who was doing that. I know the poor classes out there are Republicans, and they do not want colored people in there; they say they take away their labor, and cut down their wages, and they are against it.

Q. You think they are opposed to your coming there?—A. Yes, sir; I know that they are. There is one party among the colored folks out there that do not want us to come and one party that does.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. You were asked who first told you that you must come before this committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You cannot remember?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you talked with anybody about what you were going to swear to here?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know that man over there (indicating Mr. O. S. B. Wall)?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had any conversation with him upon that subject?—A. He said something to me about it, and told me who he was; but I did not pay much attention to it.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Did you not complain pretty bitterly, while you were passing through here, about your treatment in North Carolina?—A. No, sir; I never said anything about it; the other folks were talking, and I was standing by and listening; I said that, if the prices were such as the circular said, it was better than the prices we were getting in North Carolina.

Q. I mean down here at the depot; were you not complaining very bitterly down there about the Democrats in North Carolina?—A. No, sir; I never said anything, except as to present prices in Indiana.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You thought if you could get better wages you would go?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You believed the circular and what Sam. Perry said?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, you are going back home?—A. Yes, sir; I am going back home.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. And going to stay there?—A. Yes, sir; if I ever get there. The committee then adjourned to 10.30 a. m. Monday.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Monday, February 16, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF GREEN RUFFIN.

GREEN RUFFIN (colored) was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. State where you live when at home?—Answer. I live in Wilson County, North Carolina.

Q. How long is it since you left home?—A. Its a bout two months now, as near as I can get at it.

Q. Where have you been?—A. To Indianapolis.

Q. How did you come to go there?—A. Well, sir, there came news about there in the settlement, that if we would all agree to go out to the Western States, to Indianapolis, we could live considerably better out there. Well, it get my head deranged, so I had no sense to make any bargains to work at home, and I said I would go, and I would carry my folks; but I didn't, and I put off and goes myself.

Q. Have you a family?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many in the family?—A. I have a wife and three children.

Q. Did you go with the first party that went?—A. No, sir; I went with the second party.

Q. Did you pay your own way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how much it cost you to get there?—A. I think it was \$15.65.

Q. Well, when you got there, what did you do?—A. Well, sir, I done nothing for about two or three weeks.

Q. Did you get any work at all?—A. Sometimes I could get some—just a little more than enough to board me and pay rent. I tried every day to get work, except on Sunday.

Q. During the two months that you were there how much work did you do?—A. I can't tell.

Q. Did you work half the time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you work one day in three?—A. Yes, sir; I worked one week in about three weeks. Maybe I would get a week's work for a whole week at a time.

Q. How much did you get?—A. I got a dollar a day and boarded myself, and furnished my own tools.

Q. What sort of work did you do?—A. I was putting in sewers about the city.

Q. Did you have to furnish your own shovel?—A. Yes, sir; but they furnished the picks.

Q. And you got a dollar and boarded yourself?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you find much demand there for work?—A. There was mighty few people there were looking for workmen.

Q. Were there a few or many who were looking for work?—A. There were a great many of them looking for work, for there are plenty of people there as bad off as we were.

Q. How much wages were you to get out there?—A. Fifteen dollars a month on a farm, and house to live in, firewood furnished, and a cow and calf to milk extra for each family.

Q. Did you find any truth in such statements?—A. None at all, sir.

Q. Are you on your way back to North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you expect to stay there?—A. I'm aiming to get back home and die there.

Q. You are going to stay when you get there?—A. I am going to stay right at home and advise all the rest to stay.

Q. What kind of advice are you going to give them?—A. I am going to tell them, "You have got a home, and you stay there"; for its an abomination to go where you have got none.

Q. You speak in the church at home sometimes, don't you?—A. Yes, sir; sometimes in the prayer meetings and round about.

Q. Do you expect to speak to them about this thing?—A. Yes, sir; if I live, I expect to tell them about these things.

Q. You think it is a great outrage on your race?—A. Yes, sir; it is a regular abomination.

Q. You belonged to Mr. Ruffin, who was once in Congress, did you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How have you been treated since the war down there?—A. As good as I want to be. Nobody has ever bothered me, and when I worked for them they paid me.

Q. Did you vote down there?—A. Yes, sir; at every election. I have never missed any one that I know of.

Q. What ticket did you vote?—A. The Republican ticket.

Q. Did anybody ever keep you from voting it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you go to court during court week?—A. Yes, sir; I go to see how court goes on and the cases there.

Q. Did you live there on the old plantation?—A. Yes, sir; I have a piece of ground there yet.

Q. Do you rent it?—A. Yes, sir; I rent from a landholder.

Q. What sort of terms do you get?—A. Well, sir, if you tend the lands and they furnish the teams and all the utensils and seed, and I do the labor and board myself, I get a half.

Q. Do you make a living for yourself and family in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you heard of those big wages, you thought you could do better out there than at home?—A. Yes, sir; its a man's duty to do better if he can, but if you don't like it, why then don't take up with it.

Q. You don't like it, and you are going back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many of your people out there would go back from Indiana if they could?—A. I know of two families, and I think they have something of the rise of eight or ten children, who asked me to do something to get them back, and I said I would do my best.

Q. And you are going to try to get them back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you get back?—A. I had worked and got seven dollars that I saved; and the man that I was with wrote for money, and they sent him \$35, and he lent me seven, and with the seven I had it brought me here; and when I got here I had nothing to eat, but I was this nigh home.

Q. Did you tell the white people out there you were going home?—A. Yes, sir; I declared I wouldn't live in their State.

Q. Did any of them advise you to stay?—A. Yes, sir; they said they did not blame you immigrants for wanting to go home, but said, you try and stay until after the Presidential election, and then we think it is best for you to go home; and I said all right, and I went on my way and come here.

Q. Do you know the men who said that to you?—A. I do not.

Q. You have been raised in North Carolina, I believe. Now tell us

how you found the weather out there in Indiana for your people ?—A. It was too cold, sir.

Q. Did you notice a good many people among your emigrants who were sick ?—A. Yes, sir ; some two or three died in the time. There were little children who were carried to the graveyard and some old ones.

Q. Do you know this man Perry—Sam. Perry ?—A. I know him if I see him, but I wasn't acquainted with him.

Q. Did he make speeches down there in your country about this emigration matter ?—A. No, sir ; I don't know of anybody making any speeches in Wilson, but when I got to town I found this thing was all through there. I caught hold of it and it worried me so that I got away.

Senator BLAIR. I want you to tell us how many people advised you to stay in Indiana until after the election ?—A. I didn't take any notice how many—no more than I know this was spoke to me.

Q. How many times ?—A. Twice.

Q. Only twice ?—A. Only twice to my knowledge.

Q. Were they there in Indianapolis ?—A. Yes, sir ; right in the city.

Q. You have no knowledge of the persons who said that to you ?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you kept quiet about it ?—A. I said all right and walked right on.

Q. How many white people did you talk with while you were there ?—A. A great many.

Q. Did you talk with them probably a thousand times ?—A. Yes, sir, more or less.

Q. And twice only somebody said for you to hold on until after the election ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You can't give the names of those persons ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't know their politics ?—A. No, sir.

Q. They knew you were dissatisfied out there ?—A. Yes, sir ; they could see that.

Q. You don't know but what they were Democrats who wanted you to stay there and vote the Democratic ticket ?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. These Democrats are pretty sharp, and up to a great many tricks, ain't they ?—A. Yes, sir ; I reckon so.

Q. How much money did you have when you started to Indiana ?—A. \$45.

Q. How much did you pay to get there ?—A. \$15.65.

Q. And it cost you something to live on the way ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know how much ?—A. No, sir ; I loaned out \$8 to a colored man who was going on.

Q. Then it must have cost you some \$28 ?—A. I never counted it up.

Q. When you got ready to go back, when did you start from Indiana ?—A. Thursday morning at five o'clock.

Q. This last week ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you arrive here ?—A. Friday night, at seven o'clock.

Q. How did you happen to be here this morning ?—A. Well, sir, Mr. Barnes requested of me to stay.

The CHAIRMAN. I subpoenaed him, Mr. Blair.

The WITNESS. Mr. Barnes requested of me to stay, and so I staid.

Senator BLAIR. Did anybody else request you to stay ?—A. I don't know if Mr. Vance didn't say he would like for me to tarry.

Q. How did anybody know you had anything to tell about this emigration ?—A. They spoke to me in the depot, and I said I was going home

from Indianapolis; and they asked me how I liked it, and I said I didn't like it all. I said to them "Do you know of a man here by the name of Mr. Barnes?" They said "Yes."

Q. How did you come to know him?—A. Because I was raised with him right there in North Carolina.

Q. You say you got work only a third of the time you were out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If you had been at home, how much would you have gotten?—A. I would have worked every day if the weather was suitable.

Q. You could work all the time there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there any idle people down there?—A. Yes, sir; if they make themselves idle—that is all there is about it.

Q. What is the demand for labor? Is it so that the whole colored people there can work?—A. Yes, sir; if they want.

Q. From January to January?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you work out yourself?—A. I farm, sir.

Q. You rent land, do you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You mean, then, that you can work on the piece of land that you hire?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You don't mean that your people generally can have labor by the day, every single day in the year?—A. They don't do much of that kind of hiring down there with us.

Q. You mean, then, they can work on their land or land that they hire?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That there are a good many days that you don't have to work?—A. Yes, sir. There are a good many days when you won't have to work if you are up with your business.

Q. And it is in that way that you mean that you have work every day in the year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A man can do that in Indiana, can't he?—A. I didn't inquire about that.

Q. When you got there you didn't have any such work as that to do?—A. No, sir; I didn't.

Q. But you got a chance to dig sewers in Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir; I struck it for awhile.

Q. That is not good work for farmers to do, is it?—A. No, sir; but they tell me they don't have any use for farmers much until about March. I went round for about ten miles from the city all round. Some of them said they would take me in March, but I said I couldn't be there in March. They asked me where I was going to be. I said I reckon I would be dead if I staid there, for I must have something to eat between this and March.

Q. Yet you say you accumulated \$7?—A. Yes, sir; but that's nothing to what I would get at home.

Q. You don't think you had the chance out there that you have at home?—A. Not the beginning of the chances.

Q. Isn't it a fact that a good many colored people have got chances to work, and have scattered out among the farmers and are doing well?—A. Well, sir, some of them have, and if they don't like it they say they do.

Q. If they don't like it they say they do?—A. Yes, sir; I don't see how they liked it though, when they say they can't get work and are most fit to starve.

Q. You think they don't tell it, then, as it is?—A. No, sir; I don't think so, because I could see their condition myself.

- Q. At the same time they seem to like it better than North Carolina?
—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. And you saw many men who have families, and who want to get back home?—A. Yes, sir; they told me so.
- Q. And these are the only ones you know who want to get back?—A. They are the only ones who told me so.
- Q. You are a preacher, and a sociable sort of a man, and you go round among them a great deal at Indianapolis?—A. I didn't have anything to say of the Scriptures among them.
- Q. You saw them and talked with them, though?—A. Mighty little; I talked mighty little myself.
- Q. But you saw most of them and talked with them?—A. I couldn't say that and tell the truth.
- Q. But you saw a good deal of them?—A. Yes, sir; I saw a good deal of them.
- Q. And two of them said they wanted to get back?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Well, you seem to have a good deal of feeling in this matter?—A. Yes, sir; I have.
- Q. And you want to get back home and die there?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. But you don't want to die right away, do you?—A. I hope not, but I am going to tell them not to go out there to Indiana; I ain't going myself no more; but I shall not pester them if they want to go and find out for themselves.
- Q. You think they have a right to go if they want to?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. They have the same right to go to Indiana as a white man?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did you talk with the white people out there much as to whether they thought the colored people ought to go there?—A. No, sir.
- Q. Did you see any politicians out there, and talk politics with them?
—A. I don't talk politics with anybody if I can help it.
- Q. Why not?—A. I don't believe in taking up too much time with that sort of stuff, and if I can get labor and get my money for it, I rather for that.
- Q. But the question is, did you talk any politics out there?—A. Not unless somebody attacked me about it.
- Q. Did anybody attack you with it?—A. I told you that gentleman did, who asked me to stay until after the day of election.
- Q. Were there any others who talked the merits of the political question with you; argued with you about it?—A. Not that I can remember.
- Q. Those two Republicans or Democrats told you to stay until after the election?—A. I didn't know what their politics were.
- Q. Didn't they tell you you would have an easy time when it came spring?—A. Some did and some did not; so me of them said it would be the same thing all the year.
- Q. Some of them said it was better for you to go out?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. You don't know whether they were Republicans or Democrats?
—A. I am certain there were two of them who were Republicans; they were the same two who sent off my letters.
- Q. They were Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. They were not anxious, then, for you to stay?—A. They were Republicans, and they said I had better go back.
- Q. They advised you to come back home?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Were they very strong Republicans?—A. I don't know, sir.
- Q. Were they good looking men?—A. Yes, sir; they looked like intelligent men.

Q. And they advised you to leave Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; they thought it best, as they said we were most on to starvation.

Q. These people who go out there didn't take money to buy land, and so they have to work and earn some before they can make any purchases?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If a man went to Indiana with three or five hundred dollars in his pocket he could do as he pleased, could he not?—A. Five hundred dollars wouldn't go far with him there to buy land.

Q. How far would it go in North Carolina?—A. A right smart piece.

Q. It wouldn't buy much in Raleigh would it?—A. Well, sir, I haven't been there since I was a boy.

Q. Well, \$500 wouldn't buy much in a city?—A. I think not.

Q. And wouldn't do so in Indianapolis?—A. No, sir; I don't suppose it would.

Q. Suppose you were to go out into the unsettled parts of Indiana as in North Carolina, then it would go pretty far, wouldn't it?—A. I can't keep up with you about that; I am telling only as far as I went.

Q. Well, if you were to go out in the country it would go farther than in the city?—A. I don't know; I have not any experience of it.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) Mr. Blair has asked you if you believe it is right for a man to go anywhere in this country that he pleases, and you said you do think so. Do you think it is right to be induced to leave your home and go away where you are not known, and where you cannot get work, by means of falsehoods and misrepresentations?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't think a man ought to be induced in that way to go where he would be worse off?—A. No, sir; I don't think so.

Q. You think that has been done in this case?—A. Yes, sir; with me and all the rest.

Q. And that is the feeling of the colored people towards this man Perry?—A. The feeling, so far as I presume of it, is great dissatisfaction with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Syphax, I will swear you as the next witness.

The witness, JOHN B. SYPHAX (colored), addressed the chair:

Mr. Chairman, allow me to state here that the testimony which I have to give before your honorable committee will relate altogether to the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Windom, who is a member of this committee. I expect to charge him, and I believe that I can prove that he originated this matter, and I make the special request that he be here to listen to it. I shall regard him as the originator of this movement, and I shall be glad to have him here and hear my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, we will not examine you until he is present.

TESTIMONY OF J. W. DODD.

J. W. DODD was sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You may state where you reside.—Answer. Indianapolis, Ind.

Q. State what positions you have occupied in the State.—A. I have occupied official positions in the State for some years, but not now.

Q. You have been auditor of the State?—A. I have been for two terms or four years.

Q. You reside at Indianapolis now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has your attention been called to the matter of this emigration of

colored people into our State?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard of it and read of it in the newspapers, and have seen them arrive in droves and squads, and noticed them afterwards on the streets, and talked to a good many of them.

Q. Do you know of any of them making any statements on the subject?—A. Yes, sir; I was present when some of them made and subscribed to certain statements, and I have read some statements made when I wasn't present.

Q. Do you remember the names of any of them who made statements to your knowledge?

(The witness produced a paper containing names, and then answered:)

A. Well, I talked with Needham Green and Peter Dew, John Taylor, Louis Williams, a man named Miller, and Robert Mawley.

Q. Do you know of Needham Green making a statement in writing?

—A. I didn't see it; I only know what I heard him say.

Q. Do you know of Peter Dew making a statement?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see him make it?—A. I don't know as I did. I think I was present when he signed it; I wasn't present when he made it.

Q. See if you can identify that as a copy of the paper you know of his making (handing witness a paper).—A. I am not certain, sir, that I was present when he made that statement, but I heard him state all that was here.

Q. If you can identify that as the statement substantially made to you, do so.—A. Yes, sir; I heard him state all that is here.

Q. You may read that then.

The WITNESS (reading): "I, Peter Dew, make the following statement of my own free will this the 19th day of June, 1880: I, with 400 other persons emigrated to Indiana four weeks ago. I came here through previous promises made by Samuel Perry and Peter Williams, both of whom are Republicans. They represented that I would receive for labor on farms \$15 per month, provisions, and a cow and calf, and in the city would be paid \$2.50 per day. They also said that each one who came would be given and furnished a house; that we could buy land in any tract that we wanted for from one dollar to a dollar and a half per acre. Not one of these promises is true, so far as I know. I haven't found work of any kind except at a coal yard and stove factory, where I worked four days and received \$2.50. I can't find any work; my money is all gone, and I will have to call on the city for help. I am a Republican, and I came here expecting to vote that ticket." Yes, sir, he made all those statements to me. I am not quite sure that I was present when he made this statement.

Q. Did he say anything to you about going back?—A. He said he would like to go back, and he was trying to collect money to get back the first day I saw him.

Q. Was he a man of family?—A. Yes, sir; I think he had a wife and several children.

Q. Was his family with him?—A. I can't say positively, but I think he had them.

Q. Did you talk with Needham Green?—A. Yes, sir; I talked to four or five together, among whom those names I mentioned, and I don't know that I can state what each one said by himself, except Peter Dew; him I remember particularly.

