

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 II.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1880.

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PROCEEDINGS

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Sessions held at Washington, beginning Tuesday, March 9, 1880.

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PART II.

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WASHINGTON, *Tuesday, March 9, 1880.*

The committee having been called to reassemble pursuant to the order of February 23, when it adjourned "subject to the call of the chairman," met at 10 a. m. this day and proceeded with the examination of witnesses.

Present: The chairman and all the members.

TESTIMONY OF COL. WILLIAM W. DUDLEY.

COL. WILLIAM W. DUDLEY, sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. You may state your name and residence to the stenographer.—Answer. William W. Dudley; my residence is Indianapolis, Ind.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What is your business, Colonel?—A. I am at present United States marshal for the district of Indiana.

Q. What relation, if any, do you sustain to the Republican organization of that State?—A. I hold a subordinate position under the State central committee.

Q. Please state what that relation is.—A. I am a member of the executive committee.

Q. Are you the chairman of that committee?—A. I am the first named on the committee.

Q. Well, are you chairman of the committee—the acting chairman?—A. Mr. New is chairman; I am simply one of the members of the committee; I am the first named I believe.

Q. Yes, I understand. I will ask you, Colonel Dudley, if you have taken any active part in the affairs of the Republican party in your State, and if you know the party thoroughly and what is going on in the party in your State?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Have you given any attention to this matter of the immigration of colored people into Indiana?—A. Well, my attention was first attracted to it in any political bearing by Mr. Hendricks' speech made some time since in Indianapolis.

Q. In what way was it suggested to you by that speech?—A. If my recollection serves me right, Mr. Hendricks charged in that speech that it was a movement inaugurated by the Republican managers.

Q. Was that the first time that you had heard of any supposed connection with the Republican party, or of anybody in the Republican party, with the exodus?—A. I think I might say that it was; yes, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear it talked of as a political movement by the Republicans prior to the time Mr. Hendricks charged it in his speech, if you remember?—A. Yes, sir; I think I did hear the question discussed.

Q. In what way?—A. Well, it was spoken of by Mr. New and myself, and Colonel Holloway.

Q. In what way was it spoken of?—A. Suggestions were made that the State might perhaps be colonized in that way.

Q. How were these suggestions made?—A. They were made by outside people, but we in our consultations agreed that no such step could be taken; that it would be neither wise nor desirable to attempt any such thing.

Q. How was that suggestion made, and by whom, that it was the occasion of this consultation that you speak of?—A. Well, I think it came from letters from here.

Q. From whom, if you remember?—A. I believe that Mr. Mendenhall was the first to write to me on the subject.

Q. Do you remember the nature of his suggestions to you?—A. They were something in this wise; that large numbers of these people were about coming west, and that it would be desirable, in his opinion, to have them located in Indiana, and that he thought the Republican party ought to assist it.

Q. Did you make any reply to him?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. What was the nature of your reply?—A. Well, I cannot remember the words of my letter exactly, but the idea I sought to convey was that no one connected with the management of the party would permit any such connection with such a movement at all under any circumstances, and that no money would be raised, or could be raised, here for any such purpose.

Q. State whether you yourself, or anyone in connection with your committee so far as you know, or have heard, has ever in any way encouraged this immigration into Indiana for political purposes.—A. I think not, sir; so far as I myself am concerned, I did not; nor did anyone in connection with the committee.

Q. Have they encouraged this movement in any other way, so far as you know?—A. No, sir; I think not, either directly or indirectly; at least, not that I am aware of; I am speaking now for the committee.

Q. I am aware of that, Colonel. And you speak for yourself absolutely?—A. Yes, sir; I speak for myself and for those whom I talked with on the committee.

Q. Has any money, to your knowledge, ever been raised by your committee, or by any member of it individually, for the purpose of bringing these people into the State?—A. No, sir; not a cent that I know of.

Q. Has money ever been raised by contribution in any way for charitable purposes, and to support these people when in a suffering condition?—A. Well, sir, I have contributed for that purpose myself as much as I felt able to give.

Q. What was the purpose for which the money that you did donate was donated?—A. Well, it was given to the committee of colored people who were striving to alleviate the necessities of these people who had come into our State.

Q. How did these necessities arise; were they temporary and upon their immediate arrival?—A. Well, I never had any talk with any of them, and I know nothing about it further than what Mr. Bagby and Dr. Elbert and some of the leading colored men represented to me; they represented that these people were there waiting for employment, and that they had exhausted their means in coming to the State; that they would probably be in necessity of immediate relief, and a great many of them in immediate need of relief; that they were in want of

food to feed them and clothes to keep them warm ; and that they needed money for medicines for them.

Q. Did you contribute anything towards their relief?—A. I think I contributed twice or three times for that purpose, and I think I gave in all about sixty dollars.

Q. Do you know of any money having been raised by this colored committee, or by any one else, to send to Washington to pay for the transportation of these people from here there?—A. I saw a letter from Washington asking for such help as that. I did not answer it myself; I do not think it was addressed to me; but so far as I know, no money was ever sent for any such purpose. I gave nothing, I know—I positively refused to give for any such purpose.

Q. How much money did that letter say would be required?—A. I cannot say precisely, but it seems to me it was some two or three hundred dollars.

Q. But you do not know of any money raised for the purpose of bringing these people to Indiana?—A. All I know is that I heard it spoken of, but I declined to give for that purpose; I think I heard Mr. New and Colonel Holloway, and perhaps Judge Martindale, speak of it in that way—that they would give nothing for that purpose. I know, at least, that that was my judgment and my action.

Q. After your consultations among yourselves as a committee, and with the leading Republicans of the State, will you tell us whether anything was ever said or done by way of encouraging these people to come into your State—anything that you think of?—A. No, sir; I cannot call to mind any conversation whatever that would even inferentially give such encouragement.

Q. You have a large correspondence with Republicans of the State, have you not, Colonel?—A. I have; yes, sir.

Q. Have you heard any expressions that would indicate any disposition on the part of the Republican party to encourage this movement as a political movement?—A. I believe that with one or two exceptions, I have received no such correspondence.

Q. What do you know, Colonel Dudley, as to the employment of these people, after they came; or as to the demand for employment in the State, if anything?—A. Well, I know nothing of my own knowledge, or at least, very little. I have heard that they have in many cases found speedy employment. Since I arrived here I have received a letter from Mr. Langsdale, in which he said that some of them who arrived there recently had received employment. I have that letter in my pocket now.

Q. Do you know anything of any demand for that kind of labor in the State? Have you heard anything said about it in any way that would enable you to form a judgment in the matter?—A. Well, yes, sir; I have heard some such statements; and I have also received letters from individuals in different parts of the State, in which they have asked to whom they could apply for that kind of labor. I have, however, declined to answer these letters, and taken no steps in the matter at all.

Q. So you have done nothing, then, by way of finding employment for these people? You have not gone into that business at all?—A. No, sir; not in the slightest degree.

Q. And all that you have contributed to these people has been by way of charity, to remove their distress?—A. Yes, sir; that is all.

Q. About how many of these people—I mean how many voters—according to your best information, have come into the State during the

last six months or during the last year, whichever will enable you to form the best opinion?—A. Well, I asked the question of a well-informed Republican in nearly every precinct in the State, how many had come in since the 1st of January, 1879; and the replies I received were up to, perhaps, the latter part of October. Since that time, I could not say anything about it; but my best judgment would be, from all the replies I received, that there were not, I should say, over three hundred.

Q. Have you talked with any of the people about the depots, or with any who would be likely to know, as to what the proportion of voters was to the women and children that came in these companies from North Carolina?—A. Well, I had a conversation with the depot-marshal at Indianapolis, in which I asked him that question, and he stated that not more than three per cent. of them were voters. I think that was the way he stated it.

Q. You say that not more than three per cent. of all the people that came in these companies from North Carolina were voters?—A. Yes, sir, that was the statement to me.

Q. Who was your informant? What was his name?—A. His name was Manning. He was the depot-marshal, and his duties kept him at the depot all the time.

Q. What would be your judgment from the facts, as to the proportion of these people that were voters?—A. I have no knowledge on that point, of myself; I have really never seen a party of these emigrants. I only know from what the papers have said on the subject, and from what I have heard from those who have seen them.

Q. What do you know about this man Heath, who has been mentioned in the testimony?—A. I never saw him, and I never had any conversation with him that I am aware of.

Q. Did you ever have any communication with him, either directly or indirectly?—A. No, sir; I do not think that I ever saw him.

Q. What, if anything, have you heard as to the way these people have been received in the State in different localities?—A. Well, I have heard of the disturbance at Shelbyville, and I have also heard of the disturbance in Hancock County, and I also heard of a disturbance in Tipton County; aside from these, I have heard of none.

Q. In what way did you hear of these disturbances—from the newspapers or from persons who were witnesses of them?—A. I heard of the trouble at Shelbyville from one who was a witness of it—the sheriff of the county. He was in my office on official business, and spoke to me about it.

Q. What is his name?—A. I do not remember, at this moment, what his name is.

Q. What was his version of the affair?—A. As near as I can recollect it, it was that the "boys" there were considerably incensed at the idea of negroes coming into their county, and they were considerably excited about it, and had dispatches that they had received in advance of the coming of these people, and had gone to the depot with the intention of preventing their landing, and that they had prevented a carload, or such a matter, from landing. I did not suppose that he would say very much about the affair—I saw that he did not wish to say anything about it.

Q. What were his politics?—A. He is a Democrat, I think; and he told me that he spoke more particularly of his own connection with the affair; that he had been asked to go along and take part in it, but he

in the main for a livelihood. They are not only stopping in the small towns along the border, but they are squatting in the available cabins about the country. I had so short a time to stay that I could not give the matter as much time as I desired, but I am satisfied that importations are being made all the time along the border of the 'Pocket.' I am going to make another trip to that portion of the State in a short time, when I expect to investigate more fully.

"Yours respectfully,

"J. W. C. SPRINGSTON.

"P. S.—Dr. Hawn (his partner) has just returned, and says that a Kentuckian has squatted in an abandoned cabin under the bluff, about four miles from this place, on the river below. He saw him to-day and talked with him. His name is Swan. There is no ground to cultivate near his cabin, and if he supports his family, it will be by some one having an interest in his coming. The Democratic papers in this part of the State are ominously silent in regard to our challenge."

Q. What conversation have you had since with that gentleman?—A. He called on me since and spoke of the efforts of a leading politician, whose name I do not recollect now, in Leavenworth to the same end, and that through his efforts quite a number had already come into Leavenworth and the surrounding country.

Q. What was the politics of that politician you speak of—to what party did he belong?—A. He was a Democrat.

Q. Have you a list of the counties along the river, and what votes they gave at the last election, so as to give us an idea of what the political complexion was down there?—A. Yes, sir; I have a list with me. [Producing the list.]

Q. Just state the names of the counties along the river, and the political complexion of each county.—A. The southernmost county is Posey County. In that county the Democratic plurality—and I am not sure but it is a majority, but it is either a majority or a plurality—in 1878 was 553. The next county is Vanderburgh. It has a Republican plurality of 380. The next county is Warrick, with a Democratic plurality of 350. The next is Spencer. It has a Democratic plurality of 321. The next is Perry, having a Democratic plurality of 451. The next is Crawford, with a Democratic plurality of 449. The next is Harrison; that has 712 Democratic plurality. The next is Floyd, with 1,279 Democratic plurality. Next comes Clarke, with 870 Democratic plurality. Then comes Jefferson, with a Republican plurality of 512. Next is Switzerland, with 107 Democratic plurality. Ohio is next, with a Republican plurality of 189. Next is Dearborn, having a Democratic plurality of 1,433. The footings of these pluralities are 6,525 Democratic plurality, and the three Republican counties give an aggregate of 981 plurality.

Q. One more general question, colonel. From your connection and association with the State committee of the Republican party, and with the county committee, and with the leading and active Republicans in every precinct—as I think you say—have you any reason to believe, and do you believe, that the Republican party as such, or its leading and active members, with very few exceptions at least, have taken any interest whatever in bringing these colored people into the State?—A. As a party, I should say, most emphatically, not. I cannot speak for individual members of the party, any more than they may have come under my individual observation.

Q. And they have not?—A. They have not.

Q. If you think of anything further, colonel, that will throw any light upon this investigation, we would like to have you state it.—A. I have never conversed at first hands with any of these refugees; I had, I believe, a talk with Mr. Perry, in which he stated some of the causes which lead them to such a movement.

Q. Yes; we had him on the stand, so we will not stop to take his reasons.

The WITNESS. The vote that I read to you just now is taken from this official statement of the vote, as published by the Secretary of State.

The CHAIRMAN. O, I have no doubt whatever about the correctness of that.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. I believe you stated, Colouel Dudley, that you are a member of the Republican State central committee?—Answer. Yes, sir; I might be styled an advisory member, I suppose.

Q. I want to get at that exactly, colonel. You are a United States marshal, and have been appointed and confirmed since I have been here in the Senate?—A. Yes, sir; and allow me to state right there, at the time I was appointed marshal I was a member of the State central committee, but resigned as a member of the committee and was appointed a member of the advisory committee.

Q. Well, I want to get at the distinction that prevails under this administration with regard to the civil service. You were a member of the State central committee at the time you were appointed marshal, and you changed your relation to that of a member of the advisory committee, but, colonel, don't you do as much work for the committee as you did before?—A. I do all I can.

Q. I know that and have no criticism on that.—A. And I try to do it in a systematic way; in such a way as will produce the best results.

Q. Now, then, as to being an advisory member of the committee—is such a thing known in your organization as an advisory member of the committee from each one of the Congressional districts?—A. No, sir.

Q. Just to familiarize the committee with our way of doing politics out there in Indiana—for it is a little more systemized, we think, and better worked up on both sides than any State in the Union—is it not true that each party has a State central committee composed of a member from each Congressional district?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that it has a chairman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is it not true that there has never been knowu in the management there, either in your party or mine, such a thing as advisory members of the State central committee until quite recently?—A. I think we have had an executive committee always as an adjunct to our State central committee.

Q. Were they not members of the State central committee?—A. I think almost always they were not members of that committee.

Q. An executive central committee then composed of men outside of the State central committee?—A. Yes, sir; and most generally resident at the capital.

Q. And the State central committee then giving up its executive management to them?—A. Oh, no, sir; you mistake their office there. In our organization it has been that of an auditing committee.

Q. To audit the accounts?—A. Yes, sir; and for looking after the business of the committee.

Q. Very well?—A. Not its detail work; that is generally confined

to the chairman of the State central committee, and the secretary of the committee.

Q. What then are these individuals who are attached to the State central committee as an advisory committee, as you call it, styled?—

A. I think it is called an executive committee.

Q. You think it is called an executive committee?—A. Yes, sir; an executive committee.

Q. Well, are you a member of that executive committee, Colonel?—

A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. Appointed from where?—A. I was appointed from the State at large, you might say.

Q. And appointed since you were United States marshal?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are chairman of that executive committee, are you not?—A. I do not know that I could say that; for Mr. New is a member of the executive committee and he is chairman of the State central committee.

Q. But you are the first named on that executive committee, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; you can see here how it is arranged [presenting a circular of the committee].

Q. Well, as you are first named on that committee, that imports a chairmanship according to the rules that generally prevail.

Mr. VANCE. Or, in the language of Mr. Conkling, it imports a "primacy among men."

The CHAIRMAN [smiling—reading]. The chairman of the executive committee of the Republican State central committee of Indiana is, I see, William W. Dudley, John Overmyer, D. M. Ransdale, W. H. H. Terrell, George W. Steele.

The WITNESS. O, that was the committee that existed prior to our recent organization. A few days ago we made a reorganization and made some changes in the executive branch of the committee.

Q. But there is no change so far as you are concerned; you stand where you did before, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were engaged, Colonel Dudley, in a very extensive and close correspondence over the State, were you not, with your own party friends?—A. Yes, sir; in private correspondence.

Q. In private correspondence, and not as connected with this committee?—A. In private correspondence only; while I hope it may be of some benefit to the committee, still it is an undertaking of my own, and undertaken at my own expense, and without any connection either with my office or with the State central committee.

Q. Do you mean to say then that you have a third capacity—being United States marshal first, and second, chairman of the executive committee, and third, an individual capacity in which you are making a close canvass of the State?—A. Yes, sir; you may state it in that way.

Q. You think it is a fair statement, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. You did not disclose to them in your correspondence that you had any official connection?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. You did not indicate it in any way?—A. No, sir; all the letters that I wrote on such matters were written upon a plain sheet of paper without any official heading whatever, and signed by me individually, and not officially. My prime object in such correspondence, I would like to state here, Senator Vorhees, is that I may properly inform myself as to the condition of things in the State, so that I may take an intelligent part in the campaign about to open.

Q. And to carry the State of Indiana, if you can; to carry it for the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir; in every honorable way.

Q. Oh, now, Colonel, I would not offend anybody as a witness that comes before this committee, by implying anything dishonorable, but you must not understand in this free talk we have been having about the politics of the State that it implies any offence. I have seen some of your letters that have fallen into hands you did not expect them to fall into, perhaps. I do not think, however, that they reflect any discredit upon you.—A. I have some in my pocket, Senator, if you or the committee desire to see them.

Q. Oh, no, not now; it is not necessary. I think I have your status now. You say that you had queried, if I may use such an expression, in your correspondence in every neighborhood where you wrote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many negroes had come into the various neighborhoods and localities up to October last?—A. Well, the scope of my inquiry extended to the number that had come in since the first of January, 1879.

Q. Well, and you state that you have received replies up to October?—A. I should say up to the last of October; yes, sir.

Q. You have received replies up to the last of October?—A. Yes, sir; I have received no replies since the last of October. I will say what I intended to convey was that the replies on that subject were in reference to arrivals before that time. I do not think that I have received more than twenty-five replies since October, because they were pretty well answered by that time.

Q. But is it not true that this immigration into our State commenced mostly about that time, at least so far as its large proportions are concerned?—A. I cannot say that I know that, Senator Voorhees.

Q. Don't you know as well as you know anything, by the general replies received?—A. I think some have come since that time.

Q. Has not the main bulk of them come since that time?—A. I should say not.

Q. Do you mean to say that the bulk of the immigration, large or small, had struck our State before the middle of last October, Colonel?—A. I mean to say that up to that time, from the reports I received—I am only giving it as an estimate, because I have not tabulated it, and have not tried to get at the exact number; I should say from the reports I have received, that not more than three hundred had come into our State up to the last of October.

Q. Not more than three hundred up to the last of October? Well, a great many more than that have come since?—A. It may be so, I do not know.

Q. You have not observed the newspapers then, when you state that not more than that number have come since last October. I am speaking of negroes now, Colonel?—A. I am speaking of voters, and you know there is a distinction there.

Q. O, yes; but the best way to get at the number of voters in a State is to get the population first?—A. In my answer, I referred to the number of voters.

Q. The reason I asked you that question, is that you know our enumeration upon which our last apportionment was made for the year 1878 and 1879, or up to 1879, gave the number of white voters and the number of colored voters in each township, and my object in asking that question is to keep up that classification, and I want to advise myself just what that classification is. Now, Colonel, about what time was it that Mr. Mendenhall wrote this proposition to you, that he considered

it would be a good thing to colonize Indiana for political purposes?—

A. I should say it was in the early fall.

Q. Would that mean some time in September or October?—A. Earlier than that. I should think in August, but I am not sure.

Q. You did not keep a copy of that letter?—A. No, sir; I tried to find it and could not.

Q. Mr. Mendenhall is a citizen, when at home, of Wayne County, and you are a citizen of Wayne County, I believe?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And have known each other long and well?—A. Yes, sir,

Q. He knew that you were a member of the advisory executive board of your State central committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you laid his proposition before the committee?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Whom did you advise with in regard to that proposition of Mendenhall's?—A. I believe I showed the letter to Mr. New; but whether I showed it to any one else or not I cannot say positively. I think I mentioned the contents of the letter to others.

Q. Can you recollect to whom besides Mr. New?—A. I don't believe that I can.

Q. You don't think that you can recollect the names of any others?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your recollection is that Mr. New advised against it?—A. No, sir; that is not my recollection. I *know* that he advised against it.

Q. If you advised against it, do you remember any one else who advised against it?—A. Every one who had any interest in the management of the party in the State advised against it.

Q. But you do not recollect distinctly anybody who advised against it with the exception of Mr. New?—A. I do not; not at this moment.

Q. Did you advise with Judge Martindale with reference to it?—A. I do not think I did.

Q. Did you advise with Colonel Holloway?—A. Not about that letter; I don't think I did. There was another letter addressed generally to him and me, about contributions to assist the colored people who were stalled here, and wished to come West. I spoke of that in my examination-in-chief.

Q. Yes; then you have given the extent to which the Republican party as a party, through its organization, has committed itself on this subject, have you, colonel?—A. So far as I know the party and its attitude towards this question; yes, sir.

Q. So far as you know, you have stated to this committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not true, however, Colonel Dudley, that not a single Republican newspaper in Indiana has discouraged this immigration into our State, or spoken against it, or done anything except to encourage it; is not that true?—A. Well, I don't like to say that it is not true; but I never noticed it if it is true.