Q. Do you recollect Needham Green so that you can recollect what he said?—A. I think I can.

Q. Do you remember his telling you that the reason he came was that Perry and Williams and Evans promised him work, and that he

would be paid from two to three dollars a day, and that houses were furnished there waiting for the emigrants ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think all four said so.

Q. Do you remember Green and the others, whether those or not made particular statements that Perry and others told them that there were 500 carpenters pushing all the time building homes for emigrants ?—A. I think one of them made that statement—one of those whose names I gave you.

Q. How did they say they found things out there agreeing with those promises ?—A. They said they had been deceived and disappointed, and if they had their way about it the colored men in North Carolina would know the facts and be told to stay at home.

Q. Did they say anything about going out there to vote the independent Republican ticket ?—A. Some of them said that ; I asked Peter Dews about it and he would not say what was the purpose, but he expected to vote the Republican ticket. He thought he was expected to do that, and that all of them were. Some of them said they were told before they left North Carolina that they were expected to be good strong Republicans—valiant, stout-hearted Republicans.

Q. Do you recollect a man named John Taylor ?—A. Yes, sir ; he was in the party, and that is what he said.

Q. He says here, " I was induced to leave North Carolina by Sam'l Perry and Williams, who are Republicans. They told me I would be paid \$2 and \$3 per day with home furnished ; firewood, and cow and calf free ; that they were furnishing clothing, &c., ready ; that land would be furnished in such tracts as the emigrants wanted, and they would have from six to seven years to pay it in ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think all four said so.

Q. That these lands could be had from a dollar to a dollar and a half per acre ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that a hundred acres could be bought by each emigrant ?—A. Yes, sir ; They also stated they could have a number of years to pay for it in.

Q. Did any of them speak about what time they were expected to go or to get to Indiana ?—A. I don't think I heard any of them say anything about that.

Q. What did they say women's wages would be as represented to them down in North Carolina ?—A. They said it was represented that plenty of work could be had for them as house servants, and that they could get three to five dollars per week.

Q. What are the wages of good servant girls in Indiana ?—A. Well, sir, one of our best servants gets from two and a half to three and a half per week.

Q. That is for choice women ?—A. Yes, sir ; they get from ten to fifteen dollars per month.

Q. You have seen some of the women folks who came with these emigrants ?—A. Yes, sir ; some of them.

Q. Are they such as would be employed to do house work in Indianapolis ?—A. No, sir ; I think not. They are women with children, and a good many of them small children such as would not be desired in such a place.

Q. You talked with Louis Williams, did you not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is the same man whose statement was read here by Mr. East ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He made substantially the same statements to you ?—A. Yes, sir I believe I saw him make that statement.

Q. Do you remember a man by the name of James Wooten?—A. I am not positive, but I think so. I think he was one of the parties I talked with.

Q. When did you have those talks with those parties?—A. I saw them in the street, and in the room in the Sentinel building, and in the rooms of the office of the auditor of state.

Q. Were they all manifesting a wish to go home, if they had the means?—A. That is what I understood from them.

Q. Were they all men of family?—A. I think most of them were.

Q. Do you remember a man by the name of Samuel McKay?—A. No, sir; not by name.

Q. Did any of them complain of being abused in North Carolina?—A. No, sir; the men I talked with said they were well enough off in North Carolina and making a living. Some of them said they had disposed of their little property to get there to Indiana. Some of them had sold a little ground, and a cow and calf, and a horse and wagon to get the means, and had spent it all and had arrived there destitute.

Q. You have spent all your life in Indiana, Mr. Dodd?—A. Yes, sir; since I was a boy.

Q. And about twenty-five years in Indianapolis?—A. I went there in 1856.

Q. Do you know a much more unpromising place where a man could go to look for work at this time?—A. I wouldn't advise anybody to go there at this time.

Q. White or black or any color?—A. No, sir; I think for two or three years past the supply for every kind of labor has been ample. The reason is this, that Indianapolis had a very rapid growth up to 1873. It was very prosperous and buildings and improvements were going on very fast. The town and country round were filled up with laborers, and we had inflation in prices, but that suddenly stopped and these men are there, and there are more of them than can be employed.

Q. Isn't there much suffering among the poorer classes, and wouldn't many of them die from want unless they were helped by public charity?—A. Yes, sir; the record of the township trustees show that last winter many of them were suffering and had to be helped. It is a very unpromising place just now for poor people. Perhaps it is a little better now than for several years past, and I hope it is.

Q. You are acquainted with the leading men of Indianapolis, and through the State?—A. Yes, sir; I believe I am.

Q. Have you noticed any Republican newspapers discouraging this immigration?—A. No, sir; I don't think I have. I don't remember now but one paper ever saying anything on the other side of the question, and that is The Indianapolis News.

Q. And it is not square in the traces, is it?—A. It doesn't call itself a Republican newspaper; no, sir.

Q. It calls itself an independent newspaper?—A. Yes, sir; that is what it calls itself.

Q. You haven't noticed any other paper of even Republican leaning that has discouraged this movement?—A. No, sir; I think they have all encouraged it, so far as I know.

Q. What is the feeling in Indianapolis as to whether this is a political movement or not?—A. I think it is the opinion of every man of reasonable intelligence who reads the papers, that it is a Republican movement for the purpose of carrying the State of Indiana. I think that is public opinion. It is evidenced by the fact that the Republican news-

papers approve it, and men who talk on the streets chuckle at it, while Democrats swear it.

Q. The truth is, it is as much a question there as any that has ever been before them?—A. Yes, sir; and there is another reason far above that, and that is that you can't account for it on any other ground. There is no reason why they should go there, except to be used for that purpose. They leave a climate that is hospitable and congenial to them, and go where they can't get work, and where they are unsuited; their native country to a country where they are not wanted, where they are not acclimated; to an inhospitable country where they suffer and die; and for all this you have to give a reason, and you can't find it anywhere except from the evidences I have given you: that is, the movement is for political purposes. The real movers may be concealed, but they pull the trigger all the same. That is my judgment of it.

Senator BLAIR. Have you ever been to North Carolina?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever heard of any colored people being subjected to hardships and abuses there in the last fifteen years, or in the South generally?—A. I don't know as I have; my impression, from what I have seen and heard from others, is that they are doing well.

Q. You don't know that the people who live there have lost some of their rights, and think they can do better elsewhere?—A. No, sir; none that I have known have said so.

Q. How many have you known?—A. I think I have given you the names of all of them.

Q. Then you have seen those only who have been scraped together, gotten up by the Democratic strikers and feuglemen of the Sentinel office and State House, who were trying to get these statements to be sent here as evidence before this committee; and you think that is the sort of evidence that should be sent here to prove that men are taken from that State and brought to Indiana to vote the Republican ticket?

(The witness hesitating —)

Mr. BLAIR. I suppose you don't understand the question.

THE WITNESS. No, sir; I didn't think you were asking a question.

Q. You were summing up the reasons, or rather stating that there was no possible reason for their going to Indiana, except that the Republicans there wanted them to vote?—A. I didn't say there was no possible reason; I said it was the only reasonable explanation for their going.

Q. You are aware of the fact that a great many colored people do give reasons for leaving North Carolina and other portions of the South that are different from that one?—A. I have not seen any from any other portion of the South except North Carolina.

Q. And of those you have seen none except those who have given these statements?—A. I have never seen or heard of anything to the contrary, except one statement which I saw in a negro paper there in Indianapolis.

Q. You stated that these statements were all you knew anything about?—A. They were all the written statements.

Q. Then upon these statements of these men you make up your opinion as to the reason why the great mass of them leave North Carolina?—A. That is the reason I have heard from all I have talked with; the same given, for instance, by the man who has just left this chair (Green Ruffin).

Q. Did you hear him make these statements anywhere but here?—A. No, sir; but I have heard the same things from those in Indiana.

Q. Then you didn't make up your mind here?—A. No, sir; I had it pretty well made up when I left Indiana.

Q. Wasn't your mind made up before you left Indiana that the Republicans were making them leave North Carolina and going there in order to get their votes?—A. Yes, sir; I think so still.

Q. And you say these statements were all that you heard from the colored men as to why they were induced to leave North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; these statements, and my talks with some eight or ten of them.

Q. Did those men, any of them, make any statements of the hardships they endured at the South?—A. I think I stated that all of them said they were doing well and were treated well there.

Q. Have you stated all the grounds upon which you based your opinions that this was a political movement?—A. Yes, sir; I think I have.

Q. And it is based on the statements of those eight or ten colored men who were well off in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; and who were induced to go there by false representations.

Q. If all the rest, leaving out these ten, were to give a different reason you would change your opinion, would you not? If they stated that they came North because they could educate their children better, and get better wages, and enjoy their civil rights, would you alter your opinion?—A. If there were any evidences that these statements were true I would; but if the men were paupers and beggars there in Indiana, and were still to tell me they had plenty of work when I knew they had not, I would not believe them.

Q. You would believe them, though, until it was proven that they lied?—A. Yes, sir; if the evidence was right there with them.

Q. Suppose the large mass of them said they came there to better educate their children, and to regain their political rights, and that by the system of labor in the South, under the landlord and tenant act, he was deprived of the fruits of his labor, and expected to do better in Indiana, then you would believe him?—A. Yes, sir. Without other evidence I should have to believe him.

Q. If the colored man came and said he had worked here in the South, and was paid in orders on stores, &c., and was not enabled to enjoy the fruits of his labor, wouldn't you believe him?—A. Well, sir, you put a hard hypothetical case.

Q. Wouldn't you believe him if he said that?—A. Well, sir, from the evidence that I have had from them, I think I would believe him as quick as if he had said that two and two make five.

Q. The evidence that you mean that you have, is contained in these statements. Now, suppose that five times as many were to give other reasons, wouldn't you believe them?—A. Not unless I had some other proof of the state of things than I have got up now.

Q. If they were to say it wasn't a political movement, wouldn't you believe what they did say?—A. It would require some other proof to make me believe it.

Q. I take it that your feelings and political prejudices, are pretty strong on this subject?—A. I don't know as I have any prejudices on the subject. I think that I could demonstrate that my opinion is a fact, or that there is sufficient reason for a man to have such an opinion.

Q. You said, I believe, that there was no cause for it except a political one?—A. I say there has been none furnished thus far.

Q. You say, in effect, that you would not believe what these people say as to their treatment down there. Now, are you not unreasonable in taking these statements of eight or ten persons to be true, because they agree with you, and refuse to take the statements of fifty others

who say different?—A. I don't know anything about them. I have never heard those statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear the man who was sitting there a few days ago state that he was a slave at the end of the war, and now had property and white tenants on his land, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were impressed with the belief that in a State that would allow a man to do that, wasn't a very bad place?—A. Yes, sir; those are among the things which go to make my opinion. My opinions are made up from what I see and hear and read.

Q. And you think there is no reasonable cause for this exodus, unless it is a political one?—A. No, sir; I don't think any man can give a good one that will be different.

Q. You think so, too, because the entire Republican press of the State, while they don't approve of it, don't disapprove of it?—A. Yes, sir; that's a fact.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Did you hear a colored witness who testified here, and who said that out of the entire population of his county he only knew two colored men who owned property?—A. No, sir.

Q. And that the colored people were in the majority in his county?—A. I think I heard one say so.

Q. What would you think of the state of society where a majority of the people in the county—heads of families—in fifteen years of freedom were not able to accumulate enough property to acquire a homestead? What do you think of that state of society and laws?—A. That is another hypothetical case of yours. I would have to know the facts before expressing an opinion.

Q. If that is a fact what do you say of it?—A. I would say that those men who had not acquired anything were not a very thrifty set of men.

Q. Suppose the laws and the influence of the dominant class are such that they could not do it?—A. I could not suppose that, because the very evidence you refer me to is different. They said that the laws are good and equal as to whites and blacks; that they had voted as they believed.

Q. You don't seem to be disposed to answer my question except on such evidence as you believe yourself. When the chairman asks you a question which is supposititious, you answer it, presuming that it is true?—A. Mr. Senator, when that state of things is presented to me as a fact, then I can answer it.

Q. And you won't until then?—A. I don't know what I might do if the state of facts were presented to me as true. The broad fact is, if a man reads the newspapers in Indiana he must think it is a political movement, and intended to carry the State of Indiana for the Republicans. I believe if I were allowed to make a speech of thirty minutes, I could make you believe it.

Senator BLAIR. Well, that is your opinion, but it is not the public opinion of Indiana. We have had a plenty of evidence here to the contrary.

The CHAIRMAN. As Mr. Blair is making a statement about the public opinion of Indiana and the evidence, I will make one myself, and say to you, Mr. Dodd, that there is plenty of evidence here that what you say is true.

On motion, the committee adjourned to 10.30 a. m. Wednesday, February 18, 1880.

SEVENTEENTH DAY.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. SYPHAX.

J. B. SYPHAX (colored) was sworn and examined, as follows:

The WITNESS. Before you proceed, Mr. Chairman, to interrogate me, it may be proper for me to say that I am pleased to answer any question that any member of the committee may ask, or to go on in a general way and make my statement, just as it may suit the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. After I ask you a few questions you may go on and make your statement. Give us your name.—Answer. John B. Syphax.

Q. Where do you reside?—A. At Arlington County, Alexandria, Va.

Q. How long have you resided there?—A. It is my birth place. I am living now right where I was born.

Q. What is your age?—A. Thirty-eight, I think.

Q. Mr. Syphax, the reason that I had you subpoenaed was, that I saw your name appended to a printed report which had been made to a meeting of your people on the subject of the exodus. The matter attracted my attention, and I had you subpoenaed in order to enable you to give the committee your views upon that subject?—A. Well, Mr. Chairman, in so far as any information that I may have touching this matter is concerned, it is rather of a peculiar character, and I suppose it will be necessary for me to make some reference here just at this point. I have some papers in my pocket to which I can refer, I suppose, as the committee desires information.

Q. You may state, in passing, what your politics are.—A. Mr. Chairman, I have never been a slave to any party, but I am known in the State of Virginia as affiliating with the Republican party. I hold the local office of justice of the peace, elected on a Republican ticket.

Now, sir, in the beginning of this matter, so far as the immediate cause of the movement is concerned, as I said yesterday, and as I very significantly indicated, that I would hold the very distinguished member of your committee and also of the Senate of the United States, Mr. Windom, responsible for it. I know nothing concerning the origin or causes of the exodus; yet the resolution and speech made in the Senate by Mr. Windom, of Minnesota. I think I will be able to state to the committee that my judgment in that particular is correct.

Now, when this resolution was first offered, or before it was offered in the Senate, there is a man there who sweeps the floor of the American Senate, and one or two other colored men in this city, who were requested by the Senator from Minnesota to come to him and request that he should originate something of this character touching the status of the colored people in the South, for what purpose I have been unable to learn. After reading his resolution, after that, in some of the newspapers here, and regarding the matter as being quite a startling and extraordinary position to be assumed or taken by either a Republican or Democratic Senator, I came to the Capitol, and went into the document room of the Senate and requested a copy of that resolution. While there a gentleman came in who was an employé in the Senate—I think he occupied the position of doorkeeper. I think he comes from the State of Rhode Island, and is a colored man, and I think his name is Gaskins. He thought, like other colored men who had been gotten in to express an enthusiasm for the movement, and he made some statements to me.

I desire to be strictly truthful, and let me say that I speak the truth because I have some feeling in this matter, for it goes beyond party feel-

ing, and so far as my testimony is concerned it will not be for the purpose of giving any particular consolation to either the Democratic or Republican party. I think my head is pretty clear as to that. While reading this resolution in the presence of an ex-member of the legislature, a man who served in that body with myself, this man Gaskins came up and said to me (of course I suppose he was an ignorant man, and knew nothing of the matter at all), but he said to me, "Well, I hope you heartily endorse this movement, because Senator Windom has said that when he makes his speech in the Senate on this question he desires to hold in his hand letters, communications, from 500 colored representative men." That was all about that he said to me.

But to show you that I have acted perfectly square and honest, I went directly to the door of the Senate and met the Senator from Minnesota. I inquired of him when he would make his speech on this question, and he said to me Friday, perhaps, if he could prepare his notes and get ready. I don't think the speech was made on Friday, but I was in the gallery and heard it, and I went at once to him, and before he made his speech here in Washington the past January, the 29th of January, 1879, I think it was, I addressed the Senator a letter on my own responsibility, and as one identified with this people, whose interests were called in question, representing myself and nobody else, and I have that letter here over my signature.

Q. Do you desire to make it a part of your testimony? If so, just read it so the reporter can take it.—A. They have it headed, "Moving the blacks about—A colored Virginian legislator who does not agree with Senator Windom—Mr. Syphax as a leading colored man."

I put this in the post office addressed to the distinguished member from Minnesota. This was the beginning of the matter, so far as I know it, and as I said before, I am at the disposal of the committee to answer any questions, or if they desire me to go on and make any further statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on Mr. Syphax.—A. After this, there was much confusion over the subject, and having thus committed myself in this way, I had but one object in view, and that was to defeat the movement. The letter was published in North Carolina, there in the city of Raleigh, last August. After that I thought it proper that we should have a meeting in the city here, and have an investigation here at the very capital. I made some such proposition, and we had the meeting, and I offered a resolution, which is here in this newspaper, with this report in it. I will only read it for the committee.

(The witness read the resolution.)

I made the same charges in this report, and I am ready now to do the best I can to sustain the assertions I have made.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Have you told us all you know about it?—A. I may know something else. The better way is to interrogate me. I am in your hands.

Q. I want you to tell all you know. I want you to tell it right out in your own way.—A. I don't know that I can suit you in that way.

Q. I ask you if you know anything more about this movement?—A. That question isn't the one to ask me.

Q. I want to know if you know anything more about it?—A. I don't know that I have anything more to say.

Q. Are you keeping back anything that you do know?—A. I don't know as I am. When the chairman tells me that I am in the hands of gentlemen to be interrogated, I take it that that is the proper course of the examination.

Q. Well, I am interrogating you now. Do you know any more about this matter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell it.—A. I will. After this matter was referred to, there were a number of gentlemen, who were on the very same line, who came up to interview the Senator from Minnesota—a Mr. Greener, Mr. Du Foe, and several other gentlemen. They had an interview with him, and it's all quoted here in my report. They carried out the programme on the line already indicated. It was such a character of meeting as would justify the Senator from Minnesota in going before the country and stating the position of the colored men as indorsing this movement, &c.

Q. Is that all you know about it?—A. I guess that is all.

Q. Have they any lunatic asylums in Virginia to which colored people are admitted?—A. In the State of Virginia, Senator?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. We have two there, one for colored people and one for white people, and when we find people there who don't understand themselves we send them to one or the other.

Q. How did you escape?—A. If the Senator wants to go to one of them, and will go to my county, we will send him.

Q. How did you escape from one?—A. They released me on the supposition that I would interview you, and get you to go there.

Q. And you came here to interview Mr. Voorhees and other members of the committee?—A. No, sir; not particularly.

Q. But you have sworn that you were released?—A. Of course the records will show what I said.

Q. Certain?—A. If the Senator wants to make anything out of me in that way, or begin his bulldozing, he can do so.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. I didn't understand you, Mr. Syphax, to swear that you were released from a lunatic asylum, but that you made that statement in the same spirit of badinage that the Senator from Minnesota was using?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were not, in point of fact, ever released from a lunatic asylum?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are a justice of the peace, elected by the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And I think that you are about the best one of that party that I ever saw.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You say you wrote that letter to me?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You didn't get any answer to it?—A. No, sir. Any more questions?

Senator WINDOM. No, sir. I don't think you know enough of this subject to justify my asking you anything.

The WITNESS. All right, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH ADAMS.

JOSEPH ADAMS (colored) sworn and examined, as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. What is your name?—Answer. Joseph Adams.

Q. Where do you live?—A. In Goldsborough.

Q. North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been away from there?—A. Three weeks.

Q. What are you doing up here?—A. I came up here the time the emigrants was going up West, and I stopped here.

Q. What made you stop here?—A. I heard there was no getting along for a poor man up West, and I stopped. I have no money to back me up, and they said a poor man couldn't get along there, so I stopped here.

Q. Who told you that a poor man couldn't get along there?—A. I can't remember, but he was a man who was going along back home.

Q. He had been out to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he said there was no place for you out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why don't you go back to North Carolina?—A. I had run through all I had, and I staid here.

Q. Have you had any work since you have been here?—A. Yes, sir; two days I worked at Mr. Smith's mill.

Q. Are you going back when you can?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you seen Sam Perry since you have been here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did he say about how they were getting along out there?—A. He said he went through here about two or three weeks ago, and that he went to the barracks out there, where they were crammed in as thick as they could be with colored people from the South. He said he was going there; that he went to stay all night; that there were two or three who died when he was in there, and he wouldn't stay.

Q. What did Sam Perry tell you down in North Carolina?—A. I didn't hear Sam Perry speak.

Q. What did Talor Evans say?—A. He said any colored man, if he tried to get along, could make two or three dollars a day out there, and furthermore said that the colored and white people were about on an equality—all sociated together.

Q. He said they all sociated together?—A. Yes, sir; I heard him speak that.

Q. Did he say anything about the chance a colored man had to get married with a white woman?—A. He said there was no difference out there; that if a man was any account, and any kind of looking colored man, he could get married with one kind as well as the other.

Q. Are you a single man?—A. I am a married man with four children.

Q. Are they at home?—A. Yes, sir. They are at Goldsborough. My wife has been cooking for John Powers for four or five years.

Q. Where is this man Evans?—A. I don't know, sir; I haven't seen him since about a month ago; he came along here with a lot of emigrants going up West. He went on through, but I hear he has been here since.

Q. What do you think of him?—A. I don't think much of him at all.

Q. You don't believe what he told you?—A. No, sir.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. This is a committee appointed under a resolution of the Senate to investigate the causes of the exodus. Won't you tell us what you know about the causes of the exodus?—A. I have told you as near as I have knowed them.

Q. What is the reason that you came from North Carolina? Was it on account of all these things that you have stated?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You thought, among other things, if you went to Indiana, a black man could marry a white woman the same as if she was black?—A. I didn't have anything to do with that, because I was a married man. I started there to make a better living.

Q. Then that privilege of marrying didn't influence you?—A. No, sir; it didn't.

Q. Then I want to get at the exact reason why you left?—A. The reason I left North Carolina was because I thought I could make a better living there than in North Carolina.

Q. That was in Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you been there?—A. No, sir; but I have heard from there.

Q. You have heard stories both ways, haven't you?—A. I can only testify to what I heard; I know I can get along better in North Carolina than the way I hear from Indiana.

Q. How do you know that that which you hear is true?—A. Because I have seen people who came from there.

Q. Haven't you seen anybody who told you you could get along better there?—Yes, sir; but they live in North Carolina.

Q. Do you mean Perry and Williams?—A. Yes, sir; they lived in North Carolina.

Q. They have been there some time, haven't they?—A. Yes, sir; but they haven't been there to work.

Q. Well, pretty much all the colored people who have been to Indiana stay there?—A. Gone where?

Q. To Indiana.—A. You mean who went from North Carolina?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. I have seen one or two who have gone back.

Q. Don't you know that most of the colored people—industrious, sensible, economical colored people—who are there, are doing well and propose to stay?—A. I don't know nothing, except what I hear.

Q. You came here and stopped?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is everybody who has gone out there starving? Is that what you hear?—A. The way they talk they are starving pretty bad up there. That is the reason I stopped here.

Q. You have been in Washington ever since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, this is a bad place for colored people, too?—A. Yes, sir; I could make a living if I could get the work and they would pay me.

Q. Don't you believe if you were in Indiana, and disposed to work, you could get all the work you wanted?—A. I don't know anything about that.

Q. If you didn't know how it is, and don't know that the stories you hear are true, why is it that you say they are false, and that the people are not doing well out there?—A. Because the people who come from Indiana say they have not done a lick of work since they have been there, and that some are there who can't get away.

Q. That is what you hear?—A. Yes, sir; that is what these men say who came from up there.

Q. How many have you heard say so?—A. Two or three.

Q. You have seen or heard from very few of them?—A. I have heard mighty smart from up there.

Q. Who have you been with and who have you talked to since you have been here?—A. I haven't associated with anybody much. I have been with Perry two or three days, walking about some.

Q. How did you happen to be here to testify before this committee?—A. I was up here by the stairs in the Senate when I was subpoenaed.

Q. Was that when we had a hearing in Mr. Voorhees's room?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

Q. How long has it been since you were summoned?—A. To-day.

Q. When are you going back to North Carolina?—A. Some time next week.

Q. Have you got the means to go on?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What amount will it take?—A. Thirteen dollars and fifty cents.

Q. Where did you get it?—A. I had the money when I came here. Do you want me to tell how much I had?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. Well, I don't think it is right to do that.

Q. You had money enough to go back on all the time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you got enough now?—A. No, sir.

Q. How much have you got?—A. Eight or nine dollars.

Q. Have you had it all the time?—A. No, sir; not always.

Q. How are you going to get the rest of the money to get home with?
—A. Work for it.

Q. Who for?—A. For anybody.

Q. Who for particularly?—A. I don't know yet.

Q. You know you are going to work for it?—A. Yes, sir; I am going to work for Mr. Smith, down at the mill.

Q. How much do you get?—A. Ninety cents a day.

Q. From now until next week, how much can you earn?—A. I don't know.

Q. What time are you going to start home?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Has anybody promised you the means to go back on?—A. No, sir; nobody has promised me anything. I may stay here two or three weeks, but I am going back to my wife and children.

Q. Well, in North Carolina, did you make a living?—A. Yes, sir; I worked for Mr. Daws eight years, and for Mr. Galloway. I can tell you all that I worked for.

Q. Do you own any lands?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you worked hard all the time?—A. Yes, sir; I work for my living.

Q. How much did you work?—A. Nearly all the time.

Q. On an average of three-fourths of the time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did you get? Did you work all the day?—A. Sometimes.

Q. How much did you get by the day?—A. From 75 cents to 60 cents.

Q. Did you board yourself—take care of yourself out of that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you work some by the month?—A. Yes, sir; for eight years.

Q. What did you get then?—A. The first year I got \$12 and from that on down to \$10 per month.

Q. Then for eight years you got from \$12 to \$10 per month.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How were you paid? In money or in goods out of the store?—A. There was no store there.

Q. How were you paid?—A. In money.

Q. You say there are no stores about there?—A. Yes, sir; there are in Goldsborough, but I was three miles from town. I worked eight years from 1871.

Q. Did you work all the year during those eight years?—A. Yes, sir; the whole year round.

Q. And you had \$10 to \$12 dollars per month all the year round?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is all you had to support your family with?—A. No, sir; they allowed me half of every other Saturday, and a horse and plow to work a little land they let me have, and I raised a little cotton and a little corn on my patch.

Q. That would be a day you were allowed in each month?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have a house to live in?—A. Of course they furnished me a house.

Q. Was there a school near by?—A. Yes sir.

Q. How much of the time each year?—A. I think it is a three or four months' session.

Q. This wasn't a mixed school, was it, but a colored school?—A. Yes, sir; it was a colored school.

Q. Had you during these six years been able to save any money?—A. If I had taken care of it I could have done so.

Q. If you had done your best, how much could you have saved?—A. From the time the vegetables came off, I could have saved per month three or four dollars.

Q. You didn't save any?—A. No, sir; because I run through it.

Q. You spent all this money, then?—A. Yes, sir; one thing with the colored people is that they buy every kind of something to eat.

Q. You think it is wasting money to buy something to eat?—A. I don't think the colored people ought to buy everything that they have got money to buy of, but put some of it away.

Q. How did you spend yours?—A. Buying something to eat.

Q. What did you buy to eat?—A. I couldn't tell that.

Q. And you think it is wrong to spend money to buy something to eat with?—A. I could have got along with out it.

Q. You would have gotten on comfortably without spending money?—A. Yes, sir; I could have lived on meat and bread as well as on the fine victuals that I had.

Q. What were the fine victuals that you bought?—A. Well, chickens and eggs and butter, and things of that kind.

Q. And you think it is out of the way for a laboring man to have them?—A. They might had them sometimes, but not as a general thing.

Q. How many chickens a month would you buy?—A. I don't know.

Q. How much eggs and butter?—A. I couldn't tell, sir.

Q. Do you think it would be unusual to have them in Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. Don't you know that they are common food for laboring people out there?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

TESTIMONY OF R. C. BADGER.

R. C. BADGER was sworn and examined as follows:

By Senator VANCE:

Question. Mr. Badger, you have been summoned before the Exodus Committee to give us the causes of the exodus of the colored people from North Carolina, and, as preliminary to that, I will ask you to state what is the condition of the colored people in regard to their political rights, and otherwise. What is your profession?—Answer. I am a lawyer.

Q. What are your politics?—A. Well, sir, I belong to the honest-money branch of the Republican party. I believe in a government capable of keeping peace between the States, and in the States, and protecting people in the States, and a man at the head of the government who can carry these things out.

Q. What positions have you held in North Carolina?—A. I was twice in the general assembly, and last year was in the constitutional convention of the State. I was justice of the peace, and recorder of deeds; I have been prosecuting attorney in the county several terms, and have

been United States district attorney for the western district of North Carolina, but finding myself in discord with the present administration, I resigned last year.

Q. Will you please state now the condition of the colored people in North Carolina?—A. As you know, Senator, I am intimately wrapped up in their prospects. I was opposed to slavery. I have lived with them all my life, and studied their character. They are slowly developing in North Carolina in my section of the State. I am from the city of Raleigh. They are beginning to accumulate property, and becoming self-reliant. They were not so until very lately. They were not self-reliant, but they are slowly and gradually improving. If the committee will reflect that for two hundred and fifty years, taken from a barbarous country, and kept in slavery, and now allowed to own property, they will understand the condition of the negro; but there is a slow and gradual development in my section of the State. When the war ended both the blacks and whites went together, and all utterly bankrupted as to property. Those who cultivated the soil had to go into the control of men who made advances, and they made their advances at from 15 to 25 per cent. on the price of the things advanced. Extreme poverty has by degrees brought them out, and, in my section, they are getting along reasonably well. They don't get exact justice in the courts. They are easily convicted of larceny, and, frequently, in my judgment, on insufficient testimony. I know some of our judges, and most of them have set aside verdicts that were wrong, and our supreme court never fails to do them justice. There was a time in 1871 up to about two years and a half ago, that they were treated with great barbarity, during the time of the ku-klux, but the situation and present relations between the races I think quite as good as could be expected among a people divided so by color. There is that distinction which I think would prevail against them anywhere, where they would go in large numbers. I took occasion to consult the colored solicitor of our circuit after I received the telegram of your sergeant-at-arms, and he goes further, and says that he sees no distinction made between them on account of their color at all. I do. The old loco-focos (that is what I call them, though some people call them bourbons)—the old loco focos down there cheated them out of their votes, but I don't think that has had anything to do with the exodus.

One distinguished member of your committee got 2,700 more votes down there were voters in his party in the State.

Q. Do you think, Mr. Badger, there is any necessity for that exodus from our State to Indiana?—A. I don't think there is any necessity for the exodus from our State to Indiana. I state what I believe to be a fact, that these colored people will be unable to compete with the white laborers out there. Like most of the men of his kind, the negro is bound to sing and have a good time, and if he was cutting grass with one of those mowers that are used in Indiana, he would either fall asleep on the seat, or run his knife against a rock, if there was one in the field. I think they are going out there to meet starvation.

Q. From what you know, do you think they would improve their social and political rights by going there?—A. I have never been in Indiana. I have been in Ohio. I think the humanitarians out there would treat them better probably. They have almshouses out there, but I think in the southern part of Indiana they would not get along so well.

Q. Will you state what has been done in North Carolina—what is being done towards educating the colored people, giving them all the

benefits of participation in the government?—A. Except in the matter of university education they have the same rights as the whites. There has been no provision made for university education of the blacks. They are learning faster than the whites, displaying a greater desire to learn, and attend the public schools more regularly. I think the Democratic party have violated the constitution by not establishing a university for them. They have institutions there of that character, established by northern charity, like the Shaw University, and they are turning out preachers and other well educated colored men.

Q. They have them, then, but not at the expense of the State?—A. Yes, sir; they have them, as I stated, by public charity, but they have a deaf and dumb asylum, a normal school, and all that, from the State. I think I could say safely that in twenty-five or thirty years there will not be one person of color in all of North Carolina who can't read and write. They have shown a desire for knowledge that is remarkable. They are all of them going to school who can get there. They are not the best quality of schools that we have, but still they are attending them promptly.

Q. Is it or is it not your opinion that this exodus is caused by any political persecutions or denial of their privileges?—A. No, sir; I don't think so. I think it is the result of false hopes held out by the agents who have gone among them.

Q. Do you think it is a good or bad thing for the race?—A. I think it is a bad thing. Of course with this qualification. I don't know anything about Indiana. There may be people there who can use them, but my own judgment is that they can't compete with northern labor. They can live in central or eastern North Carolina on two days' labor in the week. A man like the one who preceded me can do that easily. They live on a peck of meal, and four and a half pounds of Cincinnati bacon, cooked with collards, which is a species of brassica (I believe that is the botanical name for it), which grows up and runs to what we call collards.

Q. You mean that we can raise cabbages there, but they run to collards?—A. Yes, sir.

Senator VANCE. That is an unorganized cabbage without a head?

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You spoke about the outrages during the Kuklux days. What were they?—A. They were awful outrages according to all reports. I was employed by the governor of North Carolina, and entered into an investigation of those matters long before the people of our State believed that such things existed—such things as you saw in the kuklux reports which have been printed by Congress.

Q. Give us a specimen of one of them?—A. Well, sir, they hung Wyatt, outlaw, who was a man of sufficient influence to be elected mayor of Alamance. I don't think they intended to hang him, but to whip him for impudence; but I think they found them out, and Judge Bond made it pretty hot for them. They took Stephens, and garroted him in a room under the court-house.

Q. What was that done for?—A. Part of it was said to be done for political reasons, and a part of it for the regulation of society.

Q. What did they mean by them?—A. Why, when a negro got too big for his pants they dressed him down a little. I will give you an instance. There was one man from over in a corner of Alamance; they took him out and said he was not polite enough to the ladies he met on the streets; that he must take off his hat when he met them, and they gave him one hundred to enforce that subject on his mind, and asked

him if he would remember it, and he told them he never would forget it.

Q. What class of man was he?—A. He was a colored man, sorter like this man here.

Q. Was he known to be a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; all of them were Republicans. I only know one instance of an outrage on a Democrat, and this was a personal one. He had been maligning a woman there. They took a gourd-handle, about 1½ inches in diameter, and put a hickory stick through it, and run it up his fundament, and they had to send for a doctor, a long ways off, to get it out with instruments that they use for delivering women of children.

Q. Do you know any others?—A. They took the Marron boys and carried them away and shot them, and knocked one of the children in the head. It was alleged that that was done on account of barn burning that had been going on, and they took these men out and shot them as a sample of what they would do with the others.

Q. Was there any trial of the parties that were engaged in that?—A. No, sir; there was no trial in any of those cases.

Q. Do you know of any other?—A. We had an emigrant from Indiana to our State, named Shoffner, who represented Alamance County in the legislature. He introduced a bill that whenever the governor thought he couldn't maintain law and order anywhere in the State, he should declare it in a state of insurrection. It cost Governor Holden his office, and Shoffner was prevented from being massacred by accident.