Q. You read the Indianapolis Journal, do you not, colonel?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the country press too, pretty thoroughly?—A. Yes, sir; pretty thoroughly.

Q. Did you ever see an article in the Indianapolis Journal discouraging the immigration of these people into Indiana?—A. I think I have not seen any articles discouraging this immigration in any connection with the Republican party.

Q. But it always said that it was a good thing for them to come, and that there was plenty of room, &c?—A. I think the position of the Re-

publican papers of that State is about this: They have said that it was the duty of everybody, not only of Republicans but of Democrat, to maintain the right of every citizen to go from one State to another without let or hinderance, and that if the negroes saw fit to go to Indiana, that they ought to be protected in the right of doing so.

Q. Well, colonel, did you ever see or know of anybody in Indiana that denied their right to come?—A. Only inferentially, Mr. Voorhees. For instance, I should consider such a demonstration as that at Shelbyville as a denial of that right.

Q. Did you ever see any paper that upheld the right of others to go amongst the negroes and mislead them, and tell them of a state of affairs that does not exist?—A. Well, I should feel like condemning a paper that did any such thing as that.

Q. You would feel like condemning a paper that misled by such misrepresentation?—A. Yes, sir; I would.

Q. Now, Colonel Dudley, I want your personal opinion on this subject. You were born and raised in Indiana, I believe?—A. Not exactly.

Q. Well, pretty nearly?—A. I have been in Indiana since 1860.

Q. O, I thought you had been there longer; that you had come into our State earlier than that; but I remember now. Well, I want now your opinion, colonel, whether, in your judgment—you need not speak as a Republican or member of the State central committee, or you may do so, just as you please—but I want your individual opinion as Colonel Dudley, whether you favored this immigration to our State or not?—A. I most certainly did not favor it as a political movement.

Q. Well, I will take that answer and then ask you another question, colonel, whether you favored it as a humanitarian movement?—A. In answer to that, Mr. Voorhees, I will say, if the treatment of the colored people is as it is said to be, and as they represent it to be, and as I have gathered it from conversations with those who have had intimate connection with these people, I should say that they would be great fools to stay in the South.

Q. Well, do you believe that they are ill-treated to the extent that they ought to remove from North Carolina to that State?—A. Well, from the light I have I should say that they were.

Q. In the light of proof, do you mean, that has been before this committee?—A. Well, there has been a good deal of proof before this committee of different shades.

Q. Yes, I know there has.—A. And I must confess that that which appealed most strongly to my sympathies has been the positive testimony of their mistreatment.

Q. What mistreatment have you in mind that they have been subjected to?—A. That in regard to withholding wages and compelling the negroes to receive for their labors orders from the stores.

Q. Do you think that has been proven in this case?—A. I think it has; it seems to me that it has.

Q. I just want to get your views, colonel. Taking the evidence as given before this committee, you are in favor of their immigration to our State?—A. Yes, sir; to any State.

Q. To any State, and of course that includes our State of Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I should say so, if we could find room for them there.

Q. Taking the negro in the Southern States, and as he is in North Carolina or anywhere else in the South, you think he has cause to remove, and that he ought to come to our State and to any other State?—A. Yes, sir; as I understand his status.

Q. Yes; I am not debating that.—A. I want to say this: That if I

were a negro; having formerly been in slavery, and were to receive the treatment that I understand them to have received not only in North Carolina but in other States of the South, I should bundle up my things and walk.

Q. If you knew, colonel, that there have been negroes sitting where you do now, who were formerly slaves and now own thousands of dollars in real estate that they had paid for, and that there were many of that class in a similar condition in Indiana, that would not change your mind, would it?—A. Well, if they were in the same condition, it would, most certainly.

Q. Are white people in Indiana in the same condition?—A. No, sir; nor all the colored people.

Q. No; but there are colored people in Indiana, as you know, who are men of wealth?—A. O, yes, sir; there are many such people in Indiana I know.

Q. You say, colonel, that you saw a man by the name of Perry in Indianapolis?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. We are acquainted with a Mr. Perry here; did you not also see a Mr. Williams there?—A. Yes, sir; I think I saw the two of them together.

Q. They came into your office, did they not?—A. One of them, Mr. Perry, came to my office, and went downstairs with me to Colonel Holloway.

Q. What did he come for?—A. He came for money to get home with; as he said.

Q. To get more money to go on from Washington?—A. No; that is not what he said. He said his family in North Carolina were in danger, and he was anxious to get back to them, in order to protect them, as soon as possible.

Q. What was your answer to his appeal?—A. I at first declined giving him any money, because I did not know anything about the man; but he made such a pitiful story that I interested myself to raise money to help him.

Q. How much did you give him?—A. I think that I gave him five dollars myself.

Q. Well, if he stated before this committee that he wanted to get money from you and perhaps Jordan and others, and get more money for the colored people here in Washington, he has not told us the truth?—A. I do not know anything about that; I only know his object as he discussed it to me. It was such a disclosure to me that it touched my sympathy and led me to contribute to his necessities.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Did he say that his family was in danger?—A. Yes, sir; he said that his family was in danger, and that he must get back to them.

Q. Did he state what kind of danger they were in?—A. Well, he said that his efforts in behalf of moving his people from North Carolina had embittered the minds of the people there toward his family, so that they were in danger, and he must get back to them as soon as possible; that the society he represented, for whom he came there to see if there was employment for his people—that the society he represented had promised to send them money, and that if he could wait ten days longer he could probably get some money at Terre Haute or Saint Louis; but he felt that he could not wait any longer; that he must get away as soon as possible.

Q. Did you ever see him afterwards?—A. No, I never saw him again.

Q. Didn't you know about his going back to Indianapolis?—A. I did hear of his being there afterwards, but I do not think I saw him.

Q. Do you remember or know anything of the six hundred and twenty or six hundred and twenty-five dollars that was raised and put to the credit of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to ship a party of negroes that was stranded here in Washington for want of means to go on?—A. I never heard of it till it came out in the testimony before this committee.

Q. You never heard of that at all?—A. No, sir; not at all.

Q. So you do not know how that money was raised?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Have you found out since it has come out in this testimony how that money was raised?—A. No, sir; I have not. I heard Colonel Holloway put the question squarely at the man who is said to have raised it.

Q. Who was that man?—A. Bagby.

Q. Well, what did Colonel Holloway say that Bagby said to him?—A. Colonel Holloway said that Bagby said he had never had a cent of money nor any such amount of money.

Q. Did he not say it was put to the credit of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad?—A. He said he never had such a sum of money or such a balance.

Q. Did not you know it was deposited in the First National Bank?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you understand from Colonel Holloway's talk with Bagby that he denied that the money was raised at all?—A. I would rather Colonel Holloway should speak for himself; perhaps it is not right for me to try to represent the conversation that Colonel Holloway had with Bagby; but my impression was just as I have given it to you.

Q. Your impression was that he knew nothing about it.—A. No, that I did not believe he did.

Q. Bagby was a colored man out there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that was a great deal of money, and it is not likely that they could have raised that amongst themselves?—A. I know nothing about it; I only know that I gave nothing for any such purpose, but refused to give always.

Q. And you did not know of its having been deposited anywhere?—A. No, sir; I did not know of its being deposited anywhere, and I knew nothing of that money or any part of it, or how it was raised, either directly or indirectly.

Q. Who ever applied to you, colonel, to give money for such a purpose?—A. Mr. Mendenhall was the only one who ever applied to me for money for such a purpose, either directly or indirectly.

Q. And that is the only refusal you speak of?—A. Yes, sir; I refused to give money for any such purpose on conviction that it was not best or wise to give it.

Q. You knew that Perry and Williams were engaged as agents in the immigration business when they came to your office, did you not?—A. Their statement to me was this, and I think Colonel Holloway heard it: that they had been sent out by a company or an association of their people who desired to leave the South, and that they were looking for the best place to come to, to find a place where they could get good employment and where the wages would be the highest and they would be most likely to get employment.

Q. Did you tell them that you believed Indiana was a good place for them to come to?—A. I did not give them any representations on the

subject at all. If I said anything at all on the subject it was simply that I believed in the right of every citizen to go where he pleased.

Q. You gave them that much encouragement, then?—A. Well, if that is encouragement, yes, sir.

Q. Why is it, colonel, that you stopped investigating the number of arrivals into the State along the last of October, if you did so, or at least why is it that you got no responses to your letters after that time and cannot answer with regard to the arrivals in the latter part of October and later on?—A. Because my letters were mostly answered by that time.

Q. And you have not been writing since?—A. I have not been writing on that subject since.

Q. Since then you have dropped the correspondence on that question?—A. No, sir; I have not dropped the correspondence; I simply say that the answers to the circular that was sent out were returned generally by that time.

Q. And you say that recently no circular has gone out from you embracing that question?—A. I have sent no circular recently on that subject.

Q. Well, tell me, if it is not revealing the secrets of your party, when you will begin to find out more in regard to the subject.—A. Very likely I shall want to know all about it.

Q. Well, I should like to have that information too.—A. If the committee is in session I will be glad to tell you.

Q. I suppose that this is our last chance before you go into the campaign. Tell me who this Mr. Springston is?—A. He is one of the editors of the Leavenworth Herald.

Q. The Crawford County Herald?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is the Republican editor?—A. One of the editors; yes, sir.

Q. Dr. Hawn is the other?—A. Dr. Hawn is his partner; yes, sir.

Q. And he is the man who wrote you about Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And who is Bloss, that he speaks of?—A. He is superintendent of public schools in Evansville, I think. He was at one time our regular candidate as superintendent of public instruction on our ticket.

Q. Well, I believe I do remember. Charley Donnell is the Greencastle correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazette, is he not?—A. So Mr. Langsdale says; yes.

Q. Is he clerk in the post-office with Langsdale?—A. Yes.

Q. Langsdale is a sort of John the Baptist of this exodus business, a forerunner, is he not?—A. Yes, sir; he is a sort of forerunner in it.

Q. You understand he put it avowedly on the ground of political success, in his paper, do you not?—A. If my recollection serves me, he put it on the ground of right.

Q. We had his paper here. Don't you remember that he repeatedly told these people to come north, and help to make a solid North as against a solid South, and carry Indiana as against the Democrats?—A. I think, perhaps, he did in the earlier numbers of his paper.

Q. He has rather drawn in his horns, then, of late?—A. He has taken broader ground, I think, of late.

Q. That is right! But still he is getting all to come that he can. Between you and me, now, colonel, is not this true? The Republican party in Indiana intends, as a party, to keep clear of this movement; but is it not true that this immigration has the sympathy and support and encouragement, pretty generally, of the Republican party, the newspapers all included; is not that so?—A. Do you speak of individuals of the party?

Q. Yes, of individuals of the party, if you please, individuals connected with its organization?—A. I do not believe I can speak for them.

Q. Well, so far as you know?—A. So far as I know it has met the entire disapproval of every political manager in the Republican party. For my part, I do not count it as a political factor. I do not rely upon it for one single vote to help carry Indiana for the Republicans.

Q. I think that is a safe calculation, colonel; but taking yourself, have you not two existences on that subject? That is, as political Colonel Dudley, you would not advise it as a political movement, but as Colonel Dudley personally, have you ever discouraged it in the slightest degree, or told these people that it was not a good thing for them to come to Indiana? Have you not rather, so far as you have said anything at all on the subject, encouraged more than discouraged it, and is it not true generally, of the individual members of your party and of the individual newspapers of your party, that while they disclaim it as a Republican movement, they nevertheless give it their countenance and support?—A. Well, I cannot say that, Senator Voorhees. I want to speak advisedly, but I don't think that is the case. For my own part, I do not think it is well for these people themselves to come in great masses or to come blindly.

Q. Well, colonel, I think that is true!—A. I should think they ought to know where they are going, and be able to pay their way, and be willing to work when they get employment.

Q. Now, it seems, colonel, and I think very properly, too, that you have been consulted as the information-agent of your party in Indiana. Information reaches you more perhaps than anybody else?—A. You might say rather that I have consulted myself for that purpose. I want that distinctly understood, in my testimony, that I was not appointed by any one to collect this information at all. It has been a movement of my own entirely, in order that I might be thoroughly informed of the political condition of the State.

Q. You are doing it out of the pure love of the thing?—A. Purely; I must say that I am.

Q. Yes, and you are in hearty sympathy with the administration—you hold office under it—on the question of civil service?—A. I do not wish to violate the orders of my superior officer.

Q. I see that, colonel. Now, then, a word about this Kentucky business. It would seem as if Governor Luke Blackburn's pardoned convicts are coming over into Indiana, would it not?—A. I don't want to speak for that any more than the letter I wrote on the subject.

Q. That is all, is it?—A. That and an article in the Cincinnati Gazette on the subject. It seems to me that it ought to be thoroughly investigated.

Q. So it seems to me.

Mr. VANCE. I want to know the politics of that fellow that got under the bluff?—A. (The witness). I suppose he could be reached with a subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that squatter in the vacant cabin?

Mr. VANCE. Yes; that old man that got under the bluff.

The CHAIRMAN. I say to you, colonel, and in the utmost sincerity and upon my responsibility as a Senator, that if you have any information now, or shall gain any hereafter, that would lead you to suppose that such a class of people, or any other class has come from Kentucky for that purpose, I want you to let us know, and to come here and you shall have at the very fullest and freest hearing possible. I am against all that stuff. We do not want it at all.

Mr. WINDOM. I have asked the same thing, so that we all agree on that.

The WITNESS. I have taken steps to find out all about that matter, and if I gain any information upon it I will be glad to let you have it. I have written to a man who is capable of inquiring in every locality where I have heard that such a thing is going on, and I have asked him to inform himself thoroughly of the facts in such a way as he may be able to testify to the facts, if there are facts on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that we do not want paupers shipped into our State, and I know that we do not want convicts.

Mr. WINDOM. I think that Republicans and Democrats alike are agreed on that subject.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. One more question, colonel: do you know Mr. Mills, a gentleman who testified here?—A. I never heard of Mr. Mills till I saw the letter which a correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer showed me, which he had received from Morris and Mills—I think it was signed—in which they asked him to write to Senator Voorhees to have them subpoenaed before this committee.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Who wrote that?—A. It was signed by Morris and Mills.

Q. Written to me?—A. No; to Mr. Edward, a correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer.

Q. Please state that again, colonel.—A. I say I never heard of Mr. Mills till I saw a letter which Mr. Edward, a correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer, showed to me, that Morris and Mills had shown to him; and in that letter asked about having them subpoenaed; and Mr. Edward showed me also the letter he had written to you, Mr. Senator, representing what they had said and asking to have them subpoenaed. Mr. Edward asked me if I knew the men; I told him that I did not; he asked then if there would be any objection to having them subpoenaed, and I said, "No; if they know anything about it, they ought to be subpoenaed; that I would not throw any impediment in the way."

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You saw the letter they wrote to that gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember what it said?—A. It was to the effect that they wished to testify before the committee, and concerning the matter of diverting the exodus from their country to Kansas and Indiana.

Q. What is Mr. Mills' standing as a Republican?—A. I never heard of him before, either as a Republican or a Democrat.

Q. From your thorough knowledge of the State and its organization you had not found Mr. Mills?—A. I never heard of him in that connection; he stated that he was a Republican; nor did I ever hear of Mr. Morris in that connection.

Q. What have you heard in relation to Mr. Russell, of Indianapolis—I believe that is his name?—A. I know of such a man in Indianapolis; he has some sort of contract with the city for burying the dead.

Q. Something has been said with reference to his operations in that connection; what is there in that, if you have any knowledge of the matter?—A. I have no knowledge of his operations except the newspaper talk.

Q. That we have been taking as evidence; what is the general news-

paper talk in reference to the transactions of this man Russell?—A. The newspapers claim that he has not buried any such number of the colored people as was testified to here, and that such as he has buried he has buried in an inhuman manner; that is, that he has put three and four bodies in one box, and that he has mixed black and white bodies together. I think the matter is undergoing investigation by the coroner, and some of the bodies have been exhumed, and the condition of their burial is being inquired into; and I think that it is intended to have the matter investigated by the grand jury.

Q. I have heard it stated that he buried white men and colored children in the same box, and sometimes half a dozen in a box?—A. I have not heard the subject, and I do not like to dwell upon such details.

Q. Nor do I; is he paid, as you understand it, for each person buried—paid in detail and “buried by wholesale,” as the report is?—A. I think that is the charge in the newspapers.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. It is only just to him to state, colonel, that you have also seen his full answer to these charges—have you not, with various certificates and statements from outside parties—in which he alleges that these charges of which you speak, and which I have seen, were made by a discharged foreman who was in his employ, and whom he discharged for drunkenness, and whom, when he was insolent, he struck?—A. I have heard it so said, but I have also heard that the foreman denies the whole thing *in toto*.

Q. I only speak of it to show that there are two stories about the matter; I do not speak on the merits at all, but merely to note the fact that there is a controversy going on about the matter.—A. I only know that there is an excited state of feeling towards Mr. Russell at this time.

Q. You have not seen his answer, perhaps, in the Sunday morning papers. I got the Sunday morning Indianapolis papers this morning at 4 o'clock, and saw the matter there, and think it only just to say that he has made a full statement on the subject; whether he is right or wrong, of course I do not pretend to say.—A. I know that the matter has attracted a great deal of attention.

Q. I know it has, and very naturally. If the charges alleged against him are true, his conduct is simply horrible. You say you never heard of Mr. Mills being a man of prominence?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Mendenhall, who made this proposition as to the colonization of Indiana, is a man of prominence in the Republican party, is he not?—A. I only know Mr. Mendenhall as a consistent worker in the party. When I was chairman of the Republican central committee Mr. Mendenhall was one of the most efficient helpers in Wayne County that we had.

Q. That I know; and Mr. Mendenhall is now holding office under the administration here, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he is the gentleman who wrote you as a member of your State central committee proposing the colonization of Indiana, is he not?—A. He did not write me as a member of the State central committee.

Q. I know; he wrote you as a Republican?—A. He wrote me as an individual, and his remark was not a proposition, at all, but simply an expression of his opinion, that he thought the Republicans of Indiana ought to take hold of it.

Q. He is, however, a prominent political worker in Wayne County, and holds an office under the administration?—A. Yes, sir; he was a hard worker in his party.

Q. What office does he hold now?—A. He is a clerk in the Treasury Department.

Q. Do you know of what grade?—A. No, sir; I do not.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. One question, colonel. Your knowledge of the State seems to be very minute and intimate; will you give us your judgment as to which party is gaining the most from immigration—the Democrats from white immigration or the Republicans from colored immigration?—A. Well, I can only answer that by making my reply a little broader than your question would go.

Q. Put your answer in such form as you see fit.—A. In my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the State, I would say that the accession of voters to the Republican party from the young men who will cast their first vote this year, as between the two parties, will be about 70 per cent. in favor of the Republicans. The same information on which I form that opinion leads me to believe that so far as the emigration from the State and immigration into the State are concerned, or what you might call the increase of the vote from such sources, it has been about 70 per cent. against us; that is to say, from deaths and removals in and out, my informants tell me that the result is against us.

Q. So far as deaths are concerned, the parties would be on an equality, would they?—A. Yes, sir; so far as deaths and removals are concerned.

Q. Removals, you mean, from the State?—A. Yes, sir; and immigration to the State.

Q. That is, you mean to say that the emigration from and immigration into the State is about in the proportion of 30 per cent. Republican and 70 per cent. Democratic?—A. Yes, sir; and I think I have formed the opinion from sources that are reliable. And it is my belief that the natural increase of the vote will be very nearly evenly divided between the two parties in the State.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I might ask you, therefore, how much you are going to beat us?—A. If you will tell me who is going to be nominated at Chicago I will tell you.

Q. I am not asking you who you are for.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN C. NEW.

JOHN C. NEW sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. Please state your residence, Mr. New.—Answer. I reside in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am at present engaged on the State Republican committee.

Q. Well, what is your connection with the Republican party and that committee?—A. I am chairman of the Republican State central committee of Indiana, and give a good deal attention to that just now—possibly more to that than to anything else.

Q. State if you have given any attention to the matter of the arrival in Indiana of the colored emigrants.—A. Yes, sir; it is a matter that has been discussed by individuals and in the newspapers for a year, or

such a matter; and since the organization of this committee it has been a subject that has been discussed more frequently, perhaps, than any other political matter in the State of Indiana.

Q. I will put a general question, Mr. New, and you can answer it so as to give us all the facts you have bearing upon the subject: What was your first information with reference to this immigration into your State, and what, if anything, do you know as to the influences which brought it about?—A. The first information that I had upon this immigration business was about a year ago, or some such matter, when I saw a notice of the arrival of some colored people in the State. Some of them went into Putnam County, and some into the various counties along the border, and some into the northern part of the State. At that time a number of colored men began to talk about the matter and they wanted to know if it would be advisable to encourage these people to come. The subject was discussed also in the newspapers and cards were written in the newspapers concerning it. A gentleman came to me, as chairman of the State central committee, and wanted to know what the course of the Republican committee would be in regard to it. We stated to him most emphatically that the Republican party, as a party, was not in favor of it, and not only so but that we were earnestly and vigorously opposed to it as a party movement and as a political movement.

Q. Right at that point, Mr. New, state why you were opposed to it.—A. We were opposed to it because we knew that, as a matter of fact, the hue and cry that would be raised against us, and the clamor that it would get up, if it were taken hold of as a political measure, would do us more injury as a party, ten-fold, than any accessions we would possibly gain to the ranks of the party by the influx of colored population—that is, colored voters—that this immigration of colored people might bring into our State; and it was to repel any such impression, from the start, that the movement had our approval, or that it was a Republican movement; that we discouraged it in the beginning, and have discouraged it; at least, discouraged any co-operation of Republicans in it, or any support of it by Republicans as a party.

Q. State, if you know, whether any money has ever been contributed by your committee, or by any member of it, or by any other official in the Republican party—I mean in the Republican party organization, for the purpose of bringing these people into your State.—A. Not one dollar by the committee or by myself, or by any member of the committee to my knowledge.

Q. Do you know of any money having been contributed by any other leading Republicans for the purpose of bringing these people there?—A. I know of no Republican, not a single one, either white or black, in the State of Indiana, who has contributed money to bring these emigrants into the State.

Q. The matter of this immigration into the State has been discussed, I suppose, by the committee in your consultations together, and you would probably have every opportunity to know, and do know, what the sentiments of your committee were on that subject?—A. Yes, sir; the matter has been frequently and fully discussed, not only by our committee, but by prominent Republicans and active party workers in the State, and there has been one universal opinion in opposition to it.

Q. You mean in opposition to any encouragement being given to it as a party movement?—A. Yes, sir; opposition to it as a political movement, or as a political maneuver by the Republican party.

Q. What is the sentiment of the people generally, so far as you know, as to the right of these people to come into your State, and the right of

anybody to resist their coming by force or by unfair means of any kind?—A. The people of Indiana are, in the main, intelligent and respectable people, and fair-minded, and they are very willing, I think, that anybody who seeks to better their condition by coming into the State, whether they be white or black, should be allowed to come. This is true, I think, of the people generally, although in some localities there has been a feeling of opposition engendered against it—a feeling that has grown out of this political phase of the question. From this political phase mainly, I believe, in some localities an opposition has been manifested against it.

Q. State what you know about the movement of these colored people—whether they have obtained employment, or whether there has been a demand for their labor?—A. I have made some inquiries in regard to that, and have found that they have generally sought employment on their arrival here, and that to a great extent they have been employed at fair wages. They have been scattered generally, throughout the country, and have been employed in the rural districts rather than in the towns.

Q. Do you know anything as to the demand for their labor from the farmers in the State?—A. Yes, sir; I have received letters, and I have one in my pocket now, which I will show to the committee if they desire it, from parties saying that they understood that there was something of this sort on foot—that is an emigration of colored laborers—and that they were in want of from two or three, to five, ten, or fifteen of their number, colored laborers, if they could get them; and that they would pay fair wages for their labor.

Q. Have you replied to such letters?—A. We have paid no attention to these letters, by answers.

Q. You have answered none of them?—A. We have answered none of them.

Q. In going through the country, in your State, in any way, have you seen any colored people employed?—A. Yes, sir. I have gone through the country somewhat, and made some inquiries on this subject, from farmers. I own a farm myself, and I know that I have employed colored laborers as well as white laborers. And whilst I was director of the Indianapolis, Decatur and Springfield Railroad, Messrs. Irwin and Heustis were awarded the contract to build the road, largely at my instance—that is, I was their friend in getting the contract, and they advertised in the various cities around there for laborers, and they failed to get enough laborers to carry on their work. The time in which their contract required them to build the road was short, and they were hurrying up to get the work through before the bad season should set in, and Mr. Heustis, I think it was, the younger one of the firm—Mr. Heustis—I think you know the firm, (addressing Senator Voorhees)—the younger member of the firm came to me to know where he could get some colored men to put upon the work. I told him I did not know; and they went to Saint Louis, and then to Louisville, and advertised for them, and he advised me in June or July, that he had hired some one hundred and twenty-five colored men. He took them along the line of his road. Shortly afterwards he came to me and said that he had been obliged almost to suspend work, because these people were hired away from him by the farmers in the neighborhood, to put them into their harvest fields.

Q. Have these men employment now?—A. Yes, sir; they are now employed—within the last few weeks a large majority of them—by farmers in Montgomery, Putnam, Clay, and Parke Counties.

Q. What do you know, Mr. New, from report or otherwise, as to what

proportion of these people have found employment, who have come into the State within the last six months?—A. My impression is, sir, that fully eighty per cent. of them have found employment—at least seventy-five or eighty per cent. of them.

Q. Do you mean of the whole number?—A. Yes, sir; such as were able to work.

Q. Able-bodied men, of course, who could work?—A. Yes, sir; the able-bodied among them.

Q. If you know anything, Mr. New, that would lead you to believe that the Republican party has in any way whatever had anything to do with this immigration into Indiana, either by way of indorsing or encouraging it by money or otherwise, please state it to the committee?—A. I know that as a party movement, it has not been encouraged; but, as I stated a few moments ago, the gentlemen who have had the management of the political affairs of the State, for the Republican party—if I may so style them—have endeavored to discourage it; knowing or feeling that in a party sense it would do more harm than good.

Q. For the reason that in any case it would be represented by the Democrats as a political movement, and thus do you more harm than good, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir; no matter whether the encouragement of Republicans were given as a humanitarian or a political movement, it would be characterized by the opposition speakers and press as a political movement; and we therefore concluded to cut adrift from it, because it would do us more harm than good.

Q. I think you told us that contributions to these people, if made at all, were made for a purely charitable purpose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you think of this Mills, as a Republican leader?—A. I have known Mr. Mills for twenty-five or thirty years. I believe he is a consistent Republican. I do not know any time he has failed to vote the Republican ticket. For the last five years I have heard—only heard—that he has been mixing in politics.

Q. Is he not recognized as a Republican leader?—A. Not at all; he is now engaged as a real-estate agent, and as I understand a local agent there for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in procuring passage for emigrants and others, and in procuring freights, I think. He told me, I believe, that his connection in this matter was simply to get a *per capita* that he received from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for such people as he could get to go over that road; that that was all the interest he had in it.

Q. What do you know of this Mr. Russell, the undertaker at Indianapolis?—A. Nothing about him, except what I have seen in the newspapers and what I have heard in the testimony here before this committee.

Q. Your knowledge of what the newspaper says is substantially what Colonel Dudley says, is it?—A. Yes, sir; substantially what he has said.

Q. A general question now, Mr. New, in the conclusion of my examination. If you know anything whatever tending to throw any light on this question, as you are thoroughly advised as to the issue it presents, I would be glad to have you state it?—A. I wish to state in connection with this that some testimony has been before this committee in regard to a letter said to have been written by the State Central Committee to Mr. Byers, of Shelbyville, in connection with it. I wish to state that no letter from this committee ever went to Mr. Byers or to any one else with regard to the negro exodus, except to discourage it. I know all about the letters that have emanated from that committee.

I believe I have nothing further to state in regard to this matter before you.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You have lived in Indiana, how long, Mr. New?—A. I was born in Indiana.

Q. Yes; I thought you were a native of the State. You have been a clerk of the circuit court of Marion County, have you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you connected with the First National Bank of Indianapolis?—A. I have a nominal connection only with that bank. I am a director and small stockholder. I was formerly president for a number of years, but have sold out my leading interest in connection with that institution.

Q. You have been a very prominent business man in Indiana, and generally have positive views on all subjects, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; I have positive views on most subjects, and am somewhat identified with the business interests of Indiana.

Q. You stated that you have been opposed to this exodus, as it is called, and that everything that has been done by the State Central Committee, of which you are chairman, has been to discourage it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you be good enough to state to this committee any one thing you have done to discourage it, that has been done publicly, and that the public knows of.—A. As a matter of political history, Mr. Voorhees, you understand as well as I, that the doings of a State Central Committee, of either party, are not generally matters that are made open to the public.

Q. That is very true.—A. They generally try to act in such a way as not to attract attention.

Q. Then what you have done has not been done publicly?—A. No, sir; because there has been no demand for public action upon it. We have issued no address to anybody to stay out of the State at all.

Q. You have not felt called upon openly to discourage this movement?—A. No, sir; because we have never taken any steps to encourage it—publicly or privately to encourage it.

Q. No; so, while you have been opposed to it, you have not made that opposition manifest to the people of Indiana, have you?—A. So far as we have had any connection with it at all, it has been in opposition to it, Senator.

Q. You say you have had no connection with it, but you have had consultations, however, in reference to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just state what those consultations were in regard to the matter.—A. We have had just this connection with it, Mr. Voorhees: that the matter was discussed by our committee, and by members of the Republican party with me as chairman of the committee, and with other members of the committee in my presence, and in this way working through these Republicans upon the people and upon the party throughout the State; and in all such conversations we have said to them that as a political measure it would be unfortunate to give it any encouragement, and that anything we should do should be by way of discouragement of the movement.

Q. Has it not been something like this: that you must steer clear of it as a political issue, but if these people wanted to come, to let them come?—A. We certainly never intended to set up a barrier on the border of the State against whites or blacks, or anybody else who seeks to

better their condition by coming into the State. We have a large and prosperous State, demanding development, and all of us are anxious that the State should be developed, and everything that tends to promote its material wealth we are anxious to encourage.

Q. Did you think that it would tend to the material wealth of the State to encourage these people to come into it, taking all the circumstances under which they come?—A. I think that an influx of labor upon our farms and into our workshops would certainly tend to the material prosperity of the State.

Q. Well, I am trying to get at the fact whether you thought that an influx of *this kind* of labor—these people from North Carolina, coming in the condition that they are in, and as they do come into our State—would be to the material advantage of the State. If so, just say so.—A. If these people come—or rather, I would say, that the trouble with this population coming there, as has been reported to me, and as I have found by the investigation I have made upon the subject, is, that about ninety per cent. of the influx has been women and children. In that proportion I do not think it would add to the material wealth of the State. If they were operatives, if the proportion was as one-half or one-third operatives, then, I think, it would add to the material prosperity of the State. If, however, the percentage is as reported to me, and as the investigation that I have made upon it tends to show, ninety per cent. women and children, and they not operatives, then I think it is not to the material interest of the State to come; that is, not in that proportion.

Q. In other words, without adopting Mills's language, there are too many women and children coming; there ought to be more men and fewer women and children, you think?—A. I mean that if they were producers, as these women and children are not, looking at it as a matter of political economy, I do. Is that the standpoint from which you ask me the question?

Q. Yes; but I am not asking you reasons. I want to know if in point of fact there were more men and fewer women and children it would help the State to have them come into it, in your opinion?—A. Yes, sir; I think it would; I have no doubt that it would.

Q. But as it is, with so few men and so many more women and children, you have your doubts?—A. I do not think it would be for the material wealth of the State to have them come in that proportion. They are consumers rather than producers.

Q. You would be disposed, then, to advise them to stop coming in the way in which they are coming?—A. I am looking at it from an Indiana standpoint.

Q. O, yes; we are all looking at it from an Indiana standpoint; as an Indianian, I ask you whether, if these people who are coming were to change the proportion a little, you would advise them to come on?—A. Answering the question as you ask it, as a citizen of Indiana, from that standpoint I say yes.

Q. You may answer as you choose; I am not cutting out the questions for you. I simply want to get at your views. You are a representative man in your party and I want your views; so I will repeat the question, whether in the proportion in which these people are coming, you would advise against it, and if that proportion were adjusted so that there were more men and fewer women and children you would advise them to come, for the material wealth and prosperity of Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, although Mr. Mills is not a representative or leading Repub-

lican, you do not find much fault with his view on that?—A. He may express his individual opinion; I am not called upon to indorse his opinion.

Q. You say this matter has been discussed in the meetings of the Republican State central committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And decided there that as a party movement you would have nothing to do with it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, you did not publish that decision to the world, did you?—A. No, sir.

Q. The people of Indiana will find that out now for the first time, will they not?—A. The people of Indiana will find out a great many other things we are doing, by and by.

Q. Yes, sir (smiling). You say that your connection with the First National Bank of Indianapolis was simply nominal?—A. Yes, sir; only nominal.

Q. Who is the cashier?—A. Mr. McCutcheon.

Q. What is his first name?—A. John; the name in full is John C. McCutcheon.

Q. You do not know who made that deposit of six hundred and odd dollars on account of this fund for helping the emigrants who were stranded here in Washington?—A. No, sir; I know nothing about the internal matters of the bank.

Q. Now, Mr. New, whenever I ask you anything that trenches upon the privacy that properly belongs to your committee you must feel at perfect liberty to say so. You spoke of this Byers letter, and you said that you knew all the letters that have gone out from the committee on this subject?—A. All the letters that have emanated from the committee on that subject I have devised and directed; and, as I am chairman of the committee, I have been present every day at the office, when in town.

Q. What is the name of your clerk, Mr. New?—A. C. C. Riley.

Q. When did he take the position?—A. He has been on the committee for two or three years.

Q. On the committee as its clerk?—A. Yes, sir; as clerk of the committee.

Q. Well, if you did not send that to Byers, what letters, in point of fact, have you sent out from that committee on this subject?—A. We have sent no letters to any one on this subject except to say that as a committee we would have nothing in the world to do with it. That was the instruction to the secretary, and that was the instruction to every one who was in connection with the committee.

Q. The committee, then, has been repeatedly applied to?—A. No, sir; I have had letters, a good many of them, on that subject, asking if we had any connection with it, and what we were doing about it, or what we were going to do about it, or if we would do it.

Q. And asking you to do it?—A. Yes, sir; I have had applications to do it from colored men and from white men.

Q. Yes; and your stereotyped answer was that as a political movement you would have nothing to do with it?—A. Yes, sir; that as a political movement we would have nothing whatever to do with it.

Q. But as anything else you did not advise against it?—A. No, sir; our position was simply that people may come or go as they please into or out of our State. Unfortunately for us, we have lost a good many people by their going out of the State; that is one trouble with us.

Q. Do you think that there is a demand for these people, that is, for this kind of labor in Indiana?—A. There is a demand for farm labor.

Q. How do you know about that?—A. From inquiries of farmers; and I have made inquiries of a great many farmers for the last few months.

Q. From what counties?—A. From Marion, from Putnam, from Tip-ton, from Miami, and from Pratt.

Q. Did they come to Indianapolis to see you or did you go to those counties and see them?—A. O, I met them casually in the city.

Q. Were they Republicans in politics generally?—A. Yes, sir; generally Republicans.

Q. Did they come to you to inquire on that subject?—A. Yes, sir; as to the employment of negro laborers.

Q. And they said that they could find places for a few negroes did they?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You say that you received a number of letters making inquiries on that subject?—A. Yes, sir; quite a number of such letters.

Q. Most naturally, when all the Democratic papers of the State charged that this was a Republican movement and that your organization was encouraging it?—A. Yes, sir; it was quite natural under the circumstances.

Q. Even Mr. Hendricks made a speech in which he charged that this was a Republican conspiracy to flood the State, did he not?—A. I read Mr. Hendrick's speech, and I understood that that was the charge he made in it, and I have chaffered with him a little on that subject. He seems to think that we were doing some devilment in that direction.

I have a letter here which I will read to the committee. It is dated Knightsville, Ind., March 2, 1880. (Reading.) "Knightsville, Ind., March 2, 1880. General McCauley: I write you for information in regard to procuring colored laborers. I want from ten to fifteen able-bodied men to whom I can give work for four or five months, and at good, fair wages, and furnish them with houses, &c. Seeing your name in the Democratic papers, as connected with this exodus movement, I thought I would write to you. If you cannot give me the information as to where I can get these laborers, please refer me to some one who can."

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Who writes that letter?—A. It is signed "Tim Rardin."

Q. From what place, did you say?—A. It is dated at Knightsville.

Q. That is in Clay County, I believe. I never heard of him. To whom is he writing?—A. To General McCauley.

Q. Did General McCauley give him the information?—A. No, sir; General McCauley referred the letter to me.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. In answer to a question from Mr. Voorhees, you spoke, Mr. New, of the economical features of this subject, and you said that the material interests, the material development of the State, would be advanced by a larger emigration of men who could produce, rather than of women and children who were simply consumers.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you speak solely from an economical standpoint, or had you reference to politics in any way whatever?—A. I spoke of it solely as a matter of political economy.

Q. And in answer to the question of the chairman you meant simply to convey the idea that producers would add more to the material wealth and prosperity of the State than consumers would?—A. Yes, sir; and the same would be true whether these producers were white or colored,

and whether they voted the Republican or the Democratic or the Green-back ticket. Their politics would make no difference.

Mr. WINDOM. That is all.

Col. WILLIAM W. DUDLEY recalled.

The WITNESS. I wish simply to make a correction of date in my testimony as just given. In my answers to the question as to the time during which I had received replies from the different parts of the State, in response to the circular I sent out, I will bring that time up to the 1st of January, instead of the last of October, or the 1st of November. I have, I find, received some answers since then.

Mr. WINDOM. You wish to change the date from the last of October to the first of January?—A. Yes, sir.

JOHN C. NEW recalled.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. New, one thing further in regard to that piece of information from Mr. Heustis, and his hiring of negroes to work on the railroad. Where did you hear that he hired them from?—A. I understood that he hired them from Louisville, Ky.

Q. And when?—A. It must have been in June or July, some time.

Q. Last June, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say they are now at work?—A. Yes, sir; so I understand.

Q. And scattered along the line of the Indianapolis, Decatur and Springfield Railroad, and hired by the farmers there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the counties mainly of Montgomery, Putnam, Fountain, Parke, and Vermillion?—A. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 9, 1880.*

TESTIMONY OF COL. WM. R. HOLLOWAY.

Col. WILLIAM R. HOLLOWAY sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. State your full name and residence.—Answer. William R. Holloway, Indianapolis, Ind.

Q. State your connection with the organization of the Republican party, so far as you have any connection with it.—A. I am a member of the Republican State central committee, and acting treasurer of the committee.

Q. Has your attention been directed to the colored immigration into your State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State when your attention was first attracted to it, by whom, and how.—A. My attention was first called to it by some articles that Langsdale wrote, advising the colored people of the South to leave there during the bulldozing that was going on down in Mississippi a couple of years ago—I guess it was—advising them to come North; and I had frequent conversations with him about it. Of course the newspapers of our State have been commenting on it, especially the Indianapolis Sentinel, the past year.

Q. State, from your connection with the Republican organization of Indiana, and as a member of its executive committee and from your association with leading Republicans of the State, what, if anything, you know of any encouragement given by Republicans, whether of contributions of money or otherwise, to this emigration movement.—A. In the summer I received a letter from a gentleman connected with an organization in Washington—Adams, if I have his name right, stating that there were some two hundred, I think he said—I destroyed the letter and did not keep a copy of it—that there were some two hundred persons here who wanted to come to Indiana; that they were very poor and without means to come on, and asking if we had not some fund that could be used to assist them.

Q. Did you reply to that letter?—A. No, sir: but I sat down and wrote to Charles Martindale, of the Indianapolis Journal. It was not in the summer, either; I am wrong there; it was about the time of the Congressional convention, maybe. I wrote to Mr. Martindale, of the Indianapolis Journal, and told him to go and find Mr. Adams and see about him; that we had no fund of any kind, and no money at all in Indiana, for any such purpose, and that if we had we would not give it for any such purpose; that we were opposed to it. The matter was fully discussed among our friends, and they did not approve of it at all. I believe that Mr. Mendenhall wrote a letter to Colonel Dudley, asking something about it; and Colonel Dudley answered the letter, I suppose; but I do not know whether any answer was made to it or not.

Q. State if any encouragement has been given at any time by yourself, or any other member of your committee, to the emigration itself.—A. Some time ago, or when Perry and Williams came out there, they came into my office one day and introduced themselves to me, and told me that they represented an organization in North Carolina of a number of families, I think two hundred, who wanted to come out to Indiana, or some place west, and if they could get places to work they would locate in Indiana.

Q. What was your reply to them?—A. I told them that I did not know anything about that, as to whether they could get employment, except in a general way; that I had heard laborers were wanted; that Colonel Straight, of Indianapolis, a prominent farmer, wanted some, I thought; and that Judge Fletcher wanted some, and that Mr. Langsdale wanted some laborers in his county, and I advised them to go to Greencastle. Langsdale interviewed them and published the result of that interview in the paper there, and in it said that these men were going back to North Carolina and were going to bring their people out there, and to leave their names with Colonel Straight. Then they came back to Indianapolis, as Colonel Dudley has said; and one of them came to us and said that he wanted to go back home; that he must go to Terre Haute, as he was expecting a remittance at Terre Haute from his people to send him back to North Carolina.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Whom do you speak of now?—A. Perry.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And what did he say further?—A. He told us that a money order would come to him from his people, that he was entirely without means and wanted to go back home. He told me further that he had received letters from his people there that they were being persecuted, and could not live there, and that he must go back, and he asked us to contribute, I supposed for that purpose. Finally, after hearing this story of his per-

sonal needs, I went up stairs and talked with Colonel Dudley and some others about the matter, and said that the man told a story that appealed to my sympathies; and we raised some five dollars there among us, to help him on his way back, and got Jordan to go over to Mills & Morris, who were ticket brokers or scalpers, and bought tickets of them to send him back home. Then this man Heath came into my office one day—somebody brought him there—he is a very ignorant man, and didn't seem to know what he was doing, and he said he had walked to Indiana. I believe he testified that he came from Washington in a postal car.