Q. Who were going to massacre him?—A. The White Brotherhood. There were several associations of them. The White Brotherhood, the Invisible Empire, and the Stonewall Guard. It was the last ones who wished to run the Confederacy if they could. The heads of the other two organizations were called chiefs. The clan in one county would decree the death of a man in another county, and send an order to the other county for its execution. That is the way they were able to keep it so secret. They were sent word that they were ready. They had done so in this case, and Shoffner was decreed to die. The messenger went to the wrong chief, who was a friend of Shoffner's, and he sent down for them not to do it, as Shoffner's wife was about to be confined, and that it would kill her. Shoffner got word of it in time, and he went off to Greensborough, in Indiana, and hasn't been back since.

Q. This was a Democratic organization, was it?—A. Yes, sir; I think they were all Democrats.

Q. And these things occurred at the time the change took place from a Republican to a Democratic government?—A. Yes, sir; I think they had as much to do with it as anything else. I think it made the State Democratic from Holden's attempt to suppress it. It grew out of an effort to enforce reconstruction. Men got hold of the secret organization and vented their spite on others.

Q. Those things occurred some six or seven years ago?—A. Yes, sir; and after the locofocos got control of the State, they absolutely stopped. I called those people locofocos because I don't believe much in them.

Senator BLAIR. These organizations, if I understand you, were among the agencies they used in getting back to power?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Do you think the remembrance of those things still affects the colored people?—A. I think not. I think it is the hope of better things elsewhere that makes them go away.

Q. What is the effect upon the colored people, and Republicans gen-

erally, of this law affecting the election of legislators?—A. I voted against that amendment because of my opinions favoring universal suffrage, but I think it has done more good in bringing the people together than anything else, especially in the western counties. Left to themselves they are disposed to run an honest government, but in these counties they wasted the public funds, and through other people lost much money by their running away. I think it is right now, though I voted against it, but my conscience didn't satisfy me in doing so. It has enabled them to save their money—but it has done another thing—it has enabled them to pack their returning boards.

Q. How was that?—A. I see a distinguished member of Congress over there, a Democrat, from a district with 9,000 Republican majority; I think that law has something to do with that.

Q. How is it used in that way?—A. The magistrates appointed by the returning boards—I don't know of any district where it has been abused except in Kitchin's district. It didn't operate wrong in my own or in yours, Senator (addressing Senator Vance).

By Senator VANCE:

Q. Wasn't that result in the second district attributable to the Republicans themselves?—A. It may be.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. How about the discrimination in the courts as between the whites and blacks?—A. That is principally in matters of larceny. In such cases the presumption is reversed as to the negro. A white man can't be convicted without the fullest proof, and with the negroes, in matters between themselves, such as assault and battery, they get as fair a trial as the whites. At the January term of our court Judge Avery presided. A white man and a colored woman were indicted for an affray. The woman was in her husband's barn getting out corn; they were going to move, and the white man came down there and said, "You seem to have a good time laughing here this morning," and she said, "Yes, she had a right to laugh." He said, "You are getting that corn out, and you would have made more if you had stuck to your husband." She seemed to be a sort of termagant, and she said nobody said that about her unless you told them. He made some insulting remark, and she made something in return to him, and he took a billet of wood and struck her on the shoulder, and he pulled a pistol and beat her with it, and she went for him to kill him. They found the man not guilty, and they found her guilty, but Judge Avery set the verdict aside and ordered the case *not* prosed against her.

Q. Do you think that is a fair sample of the justice they get?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Do you think they will convict a colored woman in order to get a chance to turn loose a white man?—A. Yes, sir. These people have been born in slavery, and the white people of course don't like any impudence from them. In the matter of larceny it is difficult to acquit them, but I have been a prosecuting officer for many years, and I have seen very few charged with larceny who were not guilty. We don't have to run round the country down there looking up larceny cases among them. It is harder to convict a moonshiner than it is to acquit a negro of larceny.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What are these people doing in the penitentiary down there?—A

They are working upon public improvements. They are not hired out as they are in other States unless they have a trade. I have not heard of any of them complain about their treatment.

Without concluding the testimony of Mr. Badger the committee, on motion, adjourned to Thursday, February 19, at 10 a. m.

EIGHTEENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Thursday, February 19, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF R. C. BADGER RESUMED.

R. C. Badger recalled to the stand for cross-examination.

By Senator WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Badger, I wish you would explain to me a little more fully how this change is effected by the constitution in the election of county officers.—Answer. The constitution of 1868 provided for an entire change of government in the judicial and legislative departments, but general officers were not subject to legislative control. The counties were controlled by the people's vote under what is termed municipal government, consisting of five commissioners, elected once in two years; and the counties were directed to be divided into townships, and three magistrates were directed to be elected by the people in those townships by the popular vote, and in towns one for each ward. Township magistrates were the trustees of the finances of the county, and had in charge the roads and bridges and the assessment of property for taxes; and the county commissioners had the entire supervision for the whole county, and elected judges of elections. An amendment by the constitution in 1875 provided that the general assembly should have authority to take such appointment of such officers from the people and appoint them it-elf; and thereupon the general assembly did so.

Q. Whom did they appoint?—A. They appointed all the magistrates.

Q. And what did they do?—A. They would elect the board of commissioners. The magistrates are required to meet once in two years, and elect five of their number, who are practically the legislature of the county.

Q. What power did those election officers have?—A. If they act earnestly, they have only to count up the returns; but they have absorbed a great deal of authority.

Q. What power have they under the law?—A. They have the power to count up the returns, and throw out the balance for any technicality, exactly as Garcelon and Company did in Maine. They have no power, except they usurp it.

Q. What is the feeling in regard to that change among the Republicans generally?—A. There is a good deal of bad feeling about their counting out that colored man in the second district.

Q. That is the one from which most of these exodusters are traveling?—A. Yes, sir. It may be that the condition of my section of the State is so much better than the general condition of the State that my remarks may be more highly colored than the situation would admit. I think Raleigh and Charleston are the most prospering portions of the State.



By Senator BLAIR :

Q. You were speaking of the inclination of the colored race to learn. Do you think they are more inclined to acquire education than the white race ?—A. I think so. I think that is the general understanding throughout North Carolina.

Q. How do you account for it ?—A. It is impossible to account for it to my mind. They are a different race of people. You live in a country where there has been a state of freedom ; but the result of slavery in the Southern States was this, that it made a race of landholders highly aristocratic, and degraded the poor whites ; and the effect of that was to destroy their ambition. They lived on the ridge lands of the country, and they worked them, but they had hard times. They are useful in political times and get a vote. They had been in that condition for a hundred years up to the end of the war, and it is hard to get them out of the old ruts. I therefore think they are not as ready to learn as the colored people. But the whites, I mean the poorer class, are rapidly improving.

Q. You think the institution of slavery was injurious to the whole people, white and colored ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there anything in that to account for the avidity of the colored people, now that they are free, to learn ?—A. No, sir ; as I stated I do not know how to fully account for that.

Q. Do you think it is an evidence of superior power or ambition in them ?—A. No, sir. I think they are still very inferior to the white race.

Q. I did not ask that. I think this is the question I wished to put. Does it indicate to you that the colored race is possessed of powers for improvement which were not suspected, even by themselves.—A. O, yes. After the war a number of people from the North came down there to teach school, and these people flocked to them at once.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Before the war the negroes were not taught at any time beyond the use of figures ?—A. Yes, sir. While the young ones were growing up we taught all our folks to read and write.

Q. There is a tendency in the race naturally to improve their status ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And their children since the war have exhibited the same tendency ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It seems to be born in them ?—A. Yes, sir. I know that old negroes of sixty or seventy years old wanted to go to school.

Q. And those children born since have manifested the same proclivity ?—A. Yes, sir. One of the great difficulties in the way of the rising of the negro race is the want of classes or of ranks of society. Now they are beginning to have them, and it makes a marked effect on them.

Q. To what extent are the colored race as well as the white race provided with the means of education in North Carolina ?—A. They are well provided. The great difficulty is the want of teachers. They are well supplied, though, with chances to get the ordinary rudiments of education.

Q. And enough of them to be useful to them ?—A. Yes, sir ; and their chances are increasing.

Q. Are these teachers white or colored ?—A. The teachers of the colored schools are generally colored.

Q. Do they have some white teachers ?—A. Very few.

Q. Are many of the teachers from the North, or are they generally native born?—A. They are generally from the North, and in the graded schools we had a number of northern teachers teaching; but the great majority of the teachers are natives. In the Shaw Institute they turned over from sixty to seventy teachers a year.

Q. Did they remain in the State usually?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About what compensation did they get for teaching?—A. I don't know.

Q. There are some white teachers in colored schools, you said?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any prejudice still remaining there against white teachers of colored schools?—A. I think there is.

Q. Will you explain it?—A. I cannot explain it, except by the prejudices between the races.

Q. You mean, white persons teaching a colored school loses social status?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, a white lady who comes from the North and teaches a colored school, to what extent is she tabooed?—A. I don't think she would have any acquaintances in white society.

Q. Would she be any quicker invited into white society than a colored woman?—A. Just about the same. We have been living, you know, with the races who were our slaves; the slaves that we could whip whenever we wanted to, though we did not do it as much as were represented. They could not read or write, except to figure a little, and were never allowed to work for themselves. In all respects they are regarded now as a hired class of people, and any association between them and the white class is almost impossible.

Q. And it is that way still?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that prejudice against white people who are instruments in raising them to a higher development is lessening?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Do you think ultimately it will disappear?—A. Yes, sir; one of the things which has operated most against such people was that they are attempting to brave the public opinion by such things as walking up and down the streets with the negroes. I think that has done more harm than anything else. We have old negroes called mammies, who raised up many of the white men, who came into the house over night and staid there. They are still treated with respect and even affection; but there is generally an entire disassociation between the two races.

Q. Mr. Badger, you seem to have studied this question philosophically. I would like to ask you what your opinion is as to these social distinctions, whether they are such as will last for all time, or whether by the lapse of time they will disappear?—A. I think it will be indefinitely prolonged. A great many of the prejudices may be broken down. Our leading politicians seem to work in that direction; among them our Senator from North Carolina, who was a member of this committee. He has attended numbers of their meetings and always seemed to apologize for being there. I saw him once at one of the emancipation meetings. They had a fair also at Raleigh, and our present governor made a bold, outspoken, straightforward speech, stating that he would see that they get all their rights; yet he is trying to be governor again, and on the emancipation day last he made the same sort of speech; being a politician, I was struck with the boldness of it, and I think it struck them as it did me. It was much the same as the speech made by the Senator from North Carolina.

Q. You were about the only white man present on that occasion?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. So it is understood that when Governor Vance and others spoke to them it was for political effect?—A. No, sir; I don't think so. I think at that time he was trying to get elected to the Senate, and he went and made a speech.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. You said that I made a sort of apology. The apology was to the white people, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. And he thought it was necessary to carry this negro vote?—A. No, sir; I think it was made to preserve the Democratic ascendancy.

Q. You think there are a majority of Republican votes in the State?—

A. I am inclined to doubt that.

Q. You stated that the change was made in the constitution taking from the people the right to elect their magistrates?—A. Yes, sir; but that was a direct bargain and trade by which it was understood and agreed, but not put down on the paper, that the eastern people would aid in putting forward the West North Carolina Railroad, and in return to have from the legislature the selection of their magistrates.

Q. Why did the people want the change made?—A. On account of the corruption of their county authorities.

Q. So you think those people are unable to exercise the right of suffrage properly?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Not all of them, Mr. Badger?—A. No, sir; I don't say that; and then it is only the magistrates who are elected by the general assembly.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. And other officers are merely executive, such as sheriff, county trustee, clerks, and others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are elected by the people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is what gives to the illiterate the idea of voting for their officers?—A. Yes, sir; but I think the system gives them better officers than the old ones.

Q. Then it comes to this: that it is better that these people should not be governed by themselves?—A. I think experience has proven it. You take the counties of Halifax or Clayton, and their county treasuries have been depleted and utterly wasted, and every species of robbery that could be committed had been carried on until they are now in a state of prostration financially. This is the result of the old form of government. In Edgecomb and Warren they could have gone forward and controlled them, and if the white people had awakened to their duty, instead of turning them over to adventurers from the North. The change in the government was required by the desertion of the respectable white Republicans from these people.

Q. You think the change is due to those corruptions?—A. Yes, sir; in a great part. I kept our county right, with the exception of our sheriff, who stole \$90,000; but we couldn't help it.

Q. That was the effect of what? I mean this changed condition of affairs and this general corruption in office—what caused it?—A. It grew out of the attempt to enforce reconstruction.

Q. That was the effect of the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did the war grow out of?—A. The war grew out of the fact that you had in the Presidential chair an old Locofaco.

Q. Who was that?—A. James Buchanan.

Q. The war came, and slavery was abolished; and that resulted in the demoralization of your society—

The WITNESS. I would like to answer that part of the question.

Senator BLAIR. I am asking the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I insist that he has a right to answer the question in all its parts.

Senator BLAIR. I protest against it until I finish my question.

The CHAIRMAN. I insist that he has a right to answer the question in such a way as to make his answer satisfactory and intelligible, and if you insist upon your protest, we clear this room and decide whether he has a right to answer or not.

Senator BLAIR. I was asking the question, and he began to answer before I finished. I made no remark to call for his interruption; and I expected to put a proper question. I think the chairman has no right to interrupt me in the manner in which he has done.

The CHAIRMAN. Your question culminated in this: that the war came and slavery abolished, and society in the South demoralized; and at this point the witness desired to answer that full question; and I think he has a right to answer it, and I think so still.

Senator BLAIR. I state that the witness had previously said, that the condition of things in the State grew out of enforced reconstruction, and even went back to the days of James Buchanan, as the cause of the war. I said that the war came, and slavery was abolished; and society was demoralized as the result.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state what your objection is?

Senator BLAIR. Let me state it. I wished him to understand my question, and after he answers it, he can make any explanation he pleases.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the right of the witness to answer the question in the way in which he desires to go on record. That was the reason why I interposed; not desiring to throw any obstacle in the way of investigation.

Senator BLAIR. I acquit the chairman of any such object. I claim no perfection as a practitioner in this investigation, but I say I have the right to ask the witness the question.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. I say, Mr. Badger, this demoralization having come through the South, wasn't this reconstruction a necessity?—A. I think so.

Q. Now, will you allow me to say one thing? In that question there was an assumption that the demoralization came with the war and the abolishing of slavery, but the demoralization grew as much out of the fact that the Southern people were in a state of siege for four years. They were utterly demoralized before the abolishing of slavery and the results of the war had been accomplished. Now, I want to call your attention to the initial point of my inquiry; that is, where the blame for these evils rests. If the white people, at the close of the war, had chosen to exercise their rights, and sought, as you say they now do, to live in harmony with the colored people, would not these evils of enforced reconstruction have disappeared, or never appeared at all?—A. I think so.

Q. Then the fact is that the reason the carpet-bagger came and possessed the negro vote and controlled the destinies of North Carolina and other Southern States, was because the white people refused to exercise their rights and influence?—A. That is a very long question; please state it again.

Q. I say the fact is that the carpet-bagger gained his ascendancy in the South, through the negro vote, simply because the white people at first refused to exercise their rights and influence?—A. I think so. If Congress in 1866 had seen fit in its wisdom to seat the Senators and Representatives elected under the Johnson reconstruction, there would have been no difficulty. That is one of the reasons why I think the national government had to take charge and enforce reconstruction.

Q. And has there been any time when the Southern white man has not had the civil rights and right of suffrage which he now enjoys?—A. Only as restricted by the exceptions put into the proclamation of Andrew Johnson; that is, he excepted anybody who had been in the service of the Confederate States and those who had been worth over \$20,000.

Q. That did not last long?—A. No, sir; he afterwards pardoned the most of them.

Q. Has there been any time since when they did not have all their rights?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. If the white people had from the first exercised their rights and accepted the situation, do you think any such things would have resulted as the Kuklux?—A. I think it grew out of a system of brigandage such as follows all wars like the one we had. I think one-half of it was brigandage. If you will look at it carefully, you will find it had no approval among the masses of our people. During the war all our able-bodied population went to war, but the negroes were left at home and remained faithful as the docile animal that he is. And when the war ended with us, but for Sherman issuing rations to the people we would have been the same as Ireland is now to-day.

Q. Who were these Kuklux organizations composed of?—A. Of Democrats.

Q. Were they confined to the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir; I think they were, although it was alleged in the papers and stated by the late Governor Graham, in his speech on the impeachment of Governor Holden, that there was a negro Kuklux clan in the county of Graham.

Q. Do you have occasion as a lawyer to know the operations of the landlord and tenant act in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the effect of it?—A. Well, sir, the effect of it is, in my opinion, to enable the colored and poor people of the State to cultivate land. We have a homestead exemption of \$1,000 in land (which means about \$2,000) and \$500 of personal property. That exemption has taken away about all of the credit of the poorer class of people, and the landlord and tenant act was designed to give the landlord a hold on the tenant for his rent. It operates well, although it is sometimes abused.

Q. You speak of its being abused—how?—A. Our landlord and tenant act virtually vests the whole possession of the crop in the landlord, and if he is a bad man it makes him an autocrat and places extraordinary power in his hands. But that is an evil that grows out of the condition of things there.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. You think, generally speaking, it is beneficial in its operations?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Where abused it makes it practically impossible for a tenant to accumulate anything?—A. Yes, sir; but let me explain. The crop in our country is different from any crop you raise in your country. The

cotton crop is eminently a labor crop from the planting to the picking. In the mean time the tenant has to have supplies, implements, manures, &c. The trouble with him usually is that he cannot get the first pickings to sell in order to hire help to assist him in picking out the balance of the crop. There is where the tenant is entirely in the hands of the landlord.

Q. What proportion of colored men are owners of real estate?—A. A very limited number.

Q. One in twenty?—A. I could not say, for I do not know.

Q. Is there one in one hundred?—A. I would not wish to testify to that, because I know it is a very limited number.

Q. I have reference to heads of families.—A. I think there are very few of them who own land; a very limited number. I think in this country from which these people are exodusting there are fewer landlords than in my country. I think in my part of the country they are improving in that regard. That improvidence for which colored men have been proverbial is passing away.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You have stated that you thought when you had an educated class of colored people many of these race distinctions would pass away?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. My own theory has been that the cause of these political disturbances in the South, and class distinctions, was the fact that in numbers of districts there are a majority of colored people.—A. I think a great deal of it grows out of that fact.

Q. Do you not think if there could be a well ordered, voluntary distribution of these colored people these sectional questions and differences would be mitigated?—A. I think so.

Q. Do you not, therefore, think that if it could be directed properly and rightly, an exodus of them to other States would have a good effect on them?—A. It would have a good effect on the white people in the South, but it would be a horrible thing on the colored people.

Q. I mean for them to emigrate to some State where they can live; not to Indiana, where they do not seem to be well received?—A. If you have a country ready where you can take them and settle them it would be a good thing.

Q. I do not mean to take them there, for I do not believe myself that the government has a right to take them anywhere.—A. But I think, Mr. Senator, humanity requires that you leave them where they are. If the progress of good feeling among them is not disturbed there will soon be thorough amity between the two races; there will not be social freedom, but they will have amity between them.

Q. Do not you think the progress of which you speak is greater in North Carolina than it has been in some other Southern States?—A. I think it is better in North Carolina than in any other Southern State. I have been in Florida and South Carolina, and know it is better than in either of them.

Q. Are you acquainted with Judge Tourgee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you read his book, "The Fool's Errand"?—A. No, sir.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. I want to ask you in relation to these white teachers going down there, and not being received into the best society. Don't you know that after the war the white teachers who went down there put up with the negroes, and lived with them, and thereby created a prejudice against themselves?—A. A great many of them did; but I know many

of them who might well be entitled to reception in high society. They are a fanatical people, it is true. They are people who went there to take charge of the ignorant people and educate them, and they made the mistake by seeming to ignore the feelings of the white class of our people. At that time, however, they would have been ignored, I think, if they had not done so, but I know three particular in the normal school in Raleigh who might well be received into the best society.

Q. Do you know a gentleman there named Sneed?—A. Yes, sir; he teaches there.

Q. And he is received in the best society, is he not?—A. Yes, sir; he is.

Q. You made one remark which, I think, is calculated to do our people injustice. You stated, I think, that no poor man had a chance to rise there?—A. I meant to say he had a very limited chance, but that does not apply to your part of the country, Senator.

Q. You don't mean to say that there is anything there that prevents any man from rising who has talents and merits?—A. I said it was almost impossible for them to do so. They can't compete with the negro as laborers, and they have very little chance to rise from that capacity.

Q. You don't mean that if a poor boy could get an education he would not have a chance to rise?—A. No, sir; I know many of them who did get an education and rose in the world; but I mean as a class they can't rise; he will be kept as their fathers were, as the poorer class of our society.

Q. You said, yesterday, I believe, that the principal agent in putting the State under the control of the Democratic party was the Kuklux?—A. No, sir; I said it was one of the agencies, and I would like to say here that the operation of Governor Holden in trying to put down the Kuklux by the military, under the Shaffner act, caused a revolution of sentiment, and made the State Democratic, and the passage of the act of Congress called the civil rights act, with the hotel rights and all that in which, had a good deal with it.

Q. Didn't the spoliation of the State treasury in 1868 have something to do with it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of brigandage system there?—A. Yes, sir; but I didn't mean that these people went around and stole anything, but they went about cutting up, whipping and slashing any one against whom they had any spite. I adhered to that term of brigandage. I went for them whenever I had a chance, and denounced them as robbers and thieves, and all that.

Q. I will ask you if a man who participated in those transactions didn't allege as the cause a great many outrages on the other side, such as barn burning and outrages on women by the negroes?—A. Yes, sir; I think so; there was such charges made on both sides.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You say the colored people are rapidly improving?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Still you say the social distinctions between the races will always remain?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. I want to ask you what, in your opinion, is the prospect of peace between these two races, when each shall have attained a higher condition of development. Do you think there will be peace and amity between them?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. With this same social distinction remaining?—A. Yes, sir; and just here I would remark that the negroes are increasing much more in

proportion than the whites. There are no old maids among the colored people, and this result will be shown by the census 1880. It will show a very rapid advance in the population of the colored people. If you would put four hundred thousand colored people and six hundred thousand white people, and keep them for four generations, there would be more negroes at the end of the time than whites. They begin to bear at sixteen years of age, and generally have from eight to ten children. It is a mistake to think that they are dying more rapidly now than ever before. If you will take the next census you will see it for yourself.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Aside from any question of races, Mr. Badger, is it not better for all parties that this distinction socially should be kept up between the races ?—A. Yes, sir; I think it better for both races; both of them will be all the better off for it. As to the negroes' health, the only branch of the colored race that is not healthy is the quadroon. From the quadroon and up to the octoroon, they, I think, are a very unhealthy race of people, and a few people of our section in the country who have consumption are mulattoes. They will not mix with each other, but should not do so, because it kills out the race.

TESTIMONY OF J. B. MAYNARD.

J. B. MAYNARD sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside, Mr. Maynard ?—Answer. Indianapolis, Indiana, sir.

Q. What is your occupation ?—A. Journalism.

Q. What paper are you employed editorially upon ?—A. The Indianapolis Sentinel.

Q. State whether your attention has been called to the immigration of colored people from the South to our State.—A. It has.

Q. State whether you have interested yourself in the subject.—A. Somewhat, sir.

Q. State whether you have conversed with any of these folks.—A. I have, to some extent.

Q. How many, do you suppose ?—A. Some six or eight.

Q. Men or women ?—A. Men, sir.

Q. Where did you meet them ?—A. I met them at different places.

Q. In and about Indianapolis ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You may state to this committee briefly, but in your own way, their general condition out there, the promises which they say induced them to come there, and whether they found those promises to be true or false.—A. I think, sir, that with all with whom I talked on the proposition you state there was a very general agreement. They said they were induced to leave North Carolina and come to Indiana on account of representations that their condition in Indiana would be greatly improved; first, because they would receive much larger wages, and second, because they would have pleasant homes, as they could have lands cheap, with long time to pay for them; and therefore their situation would be greatly improved.

Q. How about the wages they were to get ?—A. The general statement was that they were to get from \$2 to \$3 per day.

Q. How about monthly wages?—A. I do not remember what the monthly wages were stated at. Perhaps, as to women in houses, they were to be from \$15 to \$25 per month.

Q. How did they say they had found things to be in Indiana?—A. They said they had found every representation to be false, without exception. They found neither a demand for labor, nor wages, nor homes, nor cows, nor lands, nor anything else that was promised.

Q. What were their dispositions on the subject of returning home?—A. Every one I saw was desirous of returning home, where he said their condition was better than anything they had seen in Indiana. One man, who had been there five weeks, said he had only been able to earn eight dollars. A number have been there a long time and had nothing to do. Some of them said if things did not improve soon they would be thrown on the county for charity and support. In fact, they have found the situation very bad out there.

Q. Have you informed yourself, Colonel Maynard, as to the condition of a good many of these folks who are in Indianapolis—whether they have been employed and are self-sustaining, or are the objects of public charity?—A. I think the work of relieving them by public charity had begun before I left, and application had been made to the township trustee for assistance, and it had been granted—to what extent I know not—but to some extent I am positive.

Q. From your observation of the newspaper press there up to this time, state whether there is a standing appeal for charity for these folks published in the papers.—A. I think that is true, not only in our State but in other States to which these people have emigrated. I speak of those with whom I conversed, and they were destitute of all means, even of helping themselves by work, however willing to do work.

Q. There is no opposition in our State to immigrants coming there who can support themselves, or for whom labor can be had?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. The objection is to the coming of a pauper population?—A. I think that is true.

Q. Have you familiarized yourself sufficiently with the labor question out there to say whether we have more labor than is in demand or not?—A. My attention has been specially called to that question for the last four years, and I have often discussed it from various standpoints. I am familiar with the press of the State, daily and weekly, and I have not noticed in any of them any call for labor, either from the farming districts or any other part of the country. My observation is to the effect that there has been a surplus of labor in the State. There is a standing appeal from thousands of good, industrious men for employment at any wages at all. Some of these have come to my knowledge and attracted my attention, among them being mechanics who formerly earned from two dollars to three dollars per day, and who to-day are willing to engage in any labor at almost any price, and cannot get employment at all.

Q. State if, in your writings as a journalist, you have sought to reflect public sentiment in Indiana upon the subject of this exodus?—A. I have, sir.

Q. Do you know of any Republican paper that has pointed out the evils of this exodus, and the suffering the people undergo who engage in it?—A. Not one, sir.

Q. They rather smile and wink at it?—A. It looks so.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. What are the politics of the Ledger?—A. It does not occur to me what its politics are.

Q. Do you know anything of tickets having been bought recently to bring Irish immigrants to Indiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have never been a farmer yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I have been.

Q. When, if you please?—A. When I was a young man, sir.

Q. How long is it since you were on a farm in Indiana?—A. I never worked on one in Indiana.

Q. Were you ever on a farm in Indiana?—A. I never worked on one there.

Q. Have you consulted with any of the farmers about the demand for farm laborers?—A. Yes, sir.

A. How many have you consulted?—A. Up to what time do you refer me, if you please?

Q. Within the last three months?—A. I think probably a dozen, and I have met gentlemen from different parts of the State, and my attention has been called to the subject by conversing with them. I am satisfied these people are not in demand out there. The supply of native labor is even far in excess of the demand in the best seasons.

TESTIMONY OF W. C. CHASE.

W. C. CHASE, colored, sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. 1109 I street, northwest.

Q. Where are you from?—A. I was born here.

Q. Have you lived here all your life?—A. I lived here all the time.

Q. What did you ever have to do with the Emigration Aid Society, and what propositions did they ever make to you?—A. In the first society that was organized I was the corresponding secretary, and was also the correspondent of the Boston Observer. Mr. Carshon was afterwards made secretary, and Mr. Wall was made chairman; but as he could not control the society he withdrew and organized another. The presumption of the people of the District was, that he organized it to speculate with, and they didn't join readily. Several months ago I met Mr. Wall on Seventh street, and he said he had some emigrants coming from North Carolina with Perry, and he wanted me to take the agency of the society. He said he would pay me, and I went to his office but didn't find him. I went to the office and saw Adams, and he said he didn't know where Wall was. I didn't see him any more until a meeting was called to denounce this whole scheme. Wall is so well known, that we knew his only object was to speculate on the ignorant people of the South. A resolution was introduced in the Senate by Senator Dorsey, and I sent this correspondence to the Boston Observer about it. The following is the correspondence (reading):

"Senator Dorsey presented a memorial signed by three hundred colored citizens of the District of Columbia West Emigration Society, asking for seventy-five thousand dollars as a loan, to enable them to emigrate to the unoccupied lands in the West."

Q. Is that all?—A. Yes, sir. I met Mr. Wall on Seventh street, and he asked me to take a place for a dollar a day; but I didn't do it, because the people in the District have no confidence in him.

Q. In what way were you to make a dollar a day?—A. By assisting him in this scheme.

Q. In what way?—A. I presume he wanted me to go to North Carolina, like Perry and Williams.

Q. Did he speak to you of them?—A. Yes, sir. He said they had been into North Carolina, and were coming back.

Q. Did he tell you what they were making?—A. No, sir. Afterwards we called a meeting of citizens to denounce this scheme. A meeting was held at the corner of Eleventh and I streets, and I was elected secretary of the meeting.

Q. Then you didn't approve of this movement?—A. No, sir.

Q. What do you think is the general opinion among the more intelligent people of your race?—A. The general sentiment is that they consider it a scheme of a speculative character, and detrimental to the interest of the colored people.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. You say that you know Mr. Wall was designing to speculate off the ignorance of the colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you know it?—A. I have known him for five or six years, and I know he never enters into anything except he makes something out of it.

Q. You say he is a man in bad standing with the people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say he had Perry and Williams engaged?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you know that?—A. He said he expected them to come from North Carolina with some emigrants and he said he had two or three men engaged there.

Q. Give his language as near as you can.—A. He said, "Mr. Chase, my son Stevey tells me that you will assist in anything I ask, and said you are a friend of his." I said, "Yes"; and he said, "I have got some men coming from North Carolina, and with them is a man named Perry, whom I have engaged," and said to me, "I would make you president of the Western Emigrant Aid Society, but you are a single man." He said, "Come to my office and I will show you my plan." I went to see him as I stated. I saw Mr. Otey, who said that the reason he resigned from the association was that the assertion was made in a meeting that they were to send so many negroes to Indiana and so many to other States in order to vote them, and for that reason he resigned.

Q. You think that Wall is a very dishonest man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Haven't you been convicted of larceny at any time?—A. Yes, sir, but unjustly; so I will state the circumstances, that you may see. I lived on I street, and my mother rents a store to a man named Nichols for a shoe store, and a man came along and got his shoes mended. I came down, and he said, "Don't you stay there, and were you not present when this man promised to pay me one dollar and a quarter, and I said "Yes"; and I said to him to take the shoes back; he took them and I went to Harper's Ferry. When I came back there was a warrant out for me, and I went to Judge Bundy. He was a Democratic judge, and said to me that I was unjustly convicted, and I got a certiorari, and it is there now.

Q. You paid the fine though, didn't you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much was it?—A. Ten dollars.

By Senator BLAIRE :

Q. You were secretary of that first organization?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you organizing to send emigrants?—A. We were organizing to send helpless colored people of this city to Kansas. It was for the poor people of this city and not those from other States. I believe the exodus of the colored people who are unemployed here to the unoccupied land of the West would be a good thing; but I don't think

the exodus of the colored people to Indiana and other States would be a good thing. I think they do better in North Carolina than in Indiana.

Q. You think emigration to the proper places would be beneficial ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you enter the society ?—A. Because our idea was to send them from this city to Kansas and the West ; because they are paupers here and have no vote here ; and in the South they have to take care of themselves. It is the carpet bag element among the negroes that makes this state of affairs in the District of Columbia, and requires the assistance of the government. They are the people that we have to do with.

Q. You said that Captain Wall originated the scheme for speculation ?—A. Yes, sir. So I say, and I stick to it, and I take in the ex-Governor Gleaves, who is in the Treasury, and I think he is the man who helped him.

Q. Are you engaged in any emigrant's society now ?—A. I am out of it.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. Don't the colored people vote in this city ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not ?—A. They took the right away from them.

Q. Who took it away ?—A. The government.

Q. Under whose administration ?—A. Under a Republican form of government.

Q. How long has it been since that was done ?—A. It was during President Grant's administration.

Q. I can hardly think that is so.—A. I know it was during a Republican administration, and I think it was President Grant's.

Q. What are your politics ?—A. I am a Republican, sir.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Do white men vote in this District ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there any discrimination made against colored men in that respect ?—A. No, sir.

On motion, the committee adjourned to 10 o'clock a. m., Monday, February the 23d, 1880.

NINETEENTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Monday, February 23, 1870.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF G. W. KRUZAN.

G. W. KRUZAN sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State where you live ?—Answer. In Vigo County, Indiana.

Q. How far from Terre Haute ?—A. Five miles from Terre Haute.

Q. What is your business ?—A. I am engaged in farming.

Q. How long have you lived there ?—A. All my lifetime ; I was born and raised there.

Q. Have you followed farming all your life?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has your attention been called to the introduction of colored people into our county recently?—A. Somewhat, sir. We have some in our neighborhood.

Q. You may state whether, in your opinion, there is any demand for labor of this kind in your county.—A. I think not, sir. We have always been able to get all the labor we wanted, and at very reasonable rates.

Q. Is there much hiring done now by the farmers in that section?—A. No, sir; not through the winter months; then there is scarcely anything done. I hire always during the season until the crop is gathered, but none after then.

Q. There is more hiring done through the season than in the winter?—A. There is scarcely any done through the winter time.

Q. You say some of these negroes have been brought into your neighborhood?—A. Yes, sir; there is one family in a mile of my place and two colored men are hired near there.

Q. Has that family been employed since its coming?—A. I do not know, sir; they work part of the time, I think.

Q. Whose place are they on?—A. McFeeters's place. One of these other men gets eight dollars per month when he works, but I do not think he works all the time. He says it is too cold out there for these Carolina men. The man for whom he works says he does not know much about working; that he does not understand our way of working with machinery and never saw it before.

Q. The most of your farming, the putting in and all that, is done by machinery?—A. Yes, sir; and the tending, too. We use double cultivators, and they never saw any of them before.

Q. State to the committee whether there has been a great many people for some years past seeking employment in our county, and who could not get it?—A. There have been a good many who came through there in the winter months. I know some who are working for their board. They are men who live there—white men.

Q. What do the farmers generally pay for farm labor during the crop season?—A. From \$13 to \$18, according to the hand, and board.

Q. How much by the day, with board?—A. The farmers hardly ever hire them that way, unless they get behind with their work. Sometimes then they pay seventy-five cents and a dollar a day. In harvest time they pay as high as a dollar and a half. That is what was paid last year, with board.