Q. No; from Indianapolis to Greencastle in a postal car.

Mr. BLAIR. I think he stated that he went all the way from here in a postal car.

The WITNESS. He told me he had walked all the way from Washington, out here. And he made a most pitiful story; said he was entirely without means, and I gave him a quarter and told him to go and get a good square meal with it. He said that he wouldn't spend a quarter on a meal, but he would buy a loaf of bread. He said he represented some families who wanted to get away and come west, and I concluded that I would send him down to Langsdale at Greencastle, and told one of the boys at the depot to "send this fellow to Greencastle." That is the last I heard of him, I think, till I got a letter from Sheriff Lewman about him. He said that everything that Lewman had testified about him was untrue.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Have you that letter here?—A. No, sir; I destroyed it; it was very long.

Q. Well, is that contribution you speak of the only contribution for peripatetic traveling purposes, for these people, that you made?—A. Yes, sir; the only contribution for that purpose I made.

Q. Have you known of anybody else who has contributed money to these people for any purpose except that of charity?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you known of any fund being raised by your committee, or by anybody else in the Republican party, to bring these people into Indiana?—A. No, sir; there has been no fund raised for that purpose. I sent for Mr. Bagby as soon as I got home, and told him that the agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had testified before this committee that he, Bagby, had deposited six hundred and sixty-seven dollars—was it?

The CHAIRMAN. No; six hundred and twenty, or six hundred and twenty-five dollars.

The WITNESS. Well, he said that there was not a word of truth in it.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Who said that?—A. Bagby. He was the treasurer of the local charitable association. I said that I had contributed two or three times for a purely charitable purpose, and that if I had supposed it was going to be used for any such purpose, as had been alleged it was used for, I never would have given a cent. He said he had never received a dollar for such a purpose; that he had never had that much money, all put together, and that there wasn't a word of truth, from beginning to end, in the statement that he had it; and he asked me to have him summoned here to swear to it.

The CHAIRMAN. He will be summoned, if these gentlemen (alluding to the other members of the committee) want him summoned.

The WITNESS. He reiterated that there was not a word of truth in the statement.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. What do you know concerning the employment of these people ; have they generally found employment ?—A. They tell me that all the men have been employed, and a large number of the women.

Q. Do you know anything of the demand for them from the farmers through the country ?—A. Well, I received frèquent letters of inquiry both for men and women—letters asking if any of these colored laborers can be got.

Q. What do you do with such letters ; do you reply to them, and how ?—A. I turn them over to the local authorities, and I suppose they supply the demand ; I do not know. All the letters I get I send to Mr. Trevan, president of the colored association. Mr. Langsdale, of Greencastle, told me that they were all employed—that the last batch of twenty-five or thirty all got places.

Q. If you have any other knowledge bearing upon the matter please state it.—A. I desire to say that Mr. Buchanan, in his testimony before this committee, was mistaken about this matter as to what I said to him in a conversation upon it. I went out and did not come back, and could not, therefore, correct it at the time. I think he swore before this committee that I told him in a conversation I had with him that we would support about two hundred of these colored people, as a matter of charity, in the city of Indianapolis. I never told him such a thing. I did not know anything about it. I never had an idea that one-fifth that many were supported there. When they came to Indianapolis these emigrants were put into one of the churches. There was some objection made to that, and they rented an old building up town, at some place up town, and the women and children were sent there. Some of them were sick, and they supported probably twenty-five or thirty there, almost continuously. They got places for those that came as fast as they could. Some of the women were provided with places as house servants. They were very largely field hands, however, and not suitable for house servants. I heard quite a number of ladies in Indianapolis say that they had gone down to see these colored women, and finding that they were field hands only, could not employ them, as they otherwise would have done. There is quite a demand for all classes of house help.

Q. You mean for household servants ?—A. Yes, sir ; Judge Martindale said to me that Mr. Bradish, of Indianapolis, had two of these colored men and would like to have four more. Martindale asked me where he could get them. I told him he would have to go to the colored people for them.

Q. From all the information you have on the subject, then, colonel, do you believe that the Republican party, as a party, in any of its organizations, or any of its leading members, has contributed by money or otherwise to induce these people to come to Indiana ?—A. I have no idea that they have. I know that they have not. The State central committee I know has not. It could not have done so. I was its treasurer. And all the contributions that any of the members gave was given individually and solely as a charity.

Q. As a charity solely ?—A. Yes, sir ; solely for charitable purposes.

Q. From what you know of the sentiment of the people on their coming—as to their right to come, and as to the right of anybody to oppose their coming, what is the position of the Republican party on that ques-

tion?—A. The position of the Republican party is that any one has a right to emigrate from one State to another. They have in Indiana reprinted two or three times a pamphlet for circulation in Europe, setting forth the advantages of Indiana as a State to emigrate to. When Morton was governor he had this pamphlet reprinted twice, and we sent the State geologist to Vienna and to Paris, I think, with a large number of these pamphlets.

Q. So that efforts have been made without reference to party, to induce people to come to your State?—A. Yes; and we had an organization in Indianapolis for years, and printed this pamphlet, inviting immigration into the State. I know that, for I printed one myself.

Q. And it was circulated broadcast, and it had no reference to color or race or locality in its invitations?—A. Yes, sir; its purpose was nothing other than to induce emigration to the State.

Q. So that has been the desire in your State for years, has it, to induce immigration into it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What has been the tenor of the Republican press and publications on this subject, as to whether it has merely defended the rights of these people to come, or sympathizing with their condition in the South, or what has it been?—A. You have stated about their position. Their position is rightly stated by Judge Martindale in his letter addressed to the committee, in which he quotes an article from the Indianapolis Journal setting it forth fully. He states in that that these people have a right to go from one State into another.

Q. We shall put that in, that it may become a part of this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be understood that this may go into the record as Judge Martindale's testimony.

Mr. WINDOM. That is what he would swear to.

Mr. VANCE. Is not that a dangerous precedent to allow any one who writes a letter and says it is proper to go in, to admit it as testimony?

Mr. WINDOM. He says that he would swear to it, if he was here before the committee.

Mr. VANCE. Well, I should object to making it a precedent on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. And I should, too.

Mr. WINDOM. Judge Martindale pleads the health of his family as his reason for not appearing before the committee in answer to the summons.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not treat it as a precedent, under the circumstances.

Mr. VANCE. With that understanding, we will let it go upon the record.

(Judge Martindale's letter and testimony follow immediately after the present witness's testimony.)

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. As to the "tag," colonel, that you wrote to Heath?—A. Yes, sir; when that colored man, Heath, came, in there, I said I thought I gave him a letter to Langsdale. In the testimony it was called a "tag."

Q. Yes; you "tagged" him?—A. I just supposed that I wrote him a letter. They told me that when this colored man got to Greencastle and off the train, he asked for the postmaster, Langsdale, and Lehman told him he was the postmaster, and that he took my letter and opened it. I supposed it was my letter, that I wrote it; and he told them that the Republicans intended to import a good many more colored people,

but the Democrats got mad and bulldozed them; and they told him if his life was worth anything he had better get out of that country, and the next morning they put him on the four o'clock train, and hurried him off.

Q. Well, the "letter" is in this shape (exhibiting the scrap of paper), just as if you were to tear off a third of a note-sheet; and on one side is written "Postmaster Langsdale, or Reverend Clay"—A. Yes; Rev. H. Clay.

Q. "Greencastle, Indiana. Provide for this man; more are coming." And on the other side, in apparently the same handwriting, is the name "Holloway."

Mr. WINDOM. But the handwriting on the face of it was not the same as the signature.

The CHAIRMAN. I would not be so certain that the handwriting of witness is on the face of it; it looks as if it had been written hurriedly.

The WITNESS. You are familiar with my handwriting, Senator Voorhees.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. And you said to me at the time that you thought it was a letter, but it was in one envelope, and never had been.

Q. Well, colonel, with the exception of that quarter of a dollar that you gave to Heath, you say that you never contributed anything to these negroes at Indianapolis?—A. O, no, sir; I have given quite frequently; but I never gave anything to pay for anybody's transportation.

Q. Did you see Perry when he was there?—A. Yes, sir; I saw him quite often.

Q. Did you talk with him on the subject of his people coming to Indiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You never told Perry not to bring these people into Indiana, did you?—A. No; I never told any man not to come to Indiana.

Q. No; and you never told him it was not best for his folks to come?—A. No.

Q. You told him that politically it was not best for them to come?—A. Never.

Q. You gave Perry some money, did you not?—A. Nothing but to help pay his fare back.

Q. That was the only contribution you made, was it?—A. I frequently gave to the relief of these people, as a charitable object, and for that purpose alone.

Q. Yes; and how did you expect Heath to get to Greencastle with a quarter of a dollar?—A. I told Reynolds to send him on.

Q. Well, didn't you write to "Cy Reynolds" at the Union Depot, on a piece of paper we captured, and give that to him to give to Reynolds?—A. Yes, and telephoned Reynolds to take care of him.

Q. Did he travel in the mail car from Indianapolis to Greencastle?—A. I don't know.

Q. You knew he had no money to pay his fare with?—A. I knew that Reynolds would have no trouble in sending the man through, if he wanted to.

Q. He is the mail agent, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And could put him in the mail car if he wanted to?—A. Yes; for this fellow went in the evening, I am pretty sure.

Q. Who was on that evening train?—A. There are too many of them; I have no idea.

Q. And when that batch—I use that word for lack of a better one—were there, awaiting transportation from Indianapolis down to Green-

castle, when "Cy Reynolds" bought some fifty-seven tickets, if I remember rightly, do you know where he got the money to purchase them with?—A. No, I do not.

Q. You don't know where "Cy Reynolds" got that money?—A. No; I got the impression that Langsdale paid him something—what he had collected there.

Q. It has been testified to here by Mr. Koontz and by Perry, both, that Perry came to him and asked him to telegraph to Tinney, agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Indianapolis, to see Bagby and Elbert and Broyles, and have them raise six hundred and twenty dollars and place it to the credit of the Baltimore and Ohio road, and then Koontz would ship on certain passengers of these emigrants that were stopped here in Washington for want of means. Now, that has been testified to here. I want to know whether I understand you that Bagby denies that any money was raised, or whether he confined his denial to his own participation in raising it?—A. Bagby was treasurer of the relief fund, and when I sent for him and asked him if there was any truth in the charge that this money was raised, he said "No; there is not a word of truth in it; I never had that much money."

Q. That is to say, he did not, himself, have that much money? To be candid, I never thought he did. He is a colored man and agent or committeeman of a colored organization there for charity?—A. Yes; the treasurer.

Q. And he said he did not raise that six hundred and twenty dollars, nor any part of it?—A. Yes, sir; that he did not raise that money, nor ever had that much money.

Q. He did not say it was not raised, though, or that it was not put to the credit of anybody?—A. The impression on my mind is that he said "there is not a word of truth in the assertion."

Q. Well, if Mr. Koontz, down at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad office here, was to swear to it, I reckon that would change your mind, would it not?—A. Well, Bagby is a very respectable fellow, and I don't know Mr. Koontz.

Q. Well, the whole thing might have taken place without Bagby's knowing about it, might it not?—A. Hardly.

Q. Some persons must have paid the money?—A. If contributions were solicited for that purpose, and money given, it was without my knowing it. The colored people had no money for such a purpose.

Q. I do not believe they had; but it seems that somebody had. Suppose that it should be proven as a fact that Mr. Koontz did telegraph at the request of Perry to Tinney, the agent of the road at Indianapolis—and Mr. Koontz has for many years been the agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in this city—and that Tinney should swear that he got the dispatch and repeated it here, and he went to certain parties; and suppose it should turn out to be a fact that the money was placed to the credit of the road and that the road sent the passengers on, would that change your mind as to Bagby's assertion?—A. I told Bagby that, and he insisted that there was not a word of truth in it at all.

Q. Colonel, who is Bradish?—A. James Bradish; one of the Bradish Brothers' house.

Q. O, I beg pardon; I remember the house.—A. He is quite a wealthy man in Indianapolis.

Q. I know the man perfectly well, personally, but the committee do not know him.—A. He is a capitalist there; a business man.

Q. He is a Republican in politics, I believe?—A. Yes, sir; he is a Republican.

Q. What kind of business does he carry on?—A. Well, he is a capitalist, and owns a good deal of property about there.

Q. And he said he had employment for some of this colored labor?—A. Yes, sir; he said that he had two of them working for him and he wanted four more.

Q. He said that he wanted four more, and a good many of these rich Republicans that have not hitherto been clamoring for this kind of labor are quite anxious to get it now, are they not?—A. Well, they don't object to it; it is a good kind of labor.

Q. Do you think this kind of labor is needed in Indiana?—A. I hear a good deal of inquiry for it there.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. I have heard that Colonel Streight talked about employing some of it?—A. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very likely. Colonel Streight was nominated as candidate for governor, and of course he is anxious to employ a large number of these men.

The WITNESS. He has a large farm, you know, in Newton County?

The CHAIRMAN. I know he has.

The WITNESS. And when labor is scarce he has frequently to hire men in Indianapolis, and ship them to his farm. For instance, last fall he advertised for fifty men to cut corn; he is a stock raiser, and he employs men at Indianapolis and ships them to his farm in Newton, as labor is demanded there. Of course in the winter he don't need them.

The CHAIRMAN. It looks just now as if he would be nominated for governor, does it not?

The WITNESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a high bidder for negro labor from North Carolina, Kentucky, or anywhere else, is he not?

The WITNESS. I don't know that he is. I know that he has advertised in the newspapers, in the Indianapolis Journal, for so many men to cut corn, and that he would pay them fair wages.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is all, colonel.

TESTIMONY OF E. B. MARTINDALE.

The following letter and inclosure were admitted as testimony in the absence of the writer, Judge Martindale:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *March 6, 1880.*

Senator WINDOM,
Washington, D. C.:

MY DEAR SIR: In response to the summons before the Exodus Committee, I have to say that I cannot go to Washington for about ten days. I can go after that time, if it is insisted upon by any member of the committee after reading my statement.

First. I have no knowledge of any Republican in Indiana having done anything to put in motion or further the immigration of colored people from North Carolina or any other State to Indiana, nor have I done so myself.

Second. In relation to the statement of witness, Mendenhall, before your committee, in which my name is mentioned, I would say that some twelve months since he did write me asking me what advantages could be offered colored emigrants to the State, and not wishing to engage in immigration I did not answer his letter nor did I give the letter to Dr. Elbert, as he stated.

Third. In relation to the statement of witness Lewman before your committee, in which my name is mentioned, I would say that I never saw the colored man Heath in my life, and had nothing to do with sending him to Greencastle, nor have I sent or had anything to do with sending any of the immigrants to any place or with bringing them to the State.

My position in relation to their coming is fully set forth in the editorial hereto attached, which was written by me and published in the Journal:

In relation to the statement of witness Buchanan before your committee, in which my name is mentioned, I have only to say that I do not remember to have ever had any conversation with Mr. Buchanan, or in his presence, on the subject of the exodus.

In conclusion, I would say that there is an abundance of room in Indiana for industrious working men, and that there is not a week passes that inquiry is not made for farm hands; that such an inquiry was made yesterday for four workingmen to go to the country and do farm work.

Our State is in a prosperous, flourishing, condition, and, outside the more vicious element of the Democratic party, there is little or no race prejudice.

I am willing that these statements shall go to the committee as what I would swear to if called in person, and by taking it your committee will save me the inconvenience and the government the expense of my trip to Washington.

E. B. MARTINDALE.

STATEMENT OF E. B. MARTINDALE.

Southern exodus and Northern elections.

The Democrats of Indiana are sounding the alarm, and already begin to appeal to race prejudice to save them in the contest of next year. The Sentinel sent up a piteous cry yesterday morning, in which it claims that the State has a majority of Democratic voters, that the Republicans are getting no accessions from the Democrats, and concludes that the Republicans are expecting to carry the State by the importation of colored voters from the South.

The Sentinel says:

"We have undoubted evidence of the existence of a conspiracy to colonize the Southern negroes here in sufficient numbers to enable them to control the State."

Thereupon the Sentinel makes the following appeal to race prejudices:

"What laboring man among the people of Indiana is willing to give up his situation to a negro immigrant? If the negroes come they must have work or starve. They can live on less than white men, unless the white man lives like a negro. It is no use to say there is room for all, for there is scarcely labor for those who are already here. Today, if there were no negroes in Indianapolis, white labor would be at least one-third higher.

"The people of Indiana have always had a white man's government. When they made the present constitution they prohibited the immigration of negroes into the State, and we believe it is still the sentiment of a great majority that the white man shall govern the State."

There may as well be some free talk on this question now before we have reached the heat of a campaign. The Sentinel exhibits great ignorance when it says "a majority of the voters in Indiana are Democrats." That party has been in the minority in the State since 1874, and has only carried the State since that time by reason of a division in the Republican ranks, and by a plurality. In 1872 Grant carried Indiana by 22,515 majority; in 1874 the Democrats carried the State by over 17,000 majority. The majority against them in 1876 was over 8,000, and in 1878 over 25,000.

Then, we doubt whether the Sentinel, or the Democratic organization in the State, can say positively and truthfully that "the Republicans are getting no accessions from the Democrats." The returns of the election in Ohio show that the accessions were numerous in that State; but let that pass. The Sentinel does not speak truthfully when it says it has "undoubted evidence of the existence of a conspiracy to carry the State by colonizing Southern negroes." We assert most positively that we have not heard of one single dollar being sent from Indiana to the negroes of the South to assist them in coming North, and we believe the Sentinel's statement is false. That any concert of action has been had by any number of Republicans in the State upon the subject of the Southern exodus, is equally false. To be plain about it, the writer knew he was lying when he penned the sentence. We do not wish to be misunderstood upon this question. The position of the Republican party of Indiana and of the nation, so far as it has been expressed, is about this:

1. The political and social ostracism and oppression of the negroes by their former masters in the South justify them in seeking homes in the States where they will receive the protection of the law.

2. Their change of residence should be a matter of choice with them, and should not

be stimulated by contributions from the North, nor should they be encouraged to come unless they have means to pay their own way.

3. They should receive charitable assistance, when in want, in the States to which they emigrate, and encouraged to embark in agricultural pursuits, and should receive the protection of law and honest reward for their labor.

4. None but ex-slaveholders, democrats, and fools now talk about this being a "white man's government."

5. The constitution of Indiana, which prohibited the immigration of negroes into the State, belonged to the dark ages of human slavery, and was a disgrace to the State.

6. There are thousands of acres of untilled land in the State, and its cultivation will add to our wealth and greatness, and whether the new comers will vote the Republican or Democratic ticket is a question no man in Indiana has a right to ask the immigrant as he crosses the line.

7. The Republicans of Indiana are not ready to fence the State in, and if the improved civilization which is gradually bringing the State into line with the other States of the North is distasteful to Bourbon Democrats, they are privileged to take the places made vacant by the exodus from the South.

8. There are uncultivated lands in Indiana for fifty thousand industrious families, and their occupancy will increase rather than diminish the demand for the labor of our present population, and especially for skilled mechanics.

9. The exodus is in its infancy, and while Bourbons may howl and raise the cry of *white man's government*, the men who come to Indiana will find a pleasant climate, *rich soil, good schools, liberal churches, and the negro-killers largely in the minority.*

Adjourned to March 10, 1880.

T W E N T Y - F I R S T D A Y .

WASHINGTON, *Wednesday, March 10, 1880.*

Committee met at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE T. RUBY.

GEORGE T. RUBY (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. What is your name ?—Answer. George T. Ruby.

Q. State your residence and occupation.—A. I live in the city of New Orleans, and my occupation is that of journalist.

Q. Have you charge of a paper, and, if so, of what paper ?—A. Yes, sir; I have charge of the New Orleans Observer.

Q. Are you editor of that paper ?—A. I am, sir.

Q. How long have you resided in New Orleans ?—A. I have resided in New Orleans off and on for the past sixteen years.

Q. How long have you been engaged in the business of journalism ?—A. I went to New Orleans sixteen years ago; I lived in Texas a part of that time—about eight years. I have been in the occupation of journalism, as a newspaper correspondent or directly associated with the conducting of a paper, during that time. My occupation has been that of journalist as well as that of an educationalist.