Q. From your long experience there do you think it desirable for colored emigrants, or anybody else dependent alone upon daily labor, to come and settle there?—A. I think it is not, sir.

Q. There is quite a population of old settlers there in that county; I mean colored people?—A. Yes, sir; There are a good many such. Up above Terre Haute there is a place three miles square, all of them colored settlers. It is called Lost Creek, and also Otter Creek. I was born in Otter Creek township.

Q. Do you know how the old colored settlers regard these new-comers?—A. They do not like it, I understood.

Q. Have you seen any of these emigrants arriving there?—A. I have never been to the church in Terre Haute where they quartered them.

Q. So you are of the opinion that even in cropping time these people will not be in demand, because they do not understand our system of farming?—A. Yes, sir; it is my opinion that they will not suit us, from what I learn from the men who hire them.

Q. Did you ever see the circular put forth by Walker to help on the exodus?—A. No, sir; I do not remember ever to have seen it.

Q. Stating that he had a demand for eighteen hundred families?—A. No, sir; I do not recollect it.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. How many of these colored men from North Carolina have you seen?—A. I do not know how many. I have seen several, but how many I could not state.

Q. You know of only three who are located in your vicinity?—A. There are one family and two men. One of the men is hired out, and he was to get eight dollars a month when he worked.

Q. They are all simply getting along as best they can until the crop season opens?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you talked much with them?—A. Only with those three, in particular, and that very little.

Q. Your intercourse with them has been very limited?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of a colored settlement; how near is it to you?—A. Nine miles, about.

Q. But you have lived near to it?—A. I was born near there. I lived about three-quarters of a mile from it. I do not think a white person has lived in the settlement. They are all colored, and some of them are very fine gentlemen.

Q. How many are there in this settlement of colored people?—A. I do not know how many.

Q. Several hundred, would you suppose, for an estimate?—A. Yes, sir, several hundred; but I do not know exactly the number.

Q. Perhaps you could fix it somewhere between four, five, and six hundred?—A. I would think there were three hundred in the population in that settlement.

The CHAIRMAN. You might estimate it by the votes. We have in our county about four hundred colored votes. Four hundred votes would represent about two thousand colored people, and the majority of them live in town. I should say out in Lost Creek Township about five hundred would be enough to establish the population.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. You think there are five hundred out there?—A. Yes, sir; between five and six hundred.

Q. About how many acres or square miles are they scattered over?—A. They have three square miles, or rather three miles square.

Q. Then that would be nine square miles?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are they all farmers?—A. Yes, sir; mostly all farmers.

Q. What is the name of the township?—A. Lost Creek and Otter Township.

Q. It is not an incorporated township, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the general condition of that colony of colored people?—A. It is a pretty well colony.

Q. How long have they lived there?—A. Since I can recollect.

Q. Have more or less been there since the settlement of the State?—A. I don't recollect.

Q. Have they always been pretty well off?—A. They were not so much so at the start, but they have been buying out the whites until they own the whole of it.

Q. They have been gradually excluding them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has the colony been increasing in wealth and population?—A. Yes, sir.

- Q. Has it doubled itself?—A. Yes, sir; and more than that in wealth.
- Q. Has it more than doubled in population?—A. Since I can recollect; yes, sir.
- Q. They have stores and other things out there?—A. No, sir; they go to Terre Haute to trade.
- Q. How far is that?—A. Five miles.
- Q. Do they carry their produce there?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Have they schools out there?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What is the condition of their schools?—A. I think they have good schools.
- Q. Do you know how much of the year they have them?—A. No, sir.
- Q. About the same as the rest of the county?—A. Yes, sir; I think so; about the same.
- Q. What is the length of the school period generally?—A. Some of the townships have more schools than the others; they run from five to nine months.
- Q. The average would be seven months?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Have they any religious privileges such as churches and pastors?—A. Yes, sir; they have their own churches.
- Q. What denominations are they?—A. They are Baptist and Methodist, principally.
- Q. Do they have separate houses of worship?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Have you seen them?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. How do they compare with the white churches?—A. They are not so good, but still they are good churches.
- Q. How as to the wealth among them; do many own their own farms?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. That is, the head of the family?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. How do they compare as farmers with the white people?—A. Some of them are as good as the white people's.
- Q. About how wealthy is the wealthiest colored man in that community?—A. I can't tell; some of them I should think are worth twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars.
- Q. Take one who is best off, or as well off as any of them; what is the name of that man?—A. I should suppose it was Dickson Stuart.
- Q. Tell us about him.—A. I am not so well acquainted with him, and I think probably he is dead now.
- Q. How old was he?—A. He was about sixty years old.
- Q. He was a farmer also?—A. Yes, sir; he had a very large farm, I think.
- Q. About how many acres?—A. I couldn't tell that because I don't know.
- Q. Was it a valuable farm?—A. Yes, sir; it was worth a good deal of money; I disremember what it was worth, but he paid about as large taxes as anybody in the township.
- Q. White or colored?—A. Yes, sir; but I disremember how much it was.
- Q. You know anything about his stock?—A. No, sir.
- Q. What were the products of his farm?—A. Mostly wheat, corn, and hay.
- Q. Did you find a market for it in the Western States?—A. We have as good a market, right there, as anywhere.
- Q. What do you get for corn?—A. We got forty cents last year.
- Q. Is that the average price?—A. It is sometimes more and sometimes less.

Q. Do you sell your wheat there ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much do you get for wheat ?—A. This year we averaged ninety cents.

Q. How much help would he require on his farm ?—A. I don't know, sir; I can only tell you as to the wealth among the negroes. It has been two years since I moved away, but I live in about nine miles off there now.

Q. Is this colored community about as well off as the white communities ?—A. Some of them are well off and some are not. They are about the same as the white, generally.

Q. Taking that community and making them white folks, with no race distinction, wouldn't you say they are about as well off as any of the white communities ?—A. Yes, sir. But they are opposed to these negroes coming there now.

Q. I ask you on the whole, disregarding the fact that they are colored people, are not they about as well off as any white communities in the State equally situated ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say, as a class, they are opposed to the exodus ?—A. I heard so.

Q. You don't know where those people came from originally ?—A. No, sir; I don't.

Q. No doubt that they drifted in from the South ?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Do you know that they are the same race as the blacks of the South ?—A. There is no doubt that they are the same race.

Q. Do you not think that if these negroes were coming there now, were subjected to the same influence for two or three generations as this community of which you speak, they would come out in the same way ?—A. Yes, sir; it would take two or three generations to do it, though.

Q. You and I understand that the transmission must be gradually; but to what do you attribute the difference between these negroes who are there and those who are coming from North Carolina ?—A. The difference is in their raising.

Q. Under the different institutions of the two States ?—A. Yes, sir; it is the difference in the way in which they have been brought up.

Q. You think the climate is better in the South than in Indiana ?—A. So they say. I have never been there in the South.

Q. And that is what everybody says ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So against the disadvantages of the climate these people in that colony up there have done better than those who remained in the South ?—A. Yes, sir; in the South they have been in slavery, and never had the advantages of these colored people up there.

Q. The fact is that way then ?—A. Yes, sir; they had these advantages and have improved under it.

TESTIMONY OF S. W. RIGNEY.

S. W. RIGNEY, sworn and examined as follows :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Where do you reside ?—Answer. I live five miles and a half south of Terre Haute, in Vigo County, Indiana.

Q. How long have you lived there ?—A. Between two and three years.

Q. And before that ?—A. Then I lived in Orange County, Southern Indiana. I was born and raised there.

Q. What is your occupation ?—A. I try to farm.

Q. How long have you been a farmer ?—A. All my life. I was born and raised on a farm, and have been following it all my life.

Q. Do you hire farm laborers to assist you ?—A. I hire men all the time in the crop season. I don't hire in the winter time, after I get my grain in.

Q. Is there any demand there for laborers on farms during the winter time ?—A. I never saw any scarcity of labor there since I have been there.

Q. I ask you was any demand in the winter time for hired help ?—A. Very little, sir ; I had several applications this winter to take men and board them to do the chores around the farm.

Q. Were they from people who lived there ?—A. Yes, sir ; from people who lived there and from different parts of the county and State. They were coming around and looking for places to stop until spring-time, so that they could get labor.

Q. Do you know of any reason for bringing these colored people out there at this time ?—A. No, sir. I don't know of any demand for their labor.

Q. You had applications to take some of them ?—A. I have had applications from white men. Two or three days before I left, a young man came to me and said he would stop with me until crop-time for his board. He was a nice young man from Monroe County, Indiana.

Q. Is there much of a demand even in crop-time for hands ?—A. I don't know that there is. I never had any difficulty in getting hands.

Q. How are these colored men from North Carolina adapted to our system of farm work ?—A. I can't tell you because I don't know. I have not seen those who have got them ; but I should not think they would satisfy us.

Q. A great deal of the farming out there is done by machinery ?—A. Yes, sir ; a great deal of it.

Q. Have you talked to any of these people ?—A. No, sir ; I have not.

Q. You have not talked to any of them in Terre Haute ?—A. No, sir. I live five miles and a half from there. I go to town every Saturday evening to do my trading ; then I go home and have no more to do with the town after that.

Q. Have you talked to your neighbors about it ?—A. Yes, sir. I have talked with a great many of them.

Q. The views you have given us are yours and those of everybody else in that county ?—A. They are of every man I have talked to.

Q. Have you heard of any demand among the farming communities for this class of labor ?—A. I have not.

Q. Where these emigrants have got an employment is it not done more through charity than from any need for them ?—A. I don't know, sir ; I can't say that.

Q. Mr. Krusance says that Mr. McFeeters has a family on his place.—A. That is Alex. McFeeter's son ; but I have not seen him to talk to him.

Q. There is no difficulty out there in getting help without applying to these people ?—A. No, sir.

Q. So it would seem like this, they got employment as charity instead as necessity for their living ?—A. Yes, sir. So far as I know, the men who took these emigrants are men who hardly ever pay their hands, or pay them in something that is not worth much.

Q. Did you ever see a circular published by Walker?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. In one place in this circular he says he has a demand for eighteen hundred families. "Come one, come all; for the harvest is great and the laborers few."—A. I don't think I ever saw it.

Q. If he has a demand for them you know nothing of it?—A. No, sir; I don't. Speaking of a demand for help, there is an exception. Our female help is scarcer than our male help. It may be that a few girls could get employment, but our male help is sufficient.

Q. The want of female help in the country grows out of the fact that women who work prefer to work in town, does it not?—A. Yes, sir; I think that is my experience.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Orange County, Indiana.

Q. You are a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is Mr. Krusan a Democrat, also?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF P. K. McCROSKEY.

P. K. McCROSKEY sworn and examined as follows:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. I reside in Terre Haute.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I was born there, and never lived anywhere else.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am a carpenter and builder.

Q. Now, I will ask you what are your politics?—A. I have been a pretty red hot Republican since Lincoln's first nomination.

Q. And you are still?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are a carpenter and builder?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you employ a good many men?—A. Some years I do; that depends upon the work that I have.

Q. What have you to say about the demand, and especially of laborers in Indiana?—A. We have an overplus of laborers, and have had ever since I lived there, in all classes and branches of trade.

Q. You mean among mechanics also?—A. Yes, sir; mechanics and common laborers.

Q. Are you familiar with the farming communities about there?—A. Somewhat.

Q. Do you make your remark apply the same to them as to your trade and business?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You think there is an overplus of farm laborers also?—A. I know there is.

Q. Has it not been especially so in your section since 1873?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Isn't true but that for the interpose of public and private charity by the town trustee and others that there are a good many people there who would suffer from want, because they are out of employment, and who are willing to work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does not it look to you like a wrong thing for people to encourage these people to come there?—A. Yes, sir; I think it is.

Q. I will ask you if, in saying that do you not reflect the sentiments of the class of people to whom you belong; that is, the mechanic and

laboring classes ?—A. Yes, sir. I have talked to many of them ; some of them do not express it publicly, but they do privately.

Q. Did you ever talk to this man Walker on this subject ?—A. Yes, sir ; I did last fall.

Q. You have read his circular and interview ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In it he says he has letters from various parts of the State asking for farm hands and house servants ; that he has a demand for eighteen hundred families, and to come one, come all, for the laborers are few and the harvest is great. Do you know of any demand of which he speaks of in Vigo County ?—A. I don't know of any, sir.

Q. If he has such a demand, it is beyond anything that you know of the situation yourself ?—A. Yes, sir ; and I know that he has tried to get places for those of them that he has got there ; but when they are hired they are kept two or three days and discharged, because they can't do our kind of work.

Q. What is their condition there now ?—A. I have never talked about them in the street, but they look like being in great distress.

Q. Are there many of them employed ?—A. A good many there are not employed. He made their headquarters at the Baptist Church.

Q. Have you no faith whatever in this statement of Walker ?—A. Not a particle. I don't believe it is true.

Q. In talking to you, what language did he hold to you about it ?—A. A day or two after he came back from that convention down South he saw me and ran over to meet me on the street. He seemed to be in a very good way, and I think he had liquor in him. I asked him what was the matter, and he said he had made a good thing out of his trip. He said he had made arrangements to turn the negro emigrants into Indiana, so as to get ten thousand in there, and carry the State. He said he thought he could get to elect them in the State ; that a good many of the farmers would take them and help the best they could ; but I knew that we didn't want any of them in our county.

Q. Did he seem to be very much pleased with his project ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, what seems to be the sentiment of the old colored citizens of the county on this subject ?—A. They are opposed to it.

Q. Your recollection, Mr. McCroskey, goes back a long ways in your county ; and, speaking from your knowledge, tell us what is your understanding as to the origin of that colored settlement in our county ?—A. There was some of them there before I was born, and some have come there since ; some came there and entered their own land and others came afterwards when the land was cheap and bought and had their friends to come afterwards. The old ones are generally good people ; but they have a class of young ones there, who are a pretty hard set, and there have been some murderers among them. The most of them, though, came there a long time ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me state the information I have. It is that our county was settled in 1811 and 1812 when Fort Harrison was a military post ; that the county was settled by people who came there from Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, and they brought many of these colored people with them, who were slaves, and who became free when they got there, and when the white people settled there the colored people naturally settled with them and made this a colored settlement.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir ; I think that many of them came from Kentucky, perhaps the most of them, and some from Virginia and Maryland. I have talked with them, and they say so, and I find that most of those settlers were from the Southern States.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. These colored people have been in the main good respectable people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And have acquired property?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Especially in the country?—A. Yes, sir; more so in the country than in the city.

Q. I don't know that I asked you if you ever talked with these older settlers on this subject?—A. Not with the oldest. I talked with some of the old men, but they have not lived there as long as some of the others. Some of them say that it is not right for these people to come there, and others are silent in the matter.

Q. This man who carries the mail in Terre Haute was appointed upon the recommendation of Postmaster Philbeck?—A. He was first appointed by Morton and then reappointed through the indorsement of Mr. Philbeck.

Q. I need not ask you, I suppose, whether Mr. Philbeck is cognizant of his course?—A. I don't know, sir.

By Senator BLAIR:

Q. Did Walker say to you he had made his arrangements to get these people there?—A. He didn't say. He said he was going to get enough to carry the State against the Democrats.

Q. What sort of a man is Walker?—A. He is a big, important sort of a nigger, who thinks he knows it all.

Q. And you say he was in liquor that day?—A. I think he had some liquor on board, though he may not.

Q. Have you repeated all that he said?—A. He said more, but I can't remember it. I just made up my mind from what he said that he was trying to shoulder the responsibility of the whole thing.

Q. You had no more talks with him about it?—A. Never since then.

Q. How many of these people has he brought in there?—A. He must have brought two or three hundred into Terre Haute. I don't know exactly how many, but there were two or three lots.

Q. Were they men, women, and children together?—A. Yes, sir. I think a lot came there before I came away, but I don't know how many.

Q. What has become of them?—A. I seen some of them about the streets, and I see it stated that they were carried in the basement of the colored church and fed there.

Q. Havn't the most of them been distributed about through the country?—A. A good many of them have.

Q. You speak of this colored settlement there, in your country. Now, if these same colored people, instead of stopping in Indiana where there seems to be no surplus work, they find their way to other parts of the country where land is cheap and where they could grow up as this colony has done, do you see any reason why they should not succeed the same as these Indiana negroes have done?—A. Yes, sir; I see the reason why the older negroes should not, and its cause is that they don't understand our system of labor. The younger ones might do so, but still they would have to go where land is cheap and just as good as that in Indiana.

Q. Still this colony might do so elsewhere and grow up and become prosperous and happy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The people of Indiana don't object to that being done. Do they?—A. No, sir; we have more than we want of this class of people and would rather they would not stop with us.

Q. And that is the general sentiment of your people without regard to party?—A. Yes, sir; I don't know anything about the party feeling.

Q. If it is the general sentiment, it is irrespective of party?—A. I don't think any man there, who would speak his sentiments, is in favor of their coming. Perhaps a man might go in a place where he would not want to say so; but I don't think there is any demand for them there.

Q. I understand you to say there is no demand for any kind of laborer, white or black?—A. We have all we need.

Q. Do you think there is any prejudice against them on account of their color?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you think if they were needed at all, the people would hire them as they do the whites?—A. Yes, sir; if they do the same work, but they would not discharge a white man in order to hire a negro, or hire a negro in preference, but if they needed their work they would hire them.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM M. STEVENSON.

WILLIAM M. STEVENSON sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. Terre Haute, Vigo County, Indiana.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there since 1861, sir.

Q. Where did you reside before that?—A. I resided in an adjoining county for several years. I came to Indiana from Kentucky in 1853.

Q. You are by profession a physician?—A. Yes, sir; that is my profession.

Q. You are employed, I believe, by the county of Vigo to attend to the poor of the county?—A. Well, sir, I have charge of the penitentiary at Terre Haute, and also of a kind of infirmary. I have had that for three years—the medical and surgical department of it.

Q. Your profession throws you a great deal among the poor people?—A. A great deal, sir.

Q. Tell us what you think of this immigration of North Carolina negroes into Indiana, from what you have seen of the condition of affairs there and the demand for labor.—A. The supply of unskilled labor in our city and county has been largely in excess of the demand, and there is a great deal of destitution in the city among men of families, and among those who become county charges and apply for relief. There are men of unskilled labor who have lived for a long time in the county, and they have become county charges simply because they cannot get employment. Some of them say they can get a day's work or two days' work, but the result is that when they get sick they become county charges, and I have to have assistance both medical and otherwise through the charity of the county to aid them and attend to them. There is a large proportion of the colored population of the city of Terre Haute who might be classed among the pauper element of the city. They are people who have been there ever since I knew the town. There are a few well-to-do colored people in this population, and some have done very well there. As to the demand for labor, there are people of my acquaintance in the county—and I am pretty well acquainted

throughout the county—who say that there is an excess of farm labor in the county. The farmers generally out there do not carry large farms, and can usually do their own work, except in the cropping season, when they are putting in their grain and when they are harvesting. There is generally very little hiring among the farmers. I know a few instances of old residents of the county working for their board, in expectation of getting employment in the spring, when the season opens. Our town is very full of destitute women, widows and others, whose subsistence comes from daily labor, such as washing and things of that kind. Many of them are in the county poor-house as the recipients of public charity. I think there are some ten or fifteen children at the county poor-house who are bright, healthy-looking children, and who are waiting for homes; and applications and notices of the fact have been made to the people, but they are a little slow about taking them.

Q. Is there any possible necessity in the nature of things for this immigration that has struck our county?—A. There is no demand for them from the labor standpoint. They are not needed and are very much objected to on account of their impoverished circumstances, and they are objected to particularly by the tax-payers. The only demand I know for them is that they are voters.

Q. Have you talked with any of those that have arrived there?—A. I visited them once down at the church, but did not have many interviews with them; I went to look in on them at the church, and I found a very destitute batch there. They were lying there, perfectly helpless; did not know where to go or what to do, or where they were expected to go; and a committee, consisting of Walker and Bagby, were making efforts to get employment for them. They rented a number of little shanties about the city to put them in. I visited one of them, which was not as big as this room, and there were fifteen persons in there—children of all ages, from fifteen years old down to the prospect of children. They were in an abject state of destitution.

Q. How were they off for clothing?—A. They were very ragged and wretched, and the women were very poorly clad.

Q. How was that batch fed there in the church?—A. I know they were fed by contributions from that committee. They have a reception committee, of which Walker is president and Elbert vice-president. I am acquainted with Elbert, but with Walker I am not. These people have been fed by charitable contributions from their own class of citizens and by the contributions of a few sympathizing Republican friends of the cause.

Labor is hard to get, although they have made applications to everybody likely to need them. One of my Democratic friends wanted some, but he did not want any minors among them. A gentleman from near the State line, a good farmer, Mr. Elliott, wanted several persons on his farm, women and children, and when they found that he was over the line and out of the State, they would not go to him, although he is a Republican.

Q. What was their reason for not going beyond the State line?—A. They said that was not the condition of their contract when they left North Carolina. They understood that they were to stay in Indiana, and they did not propose to leave there.

Q. How is this immigration regarded by the settled colored people of our county?—A. The colored population is opposed to their immigration. Stewart, Malone, Harris, Underwood, and other well-to-do colored people oppose it, because they are tax-payers, and they consider these

people an additional tax on the county; and on that account they have opposed it vigorously.

Q. Have you heard Walker's statement read here, in which he stated that he had a demand for eighteen hundred families of them?—A. Yes, sir; I have read it, and I have heard what Walker said about it.

Q. I will ask you the probability of its being true?—A. It is not true in any particular. There is no demand whatever for laborers there. There is no demand for skilled labor, and certainly no demand for unskilled labor. There is a large excess in the supply over the demand; and if Mr. Walker would give his attention to it and to nothing else, he could not find situations for eighteen hundred families in Vigo and Clay Counties both put together. I know that the pauper people there, such as servant girls and people who do laundry work, have great difficulty in getting work to do.

Q. How many Republican newspapers are printed in Terre Haute?—A. There are three, I believe—The Express, The Courier, and The Mail.

Q. Have you not seen any of them condemning this outrageous conduct of Walker?—A. I never have. I have seen an appeal in The Express calling for contributions to aid these people; asking for old clothes and food for those who were in the church.

Q. Did you see published, along with Walker's proclamation, this appeal for aid that was issued by a meeting of colored people?—A. Yes, sir; that is the appeal that I was referring to.

Q. It struck you rather strangely, did it not, that such an appeal should have to be made if there was a demand for eighteen hundred families in Vigo County?—A. Yes, sir; I thought if the demand was so great and the laborers so few, there certainly would not be any necessity for such an appeal. There was one of these darkies who was so much discouraged and disgusted that he went back home. He relieved his step-father of forty-six dollars, and with it went back to North Carolina.

Q. How did he relieve him of it?—A. He relieved him of it by stealing it. His step-father was left in the lurch, and is now on the county.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you know of any other person except this thief that has gone back?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then, he seemed to find North Carolina better for him than Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; but there were three others who said that they would go back if they could get the money.

Q. And they did not have any step-fathers to steal from?—A. No, sir.

Q. What is the population of your city?—A. About twenty-six thousand, may be; I cannot be certain, but I judge that from the last Directory that was published.

On motion the committee stood adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.

TESTIMONY OF T. C. GROOMES.

T. C. GROOMES sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. You may state where you live.—Answer. At Greencastle, Putnam County.

Q. What are you engaged in there?—A. Practicing law.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. Forty years. I was born and raised there.

Q. Do you know George Langsdale, the editor of the Greencastle Banner?—A. I am very well acquainted with him.

Q. What official position does he occupy there?—A. Postmaster.

Q. How large a place is Greencastle?—A. We have about six thousand people.

Q. It is the site of Asbury University?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the county seat of Putnam County?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A large and wealthy county?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long has Langsdale been postmaster?—A. He is in his second term now.

Q. He was appointed first by President Grant?—A. Yes, sir; and I think his second term began last July.

Q. You say he is the editor of the Greencastle Banner?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are its politics?—A. Republican. It is a Republican organ for that county.

Q. Have you got a file of that paper with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If you can, please turn to the editorial of that paper of November 28, 1878.

Q. I will ask whether there had been an election that fall in Indiana in which the Republicans were badly beaten?—A. Yes, sir; on the second Tuesday in October.

Q. What was the result?—A. The entire Democratic ticket in the county was elected except the county treasurer.

Q. What was the result in the State?—A. The State went Democratic.

Q. By some fourteen or fifteen thousand, didn't it?—A. I think it was up in the thousands somewhere.

Q. Can you recall for a moment what General Mansou's majority was?—A. Thirteen or fourteen thousand.

Q. They also elected a Democratic legislature by a large majority?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you now turn to the article of December 12, 1878, headed "Will they come north?" and read it?

On motion the committee adjourned to Friday, February 6, at 10 o'clock a. m.

TESTIMONY OF T. C. GROOMES.

T. C. GROOMES sworn and examined:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Groomes, on Wednesday you were proceeding at my request to lay before the committee certain matters in the Greencastle Banner; I will ask you to turn to the article of January 23, 1879?—Answer. That is the article that authorizes the resolution of Senator Windom.

Q. I will read the article (reading.)

[January 23, 1879, Banner.]

The proposition of the Banner that the colored men of the South emigrate to the North, where their political freedom is secure, has been adopted by Senator Windom, who, on the 16th instant, introduced the following resolution into the United States Senate:

"Resolved, That with a view to the peaceful adjustment of all questions relating to the effectual enforcement of Constitutional and national rights, and to the promotion of the best interest of the whole country by the elimination of sectionalism from politics, a committee of seven Senators be appointed by the chair and charged with the duty of inquiring as to the expediency and practicability of encouraging and promoting by all just and proper methods the partial migration of colored persons from those States and Congressional districts where they are not allowed to freely and peaceably exercise and enjoy their Constitutional rights as American citizens, into such States as may desire to receive them, and will protect them in the said rights, or into such Territory or Territories of the United States as may be provided for their use and occupation; and if the said committee shall deem such migration expedient and practicable, that they report, by bill or otherwise, what in their judgment is the most effective method of accomplishing that object; and that the said committee have leave to sit during recess."

The resolution was laid on the table for the present, at the request of Mr. Windom, and he gave notice that he would call it up soon and submit some remarks. The time of the Senate during which it will be under Republican control, is so short, that probably nothing can be done in the way suggested by the resolution, but it will serve to call the attention of the country to the subject, and promote the emigration of Republicans from the terrorized districts of the South to the free North.

Do you recognize this as matter from the Greencastle Banner?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. With your note?—A. Yes, sir; I made it.

Q. Please read it.

The witness read as follows:

They, the negroes, can render the country some service, &c.

Q. Turn to the issue of March 20, 1879.

The Witness read as follows:

There is great alarm in the South at the prospect of losing the colored laborers, who are packing up their beds and walking off to the North, &c.

Q. Now read from the issue of August 21, 1879, the article headed "To farmers."

Q. You stated to the committee that you were born and raised in Greencastle?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you made yourself familiar to any extent with the condition of these emigrant folks?—A. I am about the court-house frequently, and while there I have seen batches of three, four, to six and ten round there at the clerk's office and at the sheriff's office. I think about the first batch I saw I went into the clerk's office, and there were probably half a dozen in there.

Q. What were they wanting?—A. They were asking some one to take an interest in their behalf and get them back to North Carolina. They said they had not found things as they were represented.

Q. Did you hear them say so?—A. Yes, sir; I think I heard four of them.

Q. Did you ever hear these folks talking that way at other times?—A. I have heard others talk that way. That same party did get away, I think—those four.

Q. It costs them more to get away than it does to get there, does it not?—A. Yes, sir; from what they said.

Q. About twice as much?—A. Yes, sir. I think I was in the sheriff's office when some women were in there. I think this Chloe Smith was in there and four or five others. There were one or two women whose husbands were still in North Carolina.

Q. What were they wanting?—A. She was wanting Mr. Allen or the sheriff to write to these parties they had formerly lived with for money to return home on. They had failed to find places to work. I never conversed with one of them. I do not know that I ever spoke to one of them.

Q. You know of no effort to persuade them to go home?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who was the local correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, at Greencastle?—A. The rumor is that it is young Darnell, assistant postmaster or deputy postmaster at Greencastle.

Q. He is in Langsdale's employ, is he not?—A. He is his deputy.

Q. Now, having lived there all your life, do you know of any call for this class of people there?—A. No, sir; we have no demand for additional labor. If there is any such demand it is of very recent date. In fact, I have kept that class of people in my employment, and the resident negroes there complain very bitterly against these new-comers.

Q. Why is that?—A. They say it will cut down wages and increase the number of laborers.

Q. Since the panic and these hard times is it not true, notoriously so, that many people are out of work in that section of the country?—A. Yes, sir. In our county I think I can find them, plenty of them, who do not get work all the time. In the harvest time there is some little demand.

Q. How long does that last; two weeks?—A. Yes, sir, probably four; that is, the hay season and the wheat season.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What is your business?—A. Practicing law.

Q. What political party are you with?—A. The Democratic party.

Q. What have you heard of the efforts to intimidate people from employing these emigrants?—A. Nothing.

Q. Nothing whatever?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear of that house being burned?—A. Yes, sir; I heard of two that were burned, and one that had a tree felled across it.

Q. They were under preparation at the time for colored tenants?—A. One was up in Wilson's, in Russell township; it was being prepared by the tenant himself.

Q. Did you hear of these attempts made at Shelbyville?—A. Yes, sir; I heard of it through the newspapers. I heard that the people there were opposed to their coming.

Q. What effect do you think those things would have on the demand for their labor, that houses being prepared for them were burned down?—A. I do not think it will increase it. The impression is that these Republicans burned it down themselves. Up there they oppose it, but the Republicans in our locality generally favor it.

Q. Are the Republicans up there worse against the negroes than against the Democrats?—A. No, sir; I do not say that. The opposition in that party comes from that township. It is a strong Republican township, and there are not many Democrats up there. We pay no particular attention to it during election time, and it is always very quiet.

Q. There are Democrats in that vicinity, though?—A. Yes, sir; not in the immediate vicinity, but within four or five miles.

Q. Who told you that the Republicans did it?—A. It is common talk and public, that when the grand jury meets they will fasten it on some of the Republicans.

Q. They think an investigation of it ought to be made?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you will attempt to fasten it on the Republicans?—A. We will attempt to fasten it on the guilty ones.

Q. Do you know that that impression is sought to be made by members of your party in order to avoid the odium of burning houses over the heads of negro emigrants?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not believe it?—A. I do not.

Q. State who you heard say that.—A. I do not know who.

Q. Do you know that you heard anybody say it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not an impression born of your own imagination that you have?—A. No, sir; they were not created in that way in my mind.

Q. Can you say who said it to you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you hear it?—A. At home, in Greencastle.

Q. It is not talked of very much, is it?—A. I cannot say how much.

Q. How many people did you hear say it?—A. I do not know that I heard it more than once. I cannot state who was present, or what was said particularly.

Q. You heard somebody say so that made an impression on your mind?—A. Well, I thought it was more likely among Republicans than anybody else, for the reason that most of them there were opposed to these negroes.

Q. Who were they who were opposed to them?—A. I cannot say.

Q. Did you ever hear of any of them?—A. Yes, sir; but I am not able, at this time, to enumerate them, or particularize them.

Q. Did you ever hear Republicans making threats against them?—A. No, sir; I never heard of a threat from a Republican or a Democrat in the county. For political reasons some of them might have done so, but I do not know it.

Q. You saw these people in the sheriff's office, you say?—A. Yes, sir; I was there when they were there.

Q. Do you know how they got there?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you know at whose invitation they were there?—A. I do not know. I may have heard that they were there to get a letter written.

Q. Was Mr. Lewman there at the time?—A. Mr. Lewman was not in there, but Mr. Allen, his deputy, was writing a letter for Chloe Smith, I think.

Q. Then Allen wrote that letter that was read here this morning?—A. I do not know, sir. I did not read it.

Q. Who was it to?—A. It was to some person in North Carolina. The letter that was read here this morning sounds familiar, though. She was dictating what she wanted to express.

Q. So her feelings were expressed through Mr. Allen?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Who was the correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette?—A. I say the rumor is that it is Mr. Darnell.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Moore who is there from Cincinnati?—A. No, sir; I never heard of him.

Q. What was it you heard these people say about their condition?—A. They said they were disappointed in every way. They found no work, nor the wages as represented in the circulars and by the people who came there to North Carolina.

Q. How many of them came to your county?—A. I have no definite idea of the number. I have heard it estimated at two hundred and fifty men, women, and children. My impression is there were seventy-five voters who came into that county. The first batch, I think, were all men. Numbers of them got places, and some did not. Some went to Brazil, and some to Indianapolis. Some went to Hendricks County, and some to Plainfield. I think that Mr. Hanna took some of them there.

Q. How many did not find employment?—A. I do not know, but you can see them standing about the streets every day, eight or ten in a bunch.

Q. You do not know how many failed to get work?—A. No, sir; only that I heard them say they did not. There is a family I have that lives on my place. The man told me that a committee of white gentlemen came to his house, and wanted to arrange to have him take two or three women and keep them, but he declined to do it.

Q. You speak of hard times since the panic of 1873. Has that not been true all over the country?—A. I think so.

Q. Not more so in Indiana than elsewhere?—A. I do not know, except as to my own county. I know of people who own land who do not cultivate as much as they did before, and they make more money by not cultivating it.

Q. In what way?—A. By grazing it. They can purchase corn in Illinois and ship it in there for less than they can grow it.

EXHIBIT A.

(Refers to Cromwell's testimony.)

Last July we held a State conference; that is, I mean the delegates, of whom I was one. This conference was held in the city of Houston for the purpose of consulting the best steps to be taken with regard to the migration of the colored people, and also to their future elevation. I had the honor of being elected one of the commissioners on migration from the sixth Congressional district. I have been traveling over the counties of my district ever since, lecturing to my people. My subjects are political, financial, educational, social, moral, and religious culture. Our people, my friend, need teaching more than they do emigration. I am sorry to have to say it, but it is the truth concerning them. I make it my business, as commissioner, to go into each one of the counties where there is a large portion of colored people and lecture to them in the court-house. I tell the white people what we want, and our people what they must do for themselves; that they must reform, and must do it peaceably. I never pick or choose committees to go to their assistance. I have been in some of the most desperate counties in the State. I tell the white men what the colored men desire, but at the same time I don't forget to tell my race that their negligence, cowardice, and dissipation are what has brought the colored people as low as they are, and unless they reform themselves they can never command respect here or in the North. Education, wealth, and independence are what the colored man needs, and these must be brought about by virtuous cultivation. I am as poor as any man can be, and yet I was elected commissioner of this migration. I was elected without a dollar to work with, so I had to do the best I could without money, and depend entirely upon the people, which does not suit the preachers. Since last July I have gone through the following counties, and received the following amounts from each county: Hays County, \$4.40; Caldwell County, \$16.50; Guadalupe County, \$8.90; Comal County, \$3.20; Blanco County, \$1.50; Kendall County, \$2.75; Kerr County, \$2.55; Wilson County, \$6.85; Gonzales County, \$14.35; De Witt County, \$26.95; Victoria County, \$21.20; Goliad County, \$13.40; the total amounting to \$122.55. In many counties I have walked from thirty to forty miles, because the people were so poor they could not help me. But what encourages me to go on is that at the present time my work is appreciated very highly by my people. Everywhere I go they say it makes them feel glad and proud to see that the day has come when they have men with the courage and ability to advocate their cause before the white people, and also to teach them things that they have not heretofore known, but must learn in order to rise to success and command respect.