Q. What papers have you been connected with besides the New Orleans Observer ?—A. When I first went to New Orleans I was correspondent of Mr. William Lloyd Garrison's paper, the Anti-Slavery Standard. It subsequently became the property of Mr. Powell, who is associated with Mr. Wendell Phillips. I was a correspondent of the New York Tribune when Mr. Greeley edited it, and was an occasional correspondent also of the New York Times, and of the Toledo Blade of

Ohio. When in Texas I was for some time editor and proprietor of the Galveston Standard, a Republican paper there.

Q. You are now editor and proprietor of the New Orleans Observer, are you?—A. Yes, sir; and at one time was editor of Mr. Pinchback's paper in Louisiana.

Q. What portion of that time that you speak of were you engaged in educational matters?—A. Nearly all of that time. When I first arrived in Louisiana I went at once to work in the educational field.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Ruby, if in these various positions in the educational field and in connection with your journalistic life, you have given special attention to the condition and wants and treatment of the colored people of the South?—A. I have, sir, necessarily, because of my intimate relations with them. I became acquainted particularly with their social and their civil as well as with their political situation during those years.

Q. Have you given any attention to this matter of the exodus of the colored people from the Southern States to the Northern?—A. Yes, sir; I have given considerable attention to it, in that in the spring of 1879, nearly a year ago, on the 17th of April, there was called, at the instance of the New Orleans Observer and solicitation of various correspondents in several sections of the State, a convention of the colored people in Louisiana to consider the matter of the exodus.

Q. At what point was that convention called?—A. In the city of New Orleans. It was held in what was known as the Free Mission Baptist Church.

Q. On what day was that convention held?—A. On the 17th of April, 1879.

Q. Well, state if you please, in such a way as you think best, your information and conclusions as to the condition of the colored people in that country, and as to the reasons, if you have any, which causes them to emigrate to the North?—A. The information which was brought out in detail before that convention by delegates to the convention representing different parishes in the State is, that this exodus feeling is most rife. The information before that convention set forth that in as early as 1874—in the fall of 1874—an organization was effected in Caddo Parish for colonizing purposes, brought about because of the lawless condition of affairs there existing against the colored people—the armed mobs and outrages practiced upon them because of their political sentiments. This organization was confined entirely to the laborers on the plantations; the leaders of the colored people—neither their religious teachers nor political leaders had in fact anything to do with the organization; that was developed in the convention.

Q. Who was the head of that organization for colonization purposes, if you remember?—A. One of the leaders of that organization was a man by the name of Adams, a colored man. He lives in that parish, and is quite prominent there among his people.

Q. Go on to state any facts now that were brought to your knowledge in that convention?—A. If the committee will permit me I would like to refer to my file of the Observer.

Q. For the purpose of refreshing your recollection?—A. Yes, sir; I could give such salient points as come to my mind, but should prefer to refer to the columns of the paper.

Q. Well, state such points as you desire in any way that may help you to refresh your memory concerning the proceedings of that convention.—A. [Referring to a file of the paper.] The issue of the New Orleans

Observer of the 26th of April contains the report of the committee made to that convention on the 17th of April.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. What year is that?—A. The 26th of April, 1879.

Q. But what was the date of the convention?—A. April 17th, 1879. The committee on business reported to that convention, and I would like to read this whole report, if the committee please, because it is all pertinent to your inquiry.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Go on and make such statements as you desire to make.—A. [Reading.]

In the fourth day's session of the convention the committee on business, through its chairman, George T. Ruby, submitted its final report. The committee report as follows :

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, inducing 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 administration, 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 law 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 now in power is 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 the wrongs to come. The committee finds that this exodus owes its effectiveness to society organizations among plantation laborers; that it began with the persecutions and political mobs of the years 1874 and 1875, and was organized as a colonization council in August, 1874, for emigration. This organization, beginning in Caddo Parish, spread rapidly from parish to parish until it has permeated the State, and in sections particularly known as the cotton belt, where lawlessness and outrages upon black citizens are most frequent, the society has been most active.

To-day this organization, as your committee has definitely learned, numbers on its rolls 92,800 names of men, women, and children over twelve years of age, in Louisiana, Northwestern Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama; 69,000 of these are represented in the different parishes of this State. The cohesiveness of this organization in its secrecy and management being entirely committed to plantation laborers and their direct representatives, has secured its potency. The representative political leader was neither intrusted with nor informed of its existence. Year by year since 1874 the organization, as encroachment after encroachment was made on the rights of the colored people, grew and strengthened, and now when reduced to virtual peonage and the threatened deprivation of all rights as freemen and citizens is imminent, the exodus has ensued and its consequences are manifest.

Your committee, had it the power in its recommendations or councils to stem the tide of this mighty movement, would not prove so delinquent to all ties of brotherhood and, to every attribute of manliness as to impede or offer a single check to so righteously just an emigration. On the contrary, we would wisely and practically aid it.

Then it goes on to give some description of Kansas, as to how to go to Kansas, the amount of money required, &c., so as to secure the advantages that that State presents. All the details of this feeling, as brought

out in the convention, are furnished in numberless instances as collected here in brief and noted in the files of this paper.

Q. Before you reach that let me ask you, were you chairman of the committee that made this report?—A. Yes, sir; I was chairman of the committee on business, and made that report.

Q. Was the report adopted by the convention?—A. Yes; it was adopted by the convention.

Q. How large a convention was it?—A. It was a convention of representatives from the parishes of Natchitoches, of Caddo, of Tensas, of Madison, of Pointe Coupée, of Bossier, of De Soto, of Webster, of Claiborne, of Bienville, of East and West Feliciana, of St. Charles, of Rapides, of Saint John the Baptist, of Lafourche, of Concordia, of Saint Mary, of East and West Baton Rouge, and of the lower parishes about New Orleans.

Q. Then, at the time, what were the sources of information from which the report that you have made were derived?—A. The sources of information were those which we gathered from the delegates to the convention themselves.

Q. Information that they themselves brought?—A. Yes, sir; that they brought and submitted to the convention and adopted as their own view of the causes of the exodus and their defense of the propriety of their going.

Q. Go on, now, and state what you had in mind in reference to the details of which you spoke.—A. The first information, as published in the Observer, was—I will say here that the New Orleans Observer was started on the 30th day of May, 1878; that was the first issue of the paper. In the Observer of June 20, 1878, there is a statement relative to Dr. Archer, a prominent physician at that time in the parish of Pointe Coupée. The matter was telegraphed over the country. It was to the effect that six black men met him on the road armed with double-barrel shot-guns.

Q. Was Dr. Archer a black man?—A. No, sir; a white man. He charged that these black men, armed as I have said, discharged their shot-guns at him. He fortunately escaped with his life and made his way to some friends and obtained a *posse comitatus* and started at once for these men and finally caught them. It resulted in his catching them with their shot-guns in their hands, &c. It then became a Judge Lynch procedure. They arraigned these men before Judge Lynch, found them guilty, and hung them.

Q. Hung the entire six?—A. Yes, sir; hung them all. That naturally created great alarm throughout the parish.

Q. When do you say that happened?—A. It happened on or about the 7th of June, 1878.

Q. What did you learn as to the facts of the case?—A. The facts of the case?

Q. Yes; or what was understood by the colored people, as you learned it, to be the facts of the case?—A. Well, I will say that the Democrat and Item, of the city of New Orleans, alluded to it at the time in vague and mild terms. The western associated press man gave that information and forwarded it over the wires as detailed therein. The Pointe Coupée Pelican, a paper published in the vicinity of the outrage, said nothing about it. But that those facts actually existed was proved by private correspondence to the city of New Orleans and from well-known Democrats there.

Q. My question was this: What were the facts as you learned them as to the attack upon Dr. Archer by these six colored men?—A. We

have no further information than that he himself charged it. The only information was that the doctor himself wrote to a friend of his at that time who was in the custom-house in New Orleans, asking him to go to the editor of the Observer and inquire of him the name of his informant. We had stated in a subsequent article that our informant was a very well known and prominent Democrat, and we refused to give his name, for it would be neither healthy nor wise for the informant for them to have his name. In fact we published the information only on condition that we would not furnish his name; we had the informant to corroborate the statement.

Q. The statement that you have given us?—A. Yes, sir; the statement I have just made.

Q. Was any proof had to your knowledge that this attack was made upon Dr. Archer?—A. We had no proof, because there seems to have been no witnesses of the attack excepting Dr. Archer himself, and these six men, who were of course summarily put out of the way.

Q. They were put out of the way by Judge Lynch?—A. Yes; they were put out of the way by Judge Lynch.

Q. Was there never any attempt to try them?—A. No; not at that time, because the yellow fever was then invading all sections of the State of Louisiana, and the whole State was in a horrible condition of things.

Q. No attempt, then, was ever made to try those who resorted to the Judge Lynch proceeding?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, go on and state whatever other facts you may have?—A. In the Observer of August 3, 1878, is a statement concerning the associated press dispatch of Wednesday, July 31, detailing the hanging by an armed mob of four convicted prisoners—black men—in Monroe, La., on the 29th of July, 1878. The Ouachita Telegraph says that the mob was variously estimated as numbering from forty to five hundred persons.

Q. What kind of a paper is the Ouachita Telegraph in its politics?—A. The Ouachita Telegraph is a Democratic paper published in the town of Monroe, parish of Ouachita.

Q. Were they hung?—A. Yes, sir; this mob of forty to five hundred men rode to the jail, demanded and obtained the keys from the deputy sheriff, took out the four blacks and hung them summarily. Three of the blacks hung were implicated in the murder of a parish constable the May before, and were tried and sentenced to the penitentiary for life. The fourth victim had been accused of the murder of another black man, but after having been sentenced by the district court to the penitentiary he sought and obtained from the supreme court a new trial and was awaiting its process when the mob disposed of him. It is assumed—but it is mere assumption—that the object was that these men would have been punished any way, because all the officials were Democratic officials, from the judge on the district bench down to the constable in the parish, and there would have been no question at all about their being punished for these crimes; but it was supposed that it was necessary to create a little stampede and feeling among the blacks there, in order to keep them in a proper state of subjection politically.

Q. That was understood among the colored people, was it?—A. Yes, sir; that was the inference and the feeling among them about it.

Q. You may go on and state other facts, if you have them?—A. In the Observer of August 24, there is another statement of a Pointe

Coupée paper involving the stripping and whipping of some colored women and men on a plantation there called "Fordoche."

Q. What were the facts in that case, if you have them?—A. The Pointe Coupée Record, a Democratic paper published at that time in that parish, in its report of the affair, says that on Monday morning of the 17th of August, 1878, four colored men from the 10th ward were incarcerated in a hotel—jailor Tournoir's hotel—charged with stealing beeves belonging to one John L. Mathers, and to Max Myers, of the same neighborhood. It says that they knew nothing of the facts in the case, that the party accused retained the services of Judge Harralson and Mr. Duroy as their counsel, and it says, "We suppose that they will soon appear before the parish court on a preliminary examination;" then they go on to say that "While we do not wish to prejudice the parties accused of the crime of stock stealing, we do say right here that these offenses should be summarily dealt with; if the parties are guilty they should receive the full penalty of the law. It is conceded, but deplorable fact, that owing to the stock rogues it is almost impossible to raise stock in our parish." And they say in the conclusion of the sentence that "Cattle thieving must be stopped at any cost." The article then goes on to say that "it is rumored that several men from Bayou Fordoche came to the court-house this morning to make affidavits against certain parties from that section of the parish; the complaint is shooting and whipping."

Now, from sources which we as the managers of our paper deemed absolutely reliable, affecting affairs in Pointe Coupée parish, we had learned that since the hanging of the four black men by the bulldozers of that section, the colored people there sought to leave the locality. It is only just, however, for me to say that the good citizens—that is, the good white citizens of the locality—called a mass meeting to express their indignation and to attempt to redress these wrongs, or at least to put a stop to them. The meeting was to have taken place on the 21st of August. A similar meeting was called at New Roads. The information furnished concerning these horrible crimes was from Democratic sources. Gentlemen and decent citizens who abhor the partisan atrocities of their party workers were interested in the call. The Republicans of Pointe Coupée were so terrorized that even prominent gentlemen among them would say nothing about this act of atrocity.

"The information is fast reaching this city" (that is New Orleans), the Observer says, "and our hopes are from the respectable Democratic citizens of the city. We are informed that the plantation visited was one of the New York Warehouse and Security Company's places, of which Mr. Fordoche was the business agent."

Q. Was that in the place where Mr. Bradish Johnston's plantation is?—A. It was near one of his plantations; he has several plantations in Pointe Coupée Parish.

Q. I believe you stated that these colored men charged with stealing cattle were taken out and hung, did you not?—A. No, sir; those were the other men; the six men that made the alleged attack on Dr. Archer were hung.

Q. But you spoke about four men whose hanging created excitement in that neighborhood?—A. Well, that was a statement of one of the occasions that I gave to you—they were the four black men that we learned were hung in the Racoucie settlement by a crowd of bulldozers.

Q. Well, any other facts that you have you may give us?—A. In the New Orleans Observer of a subsequent date, the 31st of August—I will

say to the committee that I desire to give the benefit of both sides of that affair, because the Pointe Coupée Pelican took the matter up afterwards.

Q. What paper?—A. The Pointe Coupée Pelican.

Q. Is that a Democratic paper?—A. Yes, sir; and it called attention to the Observer's article of September 7, and if you wish I will read what the Pointe Coupée Pelican says.

Q. Go on.—A. It says:

The New Orleans Observer of the 24th, in an article concerning the parishes, states many things concerning this parish that we declare to be false and slanderous. The information about outrages said to have been committed at Bayou Fordoche is simply a tissue of lies. The Observer says that its information was derived from Democratic sources. We respectfully ask the name of the informant. In advance we undertake to deny that any respectable Democrat gave such information to the Observer. The editor of the Observer has been no doubt deceived, and we hold ourselves ready to prove the information said to have been furnished to the Observer to be false in almost every particular. Among other things the Observer states that the Republicans here are intimidated and afraid to speak. In answer to this we state that the judge of the court, the clerk, the sheriff, and all his deputies are Republicans. On the 27th instant the court-house was filled with three hundred Democrats to witness the Fordoche investigation, and every one of these three hundred Democrats bowed readily to the majesty of the law, the court and its officers were respected, the mandates of the court were obeyed, peace and quiet prevailed, and if it had been necessary the judge on the bench and all the officers of the court would testify that no attempt had ever been made to stop the wheels of justice or to interfere with the enforcement of the law. What the Observer says about public meetings to put down violations of the law is clearly false. No such meetings have been held, nor is there any need of holding any. The State attorney, on the affidavit of parties, will always get out writs of arrest, and thus take proper notice of all infractions of the law. As a general thing our labor is working effectively and in harmony with the planters who own the lands, and with the merchants who make the necessary advances. The planters, the merchants, and the laborers are satisfied, and all of them denounce as false the information communicated to the Observer and published in that journal of the 24th. We again deny the statement, and ask the Observer for the name of its author.

Now, in this same paper—

Q. You mean the New Orleans Observer?—A. Yes, sir; in the New Orleans Observer of the same date is an account of the preliminary hearing of this case before Judge Bonanchaud, as taken from the Pointe Coupée Record of August 31, 1868. The Record publishes this account of that hearing:

On Tuesday last the court met pursuant to adjournment of the day previous, at which time the State witnesses were found *non est*. By strict orders of the court, well attended to by the sheriff and his deputies, the witnesses were all brought together next day, with the exception of one W. R. Lewis, of Fordoche, for whom a bench warrant was issued, but not in time to have him in court, and he is still at large.

The crowd outside on the second day was much larger than the day before, and, about eleven o'clock, as the bell was rung, an immense body packed the court-house.

The witnesses for the prosecution, all of whom are colored (excepting Lewis), are Louisa Clarke, Madeline Smith, Levi Allen, Levi Sherman, Henry Reed, Elizabeth McGowan, Randall McGowan, L. Murdock, William Abrams, Polite Powell, Louisa Ball, and Isaac Ball.

The counsel employed for the defense were Governor R. C. Wickliffe and Charles Fisher, esq., of West Feliciana.

The State was represented by L. B. Claiborne, the district attorney *pro tem*.

Around the desks allotted to the members of the bar, and variously dispersed within the rails, were seated several prominent citizens from the upper end of our parish, who appeared as defendants in the case.

Governor Wickliffe, before having any one called to the stand, requested the court to order all witnesses in the present case to be sworn, and as each should leave the witness stand to be placed in the hands of the sheriff and prevented from communicating with the others.

Randall McGowan, who is an intelligent witness, but a very contradictory one, after making a very long testimony, all of which could have been placed in a nut-shell, testified to parties coming to his house and compelling him to accompany them and point out others.

He claimed to identify all the defendants except one or two, but allowed that he did not think any one of the party would harm him if they, the defendants, should be released from the court without bonds.

Frank Murdock failed to recognize any of the defendants present as being the parties who had molested him last Wednesday week, but stated that he was in fear, and still remains so, as he is a leader of the Republican party.

Mrs. Murdock, who was very much agitated and excited, stated that an attempt to tie her up by the thumbs was made; but that the cord, which was made of moss, did not hold; that the children cried and the party left. She said she could not identify any one in court as being of the party.

Louisa Clarke, a young girl, corroborated the testimony of her mother, Mrs. Murdock, but also said she knew no one, and could identify no one, and would not say that any of these defendants were present.

Richard Smith testified that he was shot at, but did not get hurt; that he ran away and hid in the cotton-patch all night.

Isam Ball (whose testimony seemed to receive but slight credence, if any) said, upon seeing the crowd advance, he jumped the fence, as he thought he might be hurt, but could identify no one; and upon being questioned closely by the counsel for the prosecution, he distinctly stated that he did not swear that the parties named in the affidavits were the parties.

Levi Sherman testified to having been shot in the foot while running. When asked why he ran, he said, "Well, gentlemen, you know how a nigger is when he gets scared." Said he could not recognize any one who had done it.

Mrs. Maggie Smith said she was so scared that she got the chills and fever, but failed to state what she got scared at; saw Richard run, but that was all she knew about the affair; did not recognize any of the defendants.

Elizabeth McGowan said two men entered her house; that she knew Mr. Muir, and that she was not afraid of him; she told him to come in, calling him by name, and that he replied, "You know my name G— d— well." She said yes, she did; also testified to seeing Quine and Archer there; but upon being requested to point out Archer if he was present in the court, she failed to find him, although he was close to her.

Witness further stated that her husband, Randall, was believed to be stealing of late, and that Randall was struck once on the side of the head by the fist of Muir.

Levi Allen testified that he was whipped, but this was objected to by counsel for the defense, as no such charge had been made in the affidavit.

Counsel here retired for a few minutes, followed by some of their clients.

Upon their return, the case on the part of the State was announced to be finished, and Governor Wickliffe remarked that, after having heard the exhaustive examination on the part of the State, he still proposed to offer no testimony for the accused in this preliminary examination; that he was satisfied that the court would render such judgment as its duty would suggest, and that it would bear in mind that the affidavits made in the case had not been sustained.

The district attorney *pro tem.* said he had, by agreement with counsel for the accused, no argument to make; that he had endeavored to place before the court fairly and unbiased the facts in the case, and that he had even gone so far in some instances as to test the veracity of the witnesses; and with these remarks he left the matter in the hands of the court.

Judge Bonanchaud then remarked that the case, at its inception, seemed to be one of great magnitude; that it would not be improper for counsel to address the court, but, as the attorneys were willing to submit the case without argument, he did not deem it necessary to rehash this vast amount of testimony.

That it was evident in the mind of the court that an offense against the peace of the State had been committed, but doubts exist as to the identity of the parties accused. That it was not within the province of the court to pass upon the guilt or the innocence of the parties brought there, and that, taking into consideration that the accused had voluntarily surrendered to the proper authorities before even the issuance of a warrant, thought that the bond should be a reasonable one.

It was then ordered that the parties be placed under their own recognizance in a bond of \$100 each, to appear before the district court to be held on the first Monday of December next, and that they be further placed under bond to keep the peace for the term of six months.

Q. Do you know whether any trial was ever had afterwards?—A. I never heard that there was any.

Q. State any other facts that you have in reference to this matter or other matters. We will not now go into the full details of the histories. Just give us the facts.—A. I desire to give the account fully, because the statement of the Observer was called in question.

Q. Well, go on and state other facts, if you have them.—A. In the

Observer of September 2, 1878, is a statement in brief, copied from the Feliciana Sentinel and made by Mr. J. B. McGee, a prominent Democrat in West Feliciana, who had taken what is termed an "independent shoot" from the party, and had organized colored clubs. He makes the statement, over his own signature in that paper, that one of the presidents of his colored club—

Q. What did you say was his name?—A. Mr. J. B. McGee.

Q. Go on with your statement.—A. Mr. McGee states that one of the presidents of his colored club, or rather that a vice-president of the Democratic club, Henry Burke, on the Friday night before, was forcibly taken out of his house by masked men, was mercilessly beaten and hung up by the neck until he was almost or quite insensible, for the alleged crime (?)—we copied it in the Observer as it appeared, with the interrogation mark in parenthesis after the word crime—for the alleged crime of having supported John J. Barry for the office of sheriff in the coming election.