Now, sir, I think if we had good, able, and courageous men to advocate the cause of our people much good could be done, but it takes money. Such men must be paid a salary. If we are expected to do a great work we ought to get something for our labor. Is this not so? I tell you, my friend, this is no child's play—this work we have to perform. But I am, by the help of God, trying to do all I can for my people. The white people think we are getting paid by the government, but we do not get a cent from the government.

Please write to me at Indianola, Calhoun County, Texas. Send me a copy of the proceedings of the Nashville conference, and also a copy of your paper.

I remain your humble servant,

G. M. TROUSDAIR,
Commissioner on Migration, Sixth Congressional District.

J. W. CROMWELL, Esq.,
Washington, D. C.

EXHIBIT B.

VICTORIA, TEX., *January 12, 1880.*

RESPECTED SIR: Having received a copy of the proceedings of the Nashville conference, I am happy to say that I am very much pleased with its labors. Every colored man ought to have a copy of those minutes, as there is some very instructive advice to be found in them. As for myself, my education is very limited, but I am happy to say that I am young in years, and God is continually blessing me with good health and excellent brains for learning. Then ought I not to be thankful, and to trust in Him for future mercies? Yes, sir; I do thank God for the past, and trust Him for the future, which the whole of our oppressed race ought to do. But I tell you, sir, they do not. The reason I speak as I do is because I am an eye-witness of this people, and of their moral and religious conduct.

EXHIBIT C.

"FOLDING THEIR TENTS."

The reaction of the exodus movement on the part of the colored people from this State to Kansas has set in in earnest, and every train coming south brings some of them back. Those that emigrated were principally from the southern counties. Last evening at the Union depot a Herald reporter met with an old negro man named Edmund Burleson, who had gone with eight others of his race from Burleson County on the 17th of November. They went by rail to Parsons, where they found a large number of their race quartered in the churches, school-houses, and other buildings not permanently occupied, like a lot of sheep huddled together. There were temporary structures of plank not much larger than a shed to which a large number of them were living. Every empty house in the country was filled to its utmost. After paying their railroad fare, with but few exceptions, none of them had any money left, and when the cold snap came on their suffering was terrible. The night before he left Parsons one of their number froze to death. The cold was intense, and their clothing being thin and their bed clothing skimpy, they suffered severely. Destitute and penniless, they have been forced to forage on the surrounding country for food to keep them alive, and would have frozen to death had they not stolen coal from the railroad. Their depredations on the settlers have caused an ill-feeling on the part of the residents toward them, and they are fast feeling the effects of their displeasure. He says that it took cash, and lots of it, to purchase the bare necessities of life. The only thing he saw that was cheap was corn, which sells at from ten to twenty-eight cents a bushel. There were so many of them together that it was impossible for them to get work at any price. Land rents are required to be paid cash down, and the rates are generally from three to four dollars an acre. Lands that rent at this price are without fences or houses of any kind. He thought the lands of Texas far superior, while they produced a greater variety. "I would not, so far as I am concerned, give Burleson County for the whole of Kansas," said the old man with much earnestness. They wish themselves back, but the trouble is, they have spent all their money getting there, and but very few have anything to get away on. He went from Parsons to Emporia, where he found the same state of affairs existing. There are numbers of them leaving every day afoot, and without means, walking through to this State on their return home. One of the women that accompanied him was sent back by her husband, who had barely enough money to pay her passage, while he is coming through afoot. He regards the whole matter as a political movement engendered by the Republicans for the purpose of swelling the vote of Kansas. In his opinion the seeds of discontent were sowed at the convention held at Houston in July last by the colored people, by white and colored politicians. The main instrument in his county in gulling his race into leaving their homes was Horace Ruby, a Jim-crow politician and a school-teacher.

The poor, deluded blacks are awakening to their true situation, and are beginning to realize that they have been inveigled there for no other purpose than to secure their votes. Parson Duncan, the sable politician so well and unfavorably known to the blacks of this city, has been one of the principal agitators in the movement. He was stationed for awhile at Denison to receive and rob his race as they passed out of the State. He would take their money to purchase their tickets, and represented invariably that it cost more than it did. He was caught up with and arrested, but on returning the amount he had stolen he was set at liberty. He is wanted at Parsons for some of his crookedness, but sloped, and has not yet been apprehended. As for himself, the old man said that he was going back to Burleson County to stay.—[Dallas (Texas) Herald.]

EXHIBIT D.

There were about four millions of slaves set free and turned into the highways without a place to lay their heads or means of support, save their own muscles. They do not need charity, but they do need advice, assistance, and opportunity to purchase and pay for homes. The South never can prosper as it should until its great land estates be divided and sold to actual cultivators. At first, very generally, the owners of these were not disposed to sell to the negroes. In many parts it is not so now. At the North there is abundance of capital seeking investment, and it does seem to me that the time is favorable for a national organization to buy these lands and sell them to white and colored people on such terms and at such rates as they can pay for them, and will yield a reasonable profit to those who invest their money in the enterprise. Could not the government also lend a helping hand?—(Philadelphia Times.)

EXHIBIT E.

A great deal of fuss is being made nowadays by Democratic papers and politicians, and also by milk and water Republicans, about the immigration of colored people to this State from the South. The talk about colonization is the silliest nonsense, mere moonshine. There is no need for colonization societies in Indiana. The colonization organizations are at the other end of the line—shot-gun, bulldozing, rebel, Democratic banditti of the South.

The brutal conduct of these scoundrels has made the exodus a necessity. The only thing political in this exodus is the desire of these unfortunate, down-trodden people to find a land in which political liberty and commercial honesty are recognized and respected. In Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Kansas, and the great Northwest, they find such a land and a civilization as far in advance of the barbaric customs of the South as a Christian is in advance of a cannibal. The gallant soldier boys of the North who languished in Southern prisons during the war know the brutish instincts of Southern rebels and they know that the reports of the outrages to which the colored people are subjected are not exaggerated. The exodus will only stop when a citizen of the United States is as free to express and vote his sentiments in North Carolina as he is in Indiana.—(Indianapolis Leader.)

(Refers to O'Hara's testimony.)

Ex-judge William J. Clark has commenced the publication at Raleigh of a Republican paper, the *Signal*, and has the following to say on the present exodus going on from this district: "He sees the colored man in many counties excluded from the jury-box because of his color, and that a negro accused of crime is convicted on half the evidence which is necessary to convict a white man, and in many cases cruel and severe punishments inflicted on the negro who has been convicted of some petty felony."

Again, in commenting on Senator Ransom's speech in Congress on the exodus investigation, the *Signal* says:

"We dare say, the Senator has never attended an inferior court in Wayne or Lenoir County, or a court of a justice of the peace at a cross-roads grocery in that section, since the election of magistrates was taken from the people, and the legislature took to appointing them; if he had, he would not say that the negro obtains justice *in facie curie*."

CHAPTER CXLI.

AN ACT to establish county governments.

SECTION 1. *The general assembly of North Carolina do enact*, Every county is a body politic and corporate, and shall have the powers prescribed by statute and those necessarily implied by law, and no others.

SEC. 2. In each county there shall be elected biennially, by the qualified voters thereof, as provided for the election of members of the general assembly, a treasurer, register of deeds, and surveyor: *Provided, however*, That a majority of the justices may abolish the office of treasurer, and thereupon the duties and liabilities now attached to the office shall devolve upon the sheriff.

SEC. 3. That townships heretofore created or hereafter established shall be distinguished by well-defined boundaries, and may be altered and additional townships created by the board of county commissioners, but no township shall have or exercise any corporate powers whatever, unless allowed by act of general assembly, to be exercised under the supervision of the board of county commissioners.

SEC. 4. The justices of the peace shall be elected by the general assembly. The general assembly at its present session shall elect three justices of the peace for each township in the several counties of the State, who shall be divided into three classes, and hold their offices for two, four, and six years respectively, but the successors of each class, as its terms expires, shall be elected by the general assembly for the term of six years. In addition to the justices of the peace above provided for, there shall be elected by the general assembly, for each township in which any city or incorporated town is situated, one justice of the peace, and also one for every one thousand inhabitants in such city or town, who shall hold their office for the term of six years. The secretary of state shall certify to the clerks of the superior courts of the several counties in the State a list of all justices of the peace elected, for their several counties, with the terms for which they shall have been appointed, and this shall be their commission, and the clerk of their superior court shall notify said justices of their appointment, who shall thereupon be entitled to enter upon the duties of their office, upon taking before the said clerk the oath of office now prescribed by law for justices of the peace. But the terms of those elected at the present session of the general assembly shall begin at the expiration of the terms for which the justices of the peace now in office have been elected and not before. When new townships shall be established, if the general assembly shall not be in session, the governor shall appoint the justices of the peace therein, and they shall hold their office until the next meeting of the general assembly, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified.

SEC. 5. The justices of the peace for each county, on the first Monday in August, every two years thereafter, shall assemble at the court-house of their respective counties, and, a majority being present, shall proceed to the election of not less than three nor more than five persons, to be chosen from the body of the county (including the justices of the peace), who shall be styled the board of commissioners for the county, and shall hold their offices for two years from the date of their qualification, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. But those elected on the first Monday in August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, shall enter upon the duties of their office immediately upon the expiration of the term for which the board of county commissioners now in office have been elected and not before. They shall be qualified by taking the oath of office before the clerk of the superior court or some judge or justice of the peace, as now prescribed by law, and the register of deeds shall be *ex officio* clerk of the board of commissioners: *Provided, however*, That the board of commissioners shall not have power to levy taxes, to purchase real property, to remove or designate new sites for county buildings, to construct or repair bridges, the cost whereof may exceed five hundred dollars, or to borrow money for the county, nor alter or make additional townships, without the concurrence of a majority of the justices of the peace sitting with them; and for the purposes embraced in this proviso the justices of the peace of the county shall meet with the board of commissioners on the first Monday in August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, and annually thereafter, unless oftener convened by the board of commissioners, who are hereby empowered to call together the justices of the peace, when necessary, not oftener than once in three months, but, for such services the justices of the peace shall receive no compensation.

SEC. 6. The board of commissioners so elected shall have and exercise the jurisdiction and powers vested in the board of commissioners now existing, and also those vested in and exercised by the board of trustees of the several townships, except as may hereafter be prescribed by law; and they shall hold their sessions as may be prescribed by law.

SEC. 7. All the provisions of article seven of the constitution inconsistent with this act, except those contained in sections seven, nine, and thirteen, are hereby abrogated, and the provisions of this act substituted in their place; *subject, however*, to the power

of the general assembly to alter, amend, or abrogate the provisions of this act, and to substitute others in their stead, as provided for in section fourteen of article seven of the constitution.

SEC. 8. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

Ratified the 27th day of February, A. D. 1877.

ARTICLE VII.

Municipal corporations.

SECTION 1. In each county there shall be elected biennially by the qualified voters thereof, as provided for the election of members of the general assembly, the following officers: a treasurer, register of deeds, surveyor, and five commissioners.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the commissioners to exercise a general supervision and control of the penal and charitable institutions, schools, roads, bridges, levying of taxes, and finances of the county, as may be prescribed by law. The register of deeds shall be *ex officio* clerk of the board of commissioners.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the commissioners first elected in each county to divide the same into convenient districts, to determine the boundaries and prescribe the name of the said districts, and to report the same to the general assembly before the first day of January, 1869.

SEC. 4. Upon the approval of the reports provided for in the foregoing section, by the general assembly, the said districts shall have corporate powers for the necessary purposes of local government, and shall be known as townships.

SEC. 5. In each township there shall be biennially elected, by the qualified voters thereof, a clerk and two justices of the peace, who shall constitute a board of trustees, and shall, under the supervision of the county commissioners, have control of the taxes and finances, roads and bridges of the townships, as may be prescribed by law. The general assembly may provide for the election of a larger number of justices of the peace in cities and towns, and in those townships in which cities and towns are situated. In every township there shall also be biennially elected a school committee, consisting of three persons, whose duty shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 6. The township board of trustees shall assess the taxable property of their townships and make return to the county commissioners for revision, as may be prescribed by law. The clerk shall also be *ex officio* treasurer of the township.

SEC. 7. No county, city, town, or other municipal corporation shall contract any debt, pledge its faith, or loan its credit, nor shall any tax be levied or collected by any officers of the same, except for the necessary expenses thereof, unless by a vote of a majority of the qualified voters therein.

SEC. 8. No money shall be drawn from any county or township treasury, except by authority of law.

SEC. 9. All taxes levied by any county, city, town, or township shall be uniform and *ad valorem* upon all property in the same, except property exempted by this constitution.

SEC. 10. The county officers first elected under the provisions of this article shall enter upon their duties ten days after the approval of this constitution by the Congress of the United States.

SEC. 11. The governor shall appoint a sufficient number of justices of the peace, in each county, who shall hold their places until sections four, five, and six of this article shall have been carried into effect.

SEC. 12. All charters, ordinances, and provisions relating to municipal corporations shall remain in force until legally changed, unless inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

SEC. 13. No county, city, town, or municipal corporation shall assume, or pay, nor shall any tax be levied or collected for the payment of any debt, or the interest upon any debt contracted, directly or indirectly, in aid or support of the rebellion.

SEC. 14. The general assembly shall have full power by statute to modify, change, or abrogate any and all of the provisions of this article, and substitute others in their place, except sections 7, 9, and 13.

CHAPTER CCLXXXIII.

AN ACT to amend the "landlord and tenant act."

SECTION 1. *The general assembly of North Carolina do enact*, That when lands shall be rented or leased by agreement, written or verbal, for agricultural purposes, or shall be cultivated by a cropper, unless otherwise agreed between the parties to the lease or agreement, any and all crops raised on said land shall be deemed and held to be vested in possession of the lessor, or his assigns, at all times, until the rents for said land shall be paid, and until all the stipulations contained in the lease or agreement shall

be performed, or damages in lieu thereof shall be paid to the lessor or his assigns; and until said party or his assigns shall be paid for all advancements made, and expenses incurred in making and sowing said crops. This lien shall be preferred to all other liens, and the lessor or his assigns shall be entitled against the lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, who shall remove the crop or any part thereof from the land without the consent of the lessor or his assigns, or against any other person who may get possession of said crop, or any part thereof, to the remedies given in an action upon a claim for the delivery of personal property.

SEC. 2. That whenever the lessor or his assigns shall get the actual possession of the crop, or any part thereof, otherwise than by the mode prescribed in the preceding section, and said lessor or his assigns shall refuse or neglect, upon a notice, written or verbal, of five days, given by the lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, to make a fair division of said crop, or to pay over to such lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, such part thereof as he may be entitled to under the lease or agreement, then and in that case the lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, shall be entitled against the lessor or his assigns to the remedies given in action upon a claim for the delivery of personal property, to recover such part of the crop as he, in law and according to the lease or agreement may be entitled to. The amount or quantity of such crop claimed by said lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, together with a statement of the grounds upon which it is claimed, shall be fully set forth in an affidavit at the beginning of the action.

SEC. 3. That where any controversy shall arise between the parties and neither party avails himself of the provisions of the first and second sections of the act, it shall be competent for either party to proceed at once to have the matter determined in the court of a justice of the peace, if the amount claimed be two hundred dollars or less, and in the superior court of the county where the property is situated if the amount so claimed shall be more than two hundred dollars. But in case there shall be a continuance or an appeal from the justice's decision to the superior court, the lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, shall be allowed to retain possession of said property upon his giving bond to the lessor or his assigns, or the adverse party, in a sum double the amount of the claim, if such claim does not amount to more than the value of such property, otherwise to double the value of such property, with good and sufficient security, to be approved by the justice of the peace or the clerk of the superior court, conditioned for the faithful payment to the adverse party of such damages as he shall recover in said action.

SEC. 4. That in case the lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, shall, at the time of the appeal or continuance mentioned in the third section of this act, fail to give the bond therein required, then the constable or other lawful officer shall deliver the property into the actual possession of the lessor or his assigns, upon the lessor or his assigns giving to the adverse party a bond in double the amount of said property, to be justified as required in the third section aforesaid, conditioned for the forthcoming of such property, or the value thereof, in case judgment shall be pronounced against him.

SEC. 5. That in case neither of the parties give the bond described in the third and fourth sections of this act, then and in that case it shall be the duty of the justice of the peace or the clerk of the superior court, in whichever the same shall be pending, to issue an order to the constable or sheriff or other lawful officer, as the case may be, directing him to take into his possession all of said property, or so much thereof as shall be necessary to satisfy the claimant's demand and costs, and to sell the same under the rules and regulations prescribed by law for the sale of personal property under execution, and to hold the proceeds thereof subject to the decision of the court upon the issue or issues pending between the parties. That in all cases in the superior court arising under this act the return term shall be the trial term.

SEC. 6. That any lessee or cropper, or the assigns of either, or any other person, who shall remove said crop, or any part thereof, from such land without the consent of the lessor or his assigns, and without giving him or his agent five days' notice of such intended removal, and before satisfying all liens held by the lessor or his assigns on said crop, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

SEC. 7. That the provisions of this act, and the act to which this is amendatory, shall apply to all leases or contracts to lease turpentine trees, and the parties thereto shall be fully subject to the provisions and penalties of this act.

SEC. 8. That sections thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen of chapter sixty-four, of Battle's Revisal, and chapter two hundred and nine of the laws of one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, and all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 9. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

Ratified the 12th day of March, 1877.

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