Q. Was this the manner in which the campaign was being conducted there?—A. That is the statement made by Mr. McGee, an Independent Democrat.

Q. What party did Barry belong to?—A. He was a Democrat, though he was not known as a regular Democrat, and he headed one party while Governor Wickliffe headed another.

Q. Mr. Barry, then, was an Independent Democrat, and did not belong to the regular party organization?—A. Yes, sir; he was an Independent Democrat.

Q. Was this man Burke, who was hung, a white man?—A. No; he was a black man.

Q. And he was hung for the crime of supporting an Independent Democrat against the regular party nominee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, proceed, Mr. Ruby.—A. On the 28th of September occurred this Natchitoches horror, about which the country at one time heard so much through the Teller committee. I believe the full particulars were brought out in that committee. They drove out Raford, Blount, John G. Lewis, and other colored men of that parish, simply because they were Republicans, and forced them away from their homes. This is detailed at length in the column of the New Orleans Observer of that date.

Q. Just state the outline of the facts; we do not care to have you go into all the details.—A. 1878 was election year, and Natchitoches Parish claims a Republican majority of fifteen hundred. A man by the name of Raford Blount, a colored man, a Baptist minister, having very large influence with the colored people, and naturally, therefore, their leader, was associated with the family of Bradas, who were white men, natives of the parish, and Republicans. They were extensive planters there. Blount and his associates, with one or two white men and a colored man named John G. Lewis, were holding a meeting on the Saturday, preliminary to holding a convention for the nomination of party candidates. (On the same day the Democrats had a meeting at the other end of the town, a mile away. For some reason best known to the Democratic managers, they construed this meeting a mile away from them, which was held at another end of the town by the Republicans, as being a menace to them, the Democrats, and they concluded it was necessary to go over there armed and clean out these Republicans. So they went over there. The Republicans heard of their coming and of their being armed, and they broke up their meeting and dispersed. This man, the Rev. Mr. Blount, made his way to his house.

Q. Did you say that he was a colored man?—A. Yes, sir; I stated that he was a Baptist clergyman. Mr. Blount made his way to his house and shut himself within doors. He was said to be wealthy. He had, it was believed, ten or twelve thousand dollars' worth of property, both in the town of Natchitoches and in the parish. He armed himself, determined to defend his own life if they came for it. Meanwhile, these armed Democrats came to the meeting, found it dispersed, and went back to Blount's house. They surrounded his house, and, after considerable parley, effected an entrance by breaking in the doors. They failed to find him at first, as he had secreted himself at the top of his house. They found him, however, and upon a statement to him that they would not harm him if he surrendered, he surrendered himself and came down. They placed him in jail, armed mobs meanwhile patrolling the town. Of course both parties were excited. The blacks were excited because their leader was in duress. The two Bradas, white men, whose family connections were there, made their way to their plantations, but they were told that they must leave the parish—that their lives would not be safe if they remained there, and that it would be useless for them to attempt to compound with the Democrats by remaining; so they left the parish. Blount was placed on horseback and told to leave, and he did leave at midnight, and made his way down to the city of New Orleans. The Bradas did the same. John G. Lewis, Raby, and two or three other local leaders also left. That parish was then carried for the Democrats; of course they had then no trouble about carrying it.

Q. What was the Republican vote of that parish?—A. The Republican vote of the parish is detailed in the same report made by one of the members of that committee and put in tabulated form, and I can give it to you in a moment. (Consulting file of the Observer.)

Q. Give us the vote of that parish the preceding year.—A. According to the census of 1875, the parish of Natchitoches had a colored population of 15,404.

Q. What was the white population?—A. The white population was 5,907, and there were 47 Indians and Chinese.

Q. What was the colored population? Will you please state again?—A. 15,404. The total, white and colored and Indians, was 21,358.

Q. And the colored majority was what?—A. The colored majority was 9,497. The 1,500 Republican majority alleged in the parish comes from the fact that the Bradas, and some other white men, had a great deal of influence over the poorer classes of the whites, who, because of local reasons, owing to Democratic mismanagement, were going with the Republican party.

Q. Was there a considerable number of colored men who voted the Democratic ticket?—A. According to the statement we get, there were none.

Q. How largely was the parish carried after this political movement?—A. They polled the entire Republican vote, but counted it as Democratic.

Q. That is, the vote was Republican, but it was counted as Democratic?—A. Yes, sir. The whole Republican vote was polled, and counted as Democratic.

Q. The Republicans, however, did not vote?—A. No, sir, they did not. I will state, however, that the Bradas have gone back into the parish, as they are white men and had large connections there; but they have had nothing to do with politics, and do not even attempt to vote themselves. This statement was made by Raby and Blount. They

make the statement that at the so-called election there was no attempt on the part of the Republicans to vote.

Q. But in the returns of the county the entire vote was given as Democratic, as though the Republicans had voted the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir; the returns were made in that way.

Q. Have you any other statement in that connection? If not, I will ask some further general questions.—A. I have a number of statements bearing upon the same matter, as showing the cause which induced the calling of this convention.

Q. You may just refer to them briefly as you can, as a ground for the holding of the convention.—A. In the issue of the Observer of October 12th were copied some comments of the Natchitoches Vindicator on the same matter. The Vindicator is a noted paper in that section of Louisiana, from the fact that its editor, Mr. J. H. Cosgrove, is to-day a member of the Louisiana house of representatives from the same parish; and he is regarded as belonging to the rabid element of the Democratic party. He is a strong man, a man of large individualism, and a man of considerable ability.

Q. Commenting upon what?—A. A comment upon this Natchitoches outrage. The account is a political one, and rather rabid, but it is very brief, and if the committee desire, I will give it.

Q. Just as you please.—A. Well, it is in the Observer of October 12, 1878—I should have said 1878 before; I think I said 1879. It says: "At the recent Democratic convention in Natchitoches the following resolutions were unanimously adopted: 'Resolved, that the past conduct and actions of Blount, Raby, Lewis, and their associates' (it did not mention the name of the Bradas), 'who are the recognized leaders of the Radical party in this parish, are intolerable; that the persistent efforts of those people to regain possession and power are a standing menace to the peace of our society; and regarding them as enemies of good government, we are determined that they shall not succeed in their nefarious designs to keep alive the hostility between the races. Resolved further, that the able and vigorous denunciation of these bad men, by the People's Vindicator, are entitled to, and receive, our hearty commendation and approval.'" The Vindicator had suggested that the best way of ending the matter was to take them out and hang them.

Q. They were charged with no offense whatever, were they, except that of trying to carry their locality for the Republican ticket?—A. None whatever, except they were trying to carry their locality for the Republican party.

Q. They were not charged with any other crime or any other offense except this, were they?—A. Not at all, but on the other hand the Bradas were regarded as rather decent individuals outside of their politics. They had amassed considerable property.

Q. You may go on and state other facts, if you have them.—A. The Observer of October 19, 1878, gives an account of another outrage that occurred in Tensas Parish. That was induced by the fact that Mr. A. W. Fairfax was nominated for the short term of Congress by delegates together with the former chief justice, living in Ouachita Parish. Judge Ludeling, J. D. Ludeling, and this man Fairfax were nominated by the Republicans in the fifth Congressional district of Louisiana for Congress. In that district our average majority is about 7,000.

Q. A Republican majority, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir; a Republican majority. The parish is densely populated with black laborers, and they are all Republicans. The district, however, is now represented by General J. Floyd King in the House. It was essential that that parish

should be carried, and it was carried by the approved Mississippi plan of bulldozing.

Q. Well, just state the facts.—A. Mr. Fairfax lived in Tensas Parish, which polled a very large majority, some 2,500 or 3,000 Republican majority, and it was determined that an example should be made of his case, the colored population being so large.

Q. He was a white man, was he?—A. No, sir; he was a black man and a preacher—a man of very retiring disposition and very unobtrusive in his manners—and he would never have excited a war except for the fact that he had been nominated by the Republicans. He was attacked by a man by the name of Captain Peck, who headed a gang of outlaws. Captain Peck did not live in Tensas Parish. In fact, I believe—it was alleged at least—that he lived in one of the Mississippi counties. At any rate he was at the head of a gang that came to Fairfax's house, and after gaining admittance shot right and left and wounded two or three colored men in the house. Fairfax, who was in the house, got away, and was only slightly wounded. He made good his escape. Peck, in the mêlée, was shot by his own men; but it was alleged that Fairfax shot him, and thereafter Fairfax was in great danger of being tried for the murder. After Governor Nicholls went up there and found that it was an absolute case of lawlessness, he had the courage, in the midst of a community that would not permit even so strong a man as Governor Nicholls dared to be on that occasion to express himself—he had the courage to say publicly that it was lawlessness; and I think he lost caste in his party at that time by so doing, at least that was the impression.

Q. When did that lawlessness that you speak of occur? I do not mean the exact date, unless you can give it exactly.—A. I can give you the date exactly as it is given here (consulting the file of the Observer). It was on Saturday night of October 12, 1878. I will give you the statement:

On Saturday night, October 12, an armed body of men, estimated at from thirty to forty, rode up to Fairfax's house and demanded to know where Fairfax was, &c. Six or seven other men entered the house and shot right and left.

Q. You say that that was on the 12th of October; now about what time was the election in that year—that is, how long before the election took place was this occurrence?—A. The election took place in the following November.

Q. What was the effect of that and similar acts on the November election?—A. Well, it simply carried the district.

Q. That is, it was declared carried?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I mean; it was declared carried.

Q. About what is the Republican majority in that district?—A. From 7,000 to 10,000 majority.

Q. Do you mean of population or of votes?—A. I mean an absolute majority of votes of from 7,000 to 10,000. Judge Leonard, who died in Cuba I think, was a Republican, and was elected by from 5,000 to 7,000 majority.

Q. What were the facts as they were understood by the colored people as to the means by which the Democrats carried the district?—A. The fact was, and the experience of some of them vividly confirmed the fact, that it was carried by means of outrage and murder.

Q. And this is one of the means that you have just given us an illustration of, by which it was carried?—A. Yes, sir; this was one of the means by which it was carried.

Q. You may go on and state any other facts.—A. On the 9th of November the Observer details an account of Mr. Fleming Branch, one of the men who was present when Fairfax's house was invaded. He was shot, himself, in the arm and through the side, and was suffering at the time. I saw Mr. Fleming, but I do not know where he is now.

Q. He was shot in this house?—A. Yes, sir; he was shot in Fairfax's house.

Q. Was there any charge against Fairfax at any time except that he was a Radical leader?—A. No charge whatever except the fact that he was a leader of the Radicals.

Q. And that he was trying to carry the district for the Republicans?—A. That was all. The men who attacked the house and were engaged in this affair—I will say right here that this affair was denounced by the best people of the community; they always denounced it; it is but fair that I should say this.

Q. Did they denounce it after the district was carried or before?—A. I did not hear of it until after; but they always denounced it. They did not fail to do that.

Q. Did they punish any of these offenders?—A. I want to say this for Tensas Parish. Judge Gillespie, a very large planter, and Mr. Blount, an Independent Democrat, and some gentlemen associated with them, have done all they could, and did all they could pending this attack and before the attack on Fairfax, when the matter was brewing, to put down this lawlessness, but they were overpowered at the time, and have since been counted out in every effort they have made to produce peace and contentment in their parish.

Q. Well, what is the fact as to these classes that do this bulldozing? Are they generally from among the lower class of the people of the community, or are they of the better class in standing in the community?—A. Well, I should say they are mostly of the lower class.

Q. Are they not able at all in the community, or do the better class make any effort—any unsuccessful effort, I mean—to control them?—A. I should say this from what I know of such matters: that it is determined to carry a certain district in the State for the Democratic party. Now, it don't make any difference, when they make up their minds to this, about a Republican majority, inasmuch as they consider they have nobody but black people to deal with, and you can do what you choose, it is supposed, with black people; but these districts must be carried, and the means by which they are to be carried makes no difference. The mandate goes forth that the district must be carried, and they carry it.

Q. What element of the community is it that determines to carry a district in that way?—A. Do you mean in the Southern States generally.

Q. No; I mean in that particular State.—A. In very many parishes of Louisiana there are a large number of men who are dissolute in character; who have little or no occupation of any steady kind and who are ready for any "lark," as they call it, of that character; and give them unlimited whisky and the appliances of the shot-gun and put them upon horseback and all that sort of thing, and they are ready for anything desperate that comes along.

Q. Did you ever hear of a Democratic candidate for office who was elected in that way declining to accept on account of that method of carrying his election?—A. No, sir; I do not think I have heard of one in Louisiana.

Q. You say that while the better class of them may be opposed to this lawlessness in the method of carrying elections, and express them-

selves as opposed to it, that nevertheless they are willing to accept the fruits?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they do accept the office whenever they have the opportunity, do they not?—A. That has been the rule.

Q. Well, now, tell us what effect these and many other facts that I suppose you could give if you had the time have had upon the colored people themselves.—A. They have had the effect of making them think, very naturally—they are not so ignorant after all, though they are lamentably ignorant, there is no question about that, but they are not so ignorant nor so degraded but that they form their opinions concerning these things; and they have the instincts of common humanity, which incites them to go anywhere out of the hell in which they live.

Q. How do you regard the condition of the colored people in Louisiana as a mass—I will say nothing now of their citizenship—but their condition as a mass in comparison with their condition in slavery before the war?—A. Of course I knew very little of their condition in slavery before the war, because I did not move there until after the war.

Q. Well, from what you have heard, and from what you have known in your communication with these people, what would you say?—A. I should say this, though it is merely my opinion, yet it is an opinion corroborated by the experience of many with whom I have talked, that a man having slaves as property felt that he had a value in them, and he was naturally disposed for that reason to take care of that property value and not to abuse it, and on that account the condition of the slave would be better in slavery than his condition is now, under the form of peonage that exists to-day.

Q. Are the rights of citizenship of the colored man recognized at all by the controlling power in Louisiana to-day, in such a way that they can control any districts in the State?—A. They are not, sir; and there is an abundance of facts to corroborate this statement.

Q. What is the sentiment and feeling, as your people understand it, of the white people with reference to the citizenship of the colored man?—A. I should say, sir, that there is a large and now increasing class of whites, especially among the business men of New Orleans and among the large planters, especially in the sugar-growing section of the State, that not only deplore the horrible condition of affairs in the Red River section of Louisiana—what is known as the cotton-belt—but would do anything in their power to put it down. They go so far as to say that they would be willing to wipe out all vestige of State government and give themselves up to military authority even if by that they could secure peace and contentment in the State.

Q. Why do they not do it and thus secure that peace and contentment?—A. I can hardly say, except that they seem to be largely controlled by the social conditions and necessities around them. They attempted two years ago in the city of New Orleans to wrest the city from the hands of the despicable class of politicians. These merchants and business-men of whom I speak have hitherto contributed largely to the ranks of the Democratic party, and they are, I suppose, to-day largely Democratic, but they desire to put the city of New Orleans into better hands, and they have tried every means to do it, but have been counted out.

Q. Those who entertain these sentiments are in the minority, so that they cannot execute the laws?—A. I do not say that they are in so large a minority, but they are for the most part capitalists, and capitalists, are naturally conservative; and political and social interests of the people of that section being so closely allied, a man does not like to step outside of party, no matter what his standing may be.

Q. Do they not then permit this lawless element to control things and thus prevent the colored man from exercising the right of suffrage from their inability to control it?—A. I will answer by saying that in Tensas Parish Colonel Gillespie, an avowed Republican, and Mr. Blount, a Democrat, did all they could to put a stop to this lawlessness. They armed themselves and the men on their plantations, and determined that these lawless gangs should not come on their plantations to attempt that sort of thing, and to that extent they succeeded, but they could not succeed elsewhere in the parish.

Q. What has been the effect of the exodus thus far in stimulating that class of people in the effort to protect their labor?—A. It has stimulated them somewhat and alarmed them. They came to New Orleans during last spring and through their effort some of these men concerned in the outrages in 1878 were tried in the United States court, and they did everything in their power by persuasion and inducements and promises of protection and everything of that kind to get their laborers to remain. But recently Mr. Fairfax, who was a nominee in 1878, left the State and has taken with him some forty families from Tensas Parish.

Q. Where is Mr. Fairfax now?—A. He is, I believe, somewhere in Kansas.

Q. Do you know in what part of Kansas?—A. I could not say; I think that Mr. Burch here has his address.

Q. On the whole do you consider the effect of the exodus in Louisiana up to this time on the colored people to be good or bad?—A. Well, I will say in reply to that question that I was a member invited to go to a convention held by planters and business-men of the Mississippi Valley—a convention that was held in Vicksburgh last year. I said then to our business-men that while it might be deemed a hardship for them for the time being, and a loss of industry to the State, that it would eventually accrue to the best advantage.

Q. You mean that it would accrue to the best advantage of the State?—A. That it would be for the best advantage of the industry of the State, as well as of the colored people themselves. There are sections of Louisiana, and we all know it—of course I can say so because I am a Republican, and I know also that there are good decent men in the Democratic party who would say so too, and who do say so privately if not openly—there are sections in this State where the condition of things is such that the very best thing that could be done for all concerned would be for the colored people to leave and to go away entirely.

Q. Have they no hope whatever in the courts?—A. They have very little if any hope from the courts; because, as I stated to you before, in Pointe Coupée Parish there can be no question whatever about the outrages having been committed, nor as to the identity of the men engaged in them, but the courts did not feel it incumbent upon them to punish the men.

Q. But, if I understood you, the Democratic party and the Pointe Coupée Record say that it was a Republican court?—A. Yes, sir; the court was Republican, but the simple fact is that while they were Republicans they could not help appreciating the fact that they were living among fellow citizens who were Democrats.

Q. This spirit then pervades all these courts as well as individuals in these localities?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the security of the colored man in these localities in any trials for life so far as the courts are concerned; will they enforce the law?—A. In Pointe Coupée Parish, notwithstanding that condition of affairs obtains, there is a large class of colored free people who were

free before the war and whose relations with the planting interests and with the whites have been pleasant—always pleasant—and are pleasant now. These colored free men having been free before the war vote usually as they please; but it must be said that they are a rather independent kind of people; they will shoot back; they always would shoot back; in fact, the same blood flows in their veins, more or less, that flows in the veins of the white people. The consequence is that they have been treated differently from the freed people.

Q. Why is it that the negroes do not defend themselves—can they not get arms if they want to?—A. I should say not, practically.

Q. Why not?—A. For the reason that these riders visit the cabins of these poor people and disarm them; for it is true that where a negro is known to have a deadly weapon in his house in many instances it will be taken from him in those parishes.

Q. You mean wherever they want to put down this majority they do that?—A. Of course they usually allow them to have arms to go gunning, and they have shotguns for that, but where they want to put down a Republican majority they are in the habit of visiting them beforehand.

Q. That is understood to be the rule is it?—A. Yes, sir; that is the rule in a great number of cases that could be cited.

Q. What is the protection of colored women in these districts; have there been any claims of outrages of that kind?—A. They claim that they are outraged. This statement has always been denied, however, by the whites.

Q. Of course; did you ever hear or know of any specific instances of outrage of that sort, or is it only general belief and information that you speak from?—A. I have heard or known of none myself specifically excepting what I have heard through my vocation as a journalist, and as the instances have been detailed in the papers.

Q. What are the facts as to the ability of the colored people to earn a livelihood in these cotton regions?—A. As a sample of their ability to earn a living I can give you some facts that are here in a memorandum book [consulting memorandum]: Take the parish of East Carroll, for instance, where there has been no bulldozing, and where labor is quiet and at ease, and where everybody wants that condition of things to exist and continue. That, by the way, is a Republican parish and remains so. Mr. Noll has a plantation there, and I simply state this to show you the favorable condition of things that exists in that parish. Mr. A. G. Noll gives eighty pounds to the laborer for the use of the land, eighty pounds of lint cotton to the acre. It is rated as low middling and worth in New Orleans, say ten cents per pound when it comes to be sold. If it is not classed as low middling when sold in the New Orleans market the difference has to be paid by the laborer. The yield is about one bale to the acre. It makes the rent eight dollars per acre. The laborer has to pay a land rent of eight dollars per acre on the plantation; and that is a sample of what the laborer can do in that parish.

Q. What does that enable him to make for himself?—A. Well, he can cultivate, say, twenty acres of land with his wife and possibly one or two children, and the use of a horse, and possibly come out at the end of the year with two hundred dollars, if he is very careful; sometimes he fails to come out with anything after paying up what he owes to the planter and paying the store bills—the grocery bills. He does not complain of the planter, but of what he pays the grocery. For instance, the price for pork has been eighteen and twenty dollars per barrel.

Q. What would that be worth in New Orleans?—A. The same pork could be bought there probably from eight to ten dollars.

Q. Well, give us any other prices that they pay.—A. I will state that sometimes for the same pork they are charged twenty-five dollars per barrel, and meal is charged at the rate of six and seven dollars per barrel, when they could buy the same in New Orleans for not more than three dollars or three and a half. The stores are very seldom owned by the planters in the cotton regions; they are owned by these storekeepers.

Q. Are the storekeepers connected with the planters at all as a general rule?—A. They may be indirectly connected with them.

Q. As a general rule does a man work as much as twenty acres?—A. They average about twenty acres.

Q. What are the opportunities for schools, Mr. Ruby, in the cotton district?—A. The opportunities for education there are very few and limited. In Saint Bernard Parish they have schools for about five months in the year, but in other parishes it is pretty difficult for them to have schools.

Q. How is it in those parishes from which most of the emigration has gone?—A. They fail to have schools for the reason that the whites claim that they are taxed too much already, and cannot afford the expense of schools for the negroes.

Q. How is a white man regarded who will go down into that community to teach school?—A. Well, he would lose caste.

Q. He would lose caste, you believe? Would the white people of the community associate with him on terms of equality, no matter what his character might be, if he taught a colored school?—A. In some localities he might. Louisiana is a peculiar State about that; it is somewhat different from other States.

Q. What is your experience in teaching colored schools?—A. I was a traveling educational agent, and organized schools in the early part of 1866. I went up into East Feliciana Parish and organized a school in March, 1866, at the town of Clinton and also in the town of Jackson. I succeeded in getting a teacher for the town of Clinton, but not for Jackson; the opposition to a school there was so sharp that no teacher could be obtained; in fact no organization was attempted in order to have a school; so that in June, after I returned, I went to another section of the State. I reported the result of my visit to Jackson to the directors at New Orleans—to the Superintendent of Public Instruction there, Major Stewart, and he asked me if I would not go back to Jackson and stay there until a school was established and teachers were obtained for it. Inasmuch as I had been there and the people knew me, and especially the white people knew me, I went back and found that as a school agent visiting the parish I was welcome enough, but as coming there for the purpose of establishing a school and remaining until the school could get a teacher, they would not stand it, and they commenced making threats before I could get a suitable place for a school-room. Finally a school was established in the house where I boarded. When we opened the school a party of armed men came to my house, seized me, carried me out, and threw me in Thompson's Creek after they had belabored me with the muzzles of their revolvers. Their plea and their language was that they "did not want to have any damned nigger school in that town, and they were not going to have it." Since then they have had reconstruction, and all that they term the horrors of reconstruction of the government.

Q. How do you compare the condition of the colored people of Loui-

siana when under Democratic rule with what it was under the Republican rule just prior to it. I refer to their physical and mental condition, mind and body—how does it compare now with what it was during the Republican rule that for some time preceded?—A. Their physical condition has grown worse instead of better. I had hoped when Gov. Nicholls came into power he would at least have put a stop to lawlessness in these parishes—that having obtained a Democratic government these outrages would cease towards the free colored people; but on the contrary we found that these men had become so accustomed to lawlessness as a means of living that they continued their lawless acts, and would even raid the farmers' cabins and take their stock and whatever they could find, just for sport. These reckless men had little shame in them, and they did it because they wanted to have a lark.

Q. What is the condition of your people as to being contented or otherwise as compared with a former day? Are they more or less contented?—A. They are less contented; they are very discontented. In the sugar-growing section of the State, I want to remark, that there is very little of this feeling of discontent—very little desire to leave.

Q. There has been better treatment there on the whole, has there not?—A. The laborers' interests and the planters' are more in common, and the planters there treat the people well; they have to do it.

Q. What is your judgment as to the continuance or increase of the exodus from that country?—A. Reports come to us from the various parishes in north and northwestern Louisiana as well as from the Feliciana parishes, indicating that there is going to be a large exodus from the State this spring. In fact many of them are leaving now.

Q. Do you think there will be a larger or a less exodus in the future from Louisiana than in the past year?—A. Our idea is that it will be larger.

Q. What, if any, is the remedy for it?—A. Simple justice, only justice; that is all; giving them their rights as free men.

Q. Is there, so far as you know or have heard, any political influences at work of any kind to take them away?—A. None whatever. So far as the Republicans of Louisiana are concerned they not only frowned upon this convention that was called to consider the exodus, but from that time until now they have been opposed to it.

Q. What reason do you give for their opposition?—A. Because it is taking away from these sections of the State the voting population, which they desire to have for Republican representation, and they would do what they could to put a stop to it.

Q. Have you heard of any outside influences to induce them to go?—A. I have heard of none. The colored people, especially the ignorant classes of colored people, are very peculiar. A plantation hand coming up to one of the sections of the country in the North and West likes the locality, and the people, and surroundings, and if he determines to settle there himself, in a short time there will be an hundred or so to follow him.

Q. Your opinion is then that there is no cure for this but justice and fair treatment on the part of the whites towards the colored man?—A. Yes, sir; that is all they desire.

Q. That they should take their place as citizens and have their rights and have a fair show in the courts, and that if they had these the complaints as to treatment would substantially cease?—A. Yes, sir; that is my belief.

Q. Well, if you have anything further that you think of that would throw light upon the question, that you have not stated, we would be

glad to have you state it now or at any time before we conclude your examination.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say that you are editor of the New Orleans Observer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you born?—A. I was born in the city of New York.

Q. What year were you born in?—A. I was born in the year 1841.

Q. How long have you lived in the South?—A. Sixteen years last January.

Q. You went there after the war?—A. No, sir; I went there during the war.

Q. In what capacity did you go there during the war?—A. I went there as teacher.

Q. To New Orleans?—A. To New Orleans; yes, sir.

Q. And you say you taught school there?—A. Yes, sir; I taught school there.

Q. Were you sent there by any organization, or did you go there of yourself?—A. I went there of my own volition.

Q. Did you not have some connection with the Freedman's Bureau as agent?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. What was the date of your connection with that bureau?—A. It was in the latter part of 1865, in December of 1865 or in January, 1866, along there.

Q. How long did you remain an agent of the Freedman's Bureau?—A. I was an agent of the Freedman's Bureau up to this affair in July, I think.

Q. July of what year?—A. Up to July of 1866, in East Feliciana parish.

Q. How did you come to sever your connection with that Bureau?—A. I left because in the first place their funds were exhausted, and in the next place, the assault upon me made it dangerous for me, as I thought, to travel in that section of the State.

Q. Did somebody else take your place?—A. No, sir.

Q. It was left vacant then, was it?—A. Yes, sir; it was left vacant.

Q. The funds were exhausted, you say?—A. Yes, sir; the funds were exhausted.

Q. How much did they pay you as agent of the Freedman's Bureau?—A. They paid me \$125 a month, I think, though I will not be positive now as to the exact amount; I think that was it.

Q. Then you taught in the South how long?—A. I commenced teaching in the year 1864, when I first went there. I taught there up to September, 1866, when I went to Texas. I taught there until 1867 or 1868, and was then elected a member of the constitutional convention in that State, and after that became a member of the legislature, representing that district in the State senate, and started a paper there.

Q. That is in Texas?—A. Yes, sir; in Texas.

Q. In teaching in Louisiana, did you teach in the city of New Orleans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You taught, then, in New Orleans from 1864 to 1866?—A. I did not teach there continuously during that time, but in 1864 I taught a night school for adult freedmen in the Rev. Mr. Hooker's church, who was afterwards killed there in the riot of 1866—in the Baptist church. I was then sent to Saint Bernard's Parish, under the Grant order of 1868, and returned to New Orleans and taught a school in that city. I had a large school there, known as the Fort Douglas school.

Q. After your labors in New Orleans you went to Texas ?—A. Yes sir.

Q. You went to Texas in 1866, did you say ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To what part of Texas did you go ?—A. I went to Galveston.

Q. To Galveston, and there you taught 'until 1867 ?—A. Yes, sir ; until some time in that year.

Q. And then were elected a member of the constitutional convention of that State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That convention was held for the forming of the present constitution, was it ?—A. No, sir ; for the forming of the reconstruction constitution ; the present constitution is altogether a new one.

Q. You say that you helped to form the reconstruction constitution ?—A. Yes, sir ; I helped in the framing of that constitution.

Q. Who was in command in Texas in 1867 ?—A. General Griffin was then in command.

Q. It was under military control at that time, I believe ?—A. Yes, sir ; it was then under military control.

Q. I suppose that very few of the population had the right to vote at that time ?—A. The only class that the reconstruction laws permitted to vote ; you remember the law concerning that ?

Q. Yes, I remember. Then you served in that convention and helped frame that constitution ; and afterwards you say you were elected from the Galveston district to the State senate ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Under that reconstruction constitution, do you mean ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you serve there ?—A. I served there until 1873.

Q. You served there until 1873 ; and at what time did you go back to New Orleans ?—A. I went back in 1874.

Q. Have you lived then continuously in New Orleans since 1874 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is six years ago ?—A. It is about that.

Q. You say you started a newspaper when in Texas ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the name of the paper ?—A. The Galveston Standard, published from 1864 to 1867.

Q. Is that paper still running ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you established the New Orleans Observer, in May, 1878 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were you doing from 1874 to 1878 ?—A. I was editor of Mr. Pinchback's paper for some time ; in 1874 I became editor of his paper.

Q. Well, now, you have been quite active, Mr. Ruby, and outspoken in your political views, have you not ?—A. Yes, sir ; I have spoken my convictions very plainly.

Q. And while you were in Louisiana and Texas you were always treated with respect by your opponents, were you not ?—A. Well, sir, I may say that I have been treated with respect by my opponents.

Q. Always ?—A. I may say always.

Q. Well, you are a colored man ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have never been molested for your political views ?—A. No, sir, excepting this in the instance I have mentioned, and that had no reference to politics, because they were not voters there.

Q. In point of fact, Mr. Ruby, you have never been molested for your political views, have you ?—A. No, sir ; I have not.

Q. You stand in no present personal danger ; nobody will arrest you or call you to account for your political opinions ?—A. I suppose not, sir.

Q. And you have no apprehension whatever of being thus called to account, have you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever been a member of the Louisiana legislature?—A. No, sir; I have never been.

Q. I hope, Mr. Ruby, you will not take offense if I ask you if you were a witness in the Kellogg case?—A. I have not been a witness in that case, sir; I am simply a newspaper man.

Q. Well, these circumstances that you have detailed are detailed really, Mr. Ruby, from information that you received, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Doubtless you conceived your information to have been mainly accurate?—A. Yes, sir; I believe it has been.

Q. Nevertheless, it is merely hearsay testimony that you have given us, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; in the main, it is.

Q. You were not an actual observer of any of these outrages that you have detailed before us?—A. No, sir; I was not an actual observer of them.

Q. You say, Mr. Ruby, that there is a class of people in New Orleans who are very desirous of securing peace and order, and I understood you to hesitate when Mr. Windom asked you whether they were in a minority. You did not really answer that question to him; consequently I want to give you another chance to answer whether you think that class is in the minority or majority in Louisiana that desire peace and order throughout that State.—A. That class is in the minority in Louisiana; it may possibly be, I think could be, in the majority in New Orleans by a consolidation of interest and action there.

Q. So, you mean to state to the committee that in your opinion a majority of the people of Louisiana do not want peace and order in their State?—A. No, sir; I mean to state this; for when I speak of the people I refer to the entire people, black and white.

Q. So do I.—A. I mean that the majority of the people in Louisiana do not desire order and peace.

Q. Do you desire to be understood that the majority of the Democratic party in Louisiana do not want peace and order in the State?—A. No, sir; I would not want to go so far as to state that. I believe that the rabid men who have control of the Democratic party and its machinery do not constitute even a majority in that party.

Q. Who are the men that have control of the party machinery in Louisiana? you seem to have quite an intimate knowledge of the political machinery in Louisiana as to who controls it. Now, if any body is doing wrong down there, I, for one, do not want to shield them, God knows.—A. So far as Governor Nichols is concerned, he was in command at the time—at the head of the party.

Q. You speak of Governor Nichols as having control of the Democratic party in Louisiana.—A. He would, naturally, from his position; but I should say that he did not have much control of it; he was shelved after he became governor; that seems to be the impression among our people.

Q. That is the impression among your people, is it?—A. Yes, sir; but his position naturally gave him the control of his party.

Q. Who else would you speak of as controlling the Democratic party in Louisiana?—A. In 1878, do you mean?

Q. Before this or now?—A. Well, I suppose that the man who now, by virtue of his brains and talent, is at the head of the party, is Major Burke.

Q. Do you think that Major Burke desires peace and order in Louisi-

ana?—A. I think that Major Burke, as well as he can, and holding the relations to the Democratic party that he does, personally does desire peace and order.

Q. What would any one have to fear if the majority did desire that state of things to exist?—A. If the majority is acquiescent; if it deprecates wrongs and outrages, simply, and does not act promptly and vigorously against them, a very feeble actual minority, as far as numbers are concerned, may be guilty of all these wrongs and go unpunished.

Q. You think, then, that Major Burke is intimidated by the minority?—A. I do not think he is intimidated at all. I think that Major Burke has endeavored to eliminate from his party its worst elements.

Q. You think, then, he has wanted to drive out the minority who are in favor of disorder. Do you regard General Gibson as a controlling man in his party in Louisiana?—A. Outside of his district, I should say not.

Q. He was recently elected Senator, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; but a combination of circumstances brought that about. He is regarded as a conservative man, and very highly regarded throughout the whole State, if his election of Senator is any evidence of regard; he was elected Senator, there is no question about that.

Q. You speak of the capitalists of Louisiana; are they mainly Republicans or Democrats?—A. Mainly Democrats.

Q. You say they are so anxiously in favor of peace and order that they desire a military government, and that the State administration should be wiped out?—A. I have heard some of them express themselves in that way, that they would even be willing to go so far as to desire that it is with them, however, a *dernier resort* and a matter they would not state publicly at all.

Q. A while ago, Mr. Ruby, you volunteered a somewhat philosophical remark that capitalists were timid?—A. Yes, sir; and I think it has been proved in New Orleans that they are virtually so.

Q. You think, then, it is their timidity that would drive them to abandon the State government and its constitutional form and take refuge under a military despotism?—A. I do not know what they might expect under a military despotism, but I think this, that their business interests have been so disturbed and their pockets so affected by the political combination that has been brought about by a despicable class of men that have managed to get the control of affairs, that in such a state of things they would be finally willing to resort to almost anything as a change. They may, perhaps, talk a little wildly about a military government, but perhaps would not go so far as really to desire it.

Q. I mean no personal reflection upon you, Mr. Ruby, when I ask you if you associated extensively among the capitalists and business men of New Orleans?—A. Not at all. I simply pursued my calling there as a newspaper man.

Q. Have you ever heard this expression yourself that you say comes from the conservative business men and capitalists of New Orleans?—A. I have heard of them.

Q. That is not my question. I ask have you heard these expressions yourself?—A. In two instances I did, sir.

Q. What was your condition pecuniarily, Mr. Ruby, when you went south? Had you any property?—A. No property, sir, that I owned directly of myself. It was owned by my people.

Q. Where was it?—A. It was situated in Portland.

Q. In Portland, Me. ?—A. Yes, sir, in Portland, Me. ; my father lived there.

Q. Have you any property now ?—A. I have no property, sir, of any special value.

Q. Have you made anything while you have been in the South ?—A. Nothing of any very great importance, sir.

Q. But you made a good living, did you not ?—A. Yes, sir ; a fair living.

Q. Have you a family ?—A. Yes, sir ; a wife and child.

Q. You make a fair living for your wife and child, and you have been unmolested for your political views during the time that you lived in the South ?—A. Yes, sir ; I have.

Q. Do you propose to leave there yourself ?—A. I do not know that I do ; not immediately.

Q. Well, Mr. Ruby, you are advising other people to go, are you not ?—A. No, I am not advising other people.

Q. What are you advising ?—A. I would that we could put a stop to the wrongs that are committed against us, if they could be put a stop to in the manner suggested.

Q. Well, taking the existing order of things, you are advising people to go away from Louisiana, are you not ?—A. I am simply saying that they have a right to go, and that they ought to go. I have given no advice there other than that.

Q. Very well, then ; you do not go any further in favor of this exodus movement than to tell these people that they have a right to go ?—A. I tell them that they have a right to go and that they ought to go.

Q. You do not think that you have cause, as a journalist or public man of your race, to advise them to go ?—A. I have advised them in my paper to go.

Q. I thought so. I say again that you are advising your own people to go, but you are not going yourself ?—A. I am not going myself.

Q. No, and you find no cause for yourself to go, although a colored man ; but you think that others could improve their condition by leaving the localities that they are leaving. Instead of going from the South to the North as these others are doing, you choose to go from the North to the South and stay there, and have done pretty well there ?—A. I have lived there sixteen years.

Q. Yes, and have held several good offices, made a good living, and you do not propose to leave there. Now, then, Mr. Ruby, you say you advise them in some instances to go away from the State on account of the alleged abuses you have spoken of here. Where are you advising them to go ?—A. So far as we have advised them, especially, we have advised them to go to the sugar parishes of Louisiana, if they care to go there, or to go west, or anywhere from where they are now suffering.

Q. You have not been calling on them to go to the sugar parishes, have you ?—A. Well, that would be migrating ; it would not be emigrating.

Q. O, yes ; simply moving from one place to another ; but you know I was not examining you on that ; still I am glad to hear you on that point ?—A. We have made no special request for them to go anywhere specifically ; we have simply set forth, in fact, their condition, and in setting forth that—

Q. But I understood you to say that there was a resolution in the meeting that you spoke of in favor of the exodus of your race ?—A.

Yes; well, that was not limited to any special exodus; it was simply a general resolution.

Q. But a general resolution simply; then it did not relate to the going from one part of the State to another—say from the cotton belt to the sugar district?—A. No, sir.

Q. Would you say that your people can better their condition by going from the cotton to the sugar regions? You said here, and I took it down at the time, that your people were not discontented in the sugar-growing districts?—A. Yes, sir; I said that they were not generally discontented there.

Q. And you said that there the laborer was treated pretty well; that he got work the year round. Are these sugar districts pretty extensive, and do they supply a good deal of labor?—A. Yes, sir; they are pretty extensive.

Q. Would not that, then, seem to be a sort of safety-valve for any bad treatment that your people might receive in the cotton belt for them to go there?—A. Well, yes; it would, sir, to some extent.

Q. And you have advised them to go in that direction?—A. Yes, sir, in that direction and to go west.

Q. Now, passing from the cotton to the sugar section of Louisiana, what State or States have you pointed out particularly?—A. None particularly, though we have taken pains to inform them of the condition of Kansas and other States.

Q. You think they have been doing well in Kansas, do you?—A. I think they can make a living there.

Q. You have not seen the reports of the destitution and starvation there, have you?—A. I have seen some of those reports and I have myself visited Kansas. I was there in 1873. I made a trip up through Kansas in that year, and I was favorably impressed with the State when I was there.

Q. Yes; recently, however, have you noticed the condition that the emigrants are in?—A. I have noticed the reports in the press.

Q. Their condition is rather deplorable, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Ruby, how many people have gone from your State? so far as you know, of course. If you cannot tell exactly, let us have it approximately.—A. I should judge, as far as we have been able to get the data, that some two or three thousand have gone.

Q. From Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir; from Louisiana.

Q. And mostly to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; mostly to Kansas, though I must say that some of the sugar parishes have received accessions of labor from the cotton parishes.

Q. Are these accessions from the cotton parishes to the sugar parishes included in your estimate of two or three thousand?—A. No; I make that outside the State; the two or three thousand are outside.

Q. You say that a laborer in Louisiana can, by being very careful, get out two hundred dollars ahead in a year?—A. In some instances they can; I think the average, so far as I am able to get at it by inquiring of those who are immediately interested, is from fifty dollars to a hundred dollars at the end of the year.

Q. Clear, ahead?—A. Yes, sir; clear, ahead; that is in the localities which I mentioned.

Q. Well, do you know of any laboring class of people in the world, peasantry I mean, who do not own the land they are living on, who do any better than that?—A. If you will permit me, I will say that I do not think the physical condition of the negro, deplorable as it is, makes him desirous of leaving, so much as his political condition.

Q. That is, you mean that he can provide for his physical comforts and necessities as well there as any place else, and possibly better; but you think that the denial of his political rights is what preys upon his mind?—A. I think the denial of his rights as a freeman and citizen is what makes him desirous of leaving.

Q. Yes; and you think it would be some relief if they were to go back into slavery?—A. Well, I do not want to be understood as stating it quite so broadly as that. I said this: that I knew nothing of the condition of the negroes during slavery, but it occurred to my own mind, that men who owned slaves as their property and had an interest in them in dollars and cents, would take care of them on that account if on no other, and would see that they were well treated, and in that sense I meant that the negro would, perhaps, be better off.

Q. You have just said that his physical condition appeared to be pretty good; that he could provide for his physical comforts.—A. I said that with his physical condition, even at the worst, he might get along, with hopes of doing better.

Q. But in a state of slavery he would not have any political rights?—A. No; but I was simply expressing an opinion, and I made the expression a little broad, perhaps.

Q. A little broader, perhaps, than you could have wished?—A. I am not as ready with the tongue as with the pen.

Q. I think you will pass pretty well with both! Now, Mr. Ruby, Mr. Windom asked you whether the negroes were allowed to bear arms, and you said they were allowed to have shot-guns, and that whenever these bulldozers or raiders were going to inflict an outrage they went around and disarmed them all?—A. That is the statement I made.

Q. Suppose that a negro is well armed, and a man comes up to him and tells him he must give up his arms; the negro by this time is pretty well educated as to what that means; but he surrenders his arms, does he not?—A. I would not want to say that.

Q. But does he not give up without resistance?—A. I think in some instances he fights.

Q. Well, I hope so, under those circumstances; but you conveyed that idea, if I got it rightly, and if I have not I want you to correct me.—A. I meant to say this: In some instances—and I refer now particularly to Madison Parish in the last election—I say that they raided those plantations where the negroes were; that they went into their cabins and took their arms away. When parties of armed men surround a house under circumstances like these, those who are within may prefer to surrender their arms to their lives. The demand is to surrender their arms or die, and in most cases they prefer to live. Sometimes, however, when a man thinks he is going to die any way, he does fight.

Q. Can a party of men go from house to house in any neighborhood without producing concert of action on the part of the people of the neighborhood?—A. They have concert of action.

Q. I mean amongst the colored people, for resistance?—A. The colored people are not fighters as a race.

Q. Well, that is the way you put it; I thought that the colored troops fought bravely.—A. They did fight bravely, and would make excellent fighters under good officers.

Q. I think so, too.—A. But, like ignorant people, they are apt to be easily alarmed; I mean by that that I do not think their apparent want of bravery is a race trouble at all; I think it is their previous condition that makes it. When a people are placed as they have been placed,

they are necessarily in no position to fight readily—at least not as they would do if they had been accustomed to their freedom.

Q. What proportion of the two races are in Louisiana, as you understand it?—A. I should understand the colored people to be about six-eighths of the population, or, perhaps, a little over five-eighths.

Q. They are more than one-half in the majority, you think?—A. They are; yes, sir.

Q. And yet you think this minority can ride around the country and take arms from them, and inflict all sorts of nameless outrages upon them with impunity?—A. I know that they do it, for these reports show it to be true.

Q. But may not these reports be a little colored—heightened a little—seasoned for northern consumption? May not that be possible? I do not expect you to admit it scarcely; but did such a thought ever enter your mind?—A. I think the men that have known me intimately, both in Louisiana and in Texas, will do me the justice to say that I have endeavored to be as fair-minded as possible, and my reputation in this respect affects me, having married there, as keenly as those who are natives and to the manor born; and I certainly would not want to say aught that would savor of injustice against the people among whom I live.

Q. Then you have simply given facts to prove that the negroes ought to leave Louisiana?—A. That they ought to leave some sections of Louisiana, yes, sir.

Q. Have you made those exceptions?—A. Yes, sir, I have; notable exceptions.

Q. Yes, the sugar regions; that is true. You would not advise them to leave the sugar regions?—A. No, sir.

Q. They have their physical comforts there?—A. Yes, sir; to some extent, they have.

Q. And they have their political rights, they are treated kindly, their labor is continuous, and they are not molested?—A. In the main, yes, sir.

Q. What parishes do you include in the sugar belt?—A. I take the parishes all through the Teche, and portions of the Opelousas country, and on either bank of the river, right straight down, including Pointe Coupée and Plaquemine Parishes, and straight down through to the delta of Louisiana, down to near the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Q. How many parishes does that embrace?—A. I should say it embraces nearly something over one-third of the parishes of the State of Louisiana. There are fifty odd parishes in the State.

Q. Mr. Ruby, in speaking of these specific cases of outrages, have you spoken concerning any of them since 1878, if I have the date right?—A. Only some that occurred last year in the election there for governor.

Q. Yes, you dated some of them last year.—A. I have not mentioned this at all; there were some last year.

Q. Did you ever hear of the same difficulties in other States—for instance, in the North—in Illinois—or did they never occur except down in your State?—A. I have heard of difficulties; I have heard of shooting and killing in other places.

Q. Did you ever hear of lynching taking place?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard of lynching taking place, especially in some of the Western States; not in the Eastern States so much as in the Western.

Q. I believe you spoke of one instance of cattle-thieving as being the

cause of an outbreak down there?—A. I read a portion of a Democratic statement concerning that from a Democratic paper.

Q. Which said that cattle-thieving must be stopped?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I believe you stated another instance where one negro was lynched for killing another negro?—A. Yes, sir; he was taken out of jail—four of them—alleged to be murderers.

Adjourned to Thursday morning, March 11, 1880.

T W E N T Y - S E C O N D D A Y .

WASHINGTON, *Thursday, March 11, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

GEORGE T. RUBY'S TESTIMONY.

Cross-examination continued:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Ruby, you stated that you thought that between two three and thousand colored people had left Louisiana?—Answer. It has been variously estimated at that rate, sir.

Q. When did they commence to leave, so far as your observation extends?—A. So far as I can learn definitely from the report of the board to that convention, they commenced leaving in 1875.

Q. They commenced leaving in 1875, and this convention that you spoke of yesterday—please tell me again the occasion of its being called and its composition.—A. There were a large number of refugees at New Orleans from various sections of North Louisiana, embracing the cotton belt parishes. They were in the city of New Orleans—some of them driven away from their homes, and some of them called there by the Federal court officials, who, after having given their testimony, did not feel that it was safe for them to go back. They were in the city, and were devising ways and means of employment—some of them—and some of them trying to get out of the State; and there was a general desire upon their part to have an expression of feeling in a convention to consider the exodus question outside of their local organizations.

Q. In that way it came about that this convention was called?—A. Yes, sir; that was the way the convention came to be called.

Q. When was that convention held?—A. It was held on the 17th of April, 1879.

Q. And it then transpired, did it, that there had been an "exodus"—a word which we use in the absence of a better one—and because we have come to understand its meaning? It then appeared that an exodus had been going on since 1875?—A. Yes, sir; at the organization of these colonization councils; the organization took place in the winter of 1874 and '75. It took place in fact, I believe, at Shreveport. An organization was effected there in August, 1874.

Q. The organization of the colonization council, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was organized, you say, at Shreveport in 1874?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember who stated that fact?—A. I think that fact was stated by the delegates from Bossier and Caddo, an adjoining parishes.

Q. When you speak of "delegates," you speak of those people who, happening to be in New Orleans at the time, considered themselves as delegates, do you not?—A. Some of them had credentials from the people up there, and from their organizations. As I stated, there was a secret organization.

Q. Was this convention composed of colored people from all parts of the State?—A. Yes, sir; from all parts of the State generally, and especially from those parishes where the turbulence and troubles had occurred.

Q. Had notice gone out through this secret society to have delegates appointed to the convention?—A. I assume so, although I have no knowledge of that fact.

Q. Why have you not knowledge of that fact as of any other fact connected with that convention?—A. I am not a member of the organization, and therefore have no knowledge other than what would come to me as a newspaper man.

Q. Were you not a member of the secret organization?—A. No, sir; nor of any other organization of a secret character.

Q. Was the organization for the purposes of colonization?—A. That was the statement made before the convention.

Q. Had it any other object in view?—A. Nothing else that I ever knew of.

Q. Is it not a secret political Republican organization?—A. I should judge not; it is entirely in the hands of laborers—plantation laborers; it ignores politicians, and did not permit—it was stated at the time in the convention—did not permit even clergymen to come in.

Q. Was that the reason you could not enter, because you were a politician?—A. I never sought to enter it.

Q. Could you not have entered the organization if you had wanted to do so?—A. I never sought to do so.

Q. Well, all that I am endeavoring to find out now are the simple facts; I am not trying to support any theory.—A. Well, I never sought to enter it. I had nothing to do with any secret organization.

Q. Now, that is not quite a square answer. I want to know whether you could or could not have been a member of that organization if you had wanted to?—A. I think not; it was a convention of laborers on the plantations.

Q. This convention, then, was made up entirely of laborers, you say?—A. It was made up, to a very large extent, of that class of people.

Q. Were you not in the convention?—A. Yes, sir; I attended the convention.

Q. Well, you do not belong to the class of people who are laborers on plantations; you are not a laboring man?—A. I do labor actively with my brain.

Q. But you do not belong to the class of people known as laborers in Louisiana?—A. I think I do, sir.

Q. Why, then, could you not become a member of that secret order, if you belong to the class of laborers? You say it is designed for them; why, then, could you not become a member of that order?—A. They were plantation laborers and I am not.

Q. O, you make that distinction then; you do not belong to the class of people known as plantation laborers?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then this secret organization was designed to embrace plantation laborers only; and that is the distinction you want to make?—A. Yes, sir; that was the testimony before the convention.

Q. Yes; but are plantation laborers of that degree of intelligence as

to make an organization of this kind, and issue a call, and vote, and do all that the white people do in a convention ?—A. I have seen some exhibitions of very marked intelligence among them, sir—not much knowledge of books, perhaps—but exhibitions of very marked natural intelligence.

Q. Yes ; and this convention that you speak of, that met in April, 1879, you say was a convention of delegates ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And delegates coming there from various parts of the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And delegates were appointed, as you understand it, on a notice given through these secret societies of plantation laborers ?—A. I won't go so far as to say that ; I say it is possible for them to have obtained a notice from these secret societies, and to have delegates there in that way.

Q. Do you know any other way that the delegates did come ?—A. As I stated at the time, a large number of people were there from these parishes who felt that they themselves were—

Q. I am not asking how they felt ; I am seeking for facts. Do you know any other way by which delegates could have been brought there, except by a notice from their secret societies ?—A. I have already stated that these people had been brought there as witnesses—some of them—driven away from their homes, and they had come to New Orleans as the only safe place for them to be ; and to get away from the State ; and they were there under all these circumstances.

Q. Do I understand you, then—and I tried to ask that question a little while ago and you misled me, though I think you did not mean to do it—do I understand you that this convention in April, 1879, took place while these people whom you call refugees were in New Orleans ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that it was composed of them ?—A. Largely of them ; yes, sir.

Q. All of them, then, were not appointed as delegates, but were there in attendance upon the local courts, and did not come as delegates to the convention, but were there from a sort of spontaneous desire to come together ; and it was a gathering of people who had met from the different cities and from different parts of the State ; is that the way you wish to be understood now ?—A. I do not know as I can make myself quite understood, but I will try : whenever there is an intense feeling among our class of people in our country, as I understand it, if there is any known cause for which they think it right to assemble together, they resolve themselves into a body and term it a convention, and they feel that they have right to do so, just as any other class of people.

Q. Undoubtedly they have such a right. I have not asked you whether they can thus assemble, but whether they did thus assemble ?—A. Well, I have not actually made that a point of inquiry—as to whether they came directly from the people, or as to whether, being there as Federal witnesses or driven away from their homes, they appreciated the call that was made and responded to it—as to that I do not know.

Q. I simply asked you, when you began on this, to know how this convention was called together and who composed it ; it is as simple a thing as can be, and your first statement was, as I understood you, that these people being there under the circumstances you speak of were there not at a call for the convention through this secret society, nor as delegates coming from different parts of the State, under that call. Now, as I understand you, these people, being accidentally in New Orleans, resolved themselves, as they had a right to do, into this convention of

the 17th of April, and that it was not a delegated convention called together by a notice. Is that what I understand you to say now?—A. It was called together by a notice, sir.

Q. Well, then, you say that these people being there, a notice was issued to those that were there. Just tell me how it was.—A. I will read you the call, Mr. Senator, and you may make your own inferences. I dislike to make inferences.

Q. I am not making inferences now; I am seeking for facts. You claim to speak for your people down there, and you can certainly give an account of how this convention was called in April, 1879. It is a very simple question.—A. Well, this is the call. If the committee desire, I will read it. It was issued April 3, 1879, and is as follows:

The undersigned, colored clergymen, teachers, and social directors of the colored people in Louisiana, regarding with grave apprehensions the wrongs and outrages from which so many of our people suffer to-day, and the alarm which has induced them to a general exodus from North Louisiana and the turbulent parishes in the State, earnestly join in the expression for a convention, to take place in New Orleans, Thursday, the 17th instant, at 12 o'clock m., at the Free Mission Baptist Church, Common street.

Rev. D. C. H. Thompson, New Orleans.	Frank Watson, Tensas.
Rev. L. Gardner, " "	Ces. Ray, "
Rev. A. M. Newman " "	Duncan Smith, "
Rev. T. Wilson, Algiers.	Charlie Harris, "
Rev. T. E. Hilsen, Jefferson.	Washington Duncan, "
Rev. W. P. Ward, " "	H. S. Smith, Red River Parish.
Rev. Emperor Williams, New Orleans.	Randall McQuade, Point Coupee.
Rev. William Murrill, " "	Chas. Thompson, Bossier.
Rev. William Dale, " "	E. N. Thomas, "
S. E. Davis, " "	Rev. Henry Maxwell, "
Jeremiah Blackstone, " "	A. S. Smith, "
John Spearing, " "	Vitters Starks, "
Claiborne White " "	Rev. L. Banks, "
Rev. A. R. Blount, Nachitoches.	Thos. Durrell, De Soto.
Jno G. Lewis, " "	Alex. Clairborne, "
Shedk. Brown, " "	James Alexander, "
Ambrose Wallace, " "	James Myrs, "
Gue. Mitchell, " "	Z. H. Carter, "
Valeve Meretz, " "	Ephraim Gillard, "
Mitchell Garst, " "	J. J. Johnson, "
Joe Reed, " "	Dave Harper, Webster.
Levi Christian, " "	Abe Burden, "
Edward Renben, " "	Andy Carroll, "
Samuel Robinson, " "	B. Prents, "
Green Edwards, " "	Jake Terrell, "
H. Raby, " "	Jack Allen, "
Lewis Johnson, " "	Richard Love, Claiborne.
Henry Adams, Caddo.	Geo. Wheaton, "
Allen Walker, " "	J. H. Carter, "
Andrew Patty, " "	E. L. Carter, "
Jesse Williams, " "	John Robinson, "
R. Pickett, " "	Joseph Collins, "
John Seumes, " "	William Cooksie, "
Willis Green, " "	Charles Johnson, Beinville.
Hem Sam, " "	Caleb Johnson, "
Lafayette Shook, " "	Wm. Walker, "
Henry Williams, " "	Wm. Sneed, "
F. Land, " "	Thornton Camp, "
Lemuel Brown, " "	Wm. Steward, "
Henry Glascoe, " "	Sam'l Steward, "
Rev. Geo. Clark, " "	D. C. Johnson, "
Hudson Davis, " "	E. T. Fisher, "
Currie Hamilton, " "	

Q. Let me have that file of the Observer, Mr. Ruby. (Witness handed

the file. The Chairman looking over it.) Now this call is dated on the 3d of April, 1879 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it calls for a convention to meet on the 17th of April ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it appeared in this issue of your paper of April 5th ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That gives twelve days' notice of the convention, does it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who wrote this call, Mr. Ruby ?—A. I think the call was written in our office.

Q. I did not ask you where it was written ; I asked you who wrote it ?—A. I think I wrote it, sir, at their dictation.

Q. You think you wrote it, and at their dictation ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you *think* you wrote it ; now don't you know that you wrote it as well as you know that you have written anything ?—A. Well, a great time has elapsed, and I have written a great deal since that time, but I think I had something to do with it, and I think I wrote it.

Q. Is it a dim sort of vague recollection, that you have as to whether you wrote it or not ?—A. No, sir ; it is not a dim recollection, only this : I know that a large number of them met in my office and agreed to call a convention, and they asked me to write it, I think, for them, and I think I wrote it.

Q. Yes ; and this was less than a year ago ?—A. About a year ago ; yes, sir.

Q. You have not a very bad memory, have you ?—A. No, sir ; I have usually a very retentive memory.

Q. Is there any difficulty, then, in remembering whether you wrote that call or not ?—A. Well, I will say that I wrote it.

Q. I do not want you to say that you wrote it if you do not recollect that you wrote it. Do you recollect writing it ?—A. I remember that they met in my office and I remember that they suggested the call and asked for its insertion in the paper, and my recollection is that I must have written the call.

Q. Now, then, is it only your recollection ?—A. I think it is very likely that I wrote it.

Q. Are you speaking of likelihoods now, or to the best of your recollection ?—A. To the best of my recollection I will say that I must have written that request for a convention.

Q. There is not a great deal of importance attached to the fact whether you wrote it or not ; I only want to see if your memory is so vague on a point of that kind ?—A. A number of gentlemen were there and some of them were quite ready with the pen, and they may have jotted down their ideas and I might have condensed it, or something of that kind.

Q. Mr. Ruby, who were present at that meeting ?—A. I do not now remember. I remember some of the names. I remember that there was Dr. Thompson there from New Orleans—yes, I saw Dr. Thompson's name on the roll of delegates.

Q. Who else ?—A. And I think that Mr. Blount, from Natchitoches was there and Mr. Lewis. Mr. Adams also, I think, perhaps, of Caddo.

Q. Yes ; Dr. Thompson, of New Orleans, and Blount, of Natchitoches, and Lewis, of Natchitoches—you think they were there from Natchitoches ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Henry Adams from Caddo ?—A. Yes, sir ; and some from Bossier and Bienville Parishes whom I do not now remember.

Q. Yes ; were these gentlemen present when this call was written ?—A. When the call was made ?

Q. When the call was written—these gentlemen whose names are signed here?—A. The call was taken out, and the names were signed to it.

Q. Who signed them?—A. I do not know, sir. They were brought to my office in that way and published.

Q. The call was written on the 3d of April and published on the 5th of April; that is two days?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, how far is it from New Orleans to Natchitoches?

The WITNESS (turning to Mr. Burch). How far is it, Mr. Burch?

Mr. BURCH. A few hundred miles.

Q. Well, is it two hundred, or three hundred, or four hundred, or five hundred? You are up in the geography of your State, I suppose. You are a leader down there, and are able to answer my question. I do not mean the exact number of miles.—A. Well, I should judge it is about three hundred or four hundred miles.

Q. This call was written, then, on the 3d of April and published on the 5th. It would have had to go three or four hundred miles to get these signatures, and then to go back again?—A. I have already stated that these people were in town.

Q. No; you have stated that Blount and Lewis, of Natchitoches, were in town; but you have not stated that the others were there.—A. Well, there were a number there from the other parishes.

Q. Were they all there?—A. I presume that they were. I do not know whether Mr. Raby and Mr. Lewis and Mr. Blount were there. I do not know any of those from Natchitoches.

Q. Exactly; you do not know whether they were in town or not. You say that Henry Adams, from Caddo, was there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who else from Caddo was in New Orleans at that time?—A. There was another man down there by the name of Tharp. I do not know whether he was there at that time or not. He is from that parish.

Q. From Caddo Parish?—A. Yes, sir; from Caddo Parish.

Q. I do not see his name here?—A. I think he is from Caddo. There were twelve or fifteen men from Caddo. Tharp's name may have appeared in the next issue of the Observer—of the 12th of April—for the call is repeated in the Observer of the 12th.

Q. With the exception, then, of Adams, you cannot speak of any one from Caddo who was in New Orleans at the time this call was issued and signed?—A. This man Tharp I know was there. I am not, however, acquainted with these people from Caddo.

Q. No; and you did not see any of those who signed it?—A. No, sir; except those who signed it in my office.

Q. How far is Caddo from New Orleans?—A. Well, it is in the extreme northwestern corner of Louisiana, and I should judge from the way we have to go that it is fully seven hundred or eight hundred miles.

Q. You think it is seven hundred or eight hundred miles?—A. I should judge so, by the river route, taking all the points and curves of the river.

Q. How far is Tensas Parish from New Orleans?—A. Tensas?

Q. Yes.—A. I should judge it was three hundred miles; possibly less than that.

Q. I see here the name of H. S. Smith, from Red River Parish; do you know him?—A. No, sir.

Q. How far is that parish from New Orleans?—A. That is in the extreme northwestern part of the State, adjoining Caddo, and I should think it was at least seven hundred or eight hundred miles from New Orleans.

Q. Yes ; and Pointe Coupée Parish ?—A. That is coming nearer New Orleans. It is almost contiguous to New Orleans.

Q. And Bossier ; how far is that ?—A. That is in the northwestern corner of the State, four or five hundred miles from New Orleans, at least.

Q. At least four or five hundred miles, you think ?—A. No ; it is further than that, I think.

Q. I believe it joins Caddo in the northwestern extremity of the State, and must be nearly a thousand miles off ?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Ruby, do you know of any other means or inducements for the call of this convention other than appears in this paper here as you publish it ?—A. No other, sir, excepting that it was concurred in by all the clergymen.

Q. Are you a clergyman ?—A. No, sir ; I regret to say that I am a member of no particular church.

Q. Well, it is easy to become one if you are sorry about it ; that is one thing that can always be cured.—A. If you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, I would like to correct an inference that could possibly be deduced from what I stated to you yesterday, relative to East Carroll Parish : that from the condition of things there labor must be in a prosperous condition elsewhere in Northern Louisiana. I desire emphatically to say, by way of correction of any such inference, that East Carroll Parish was singled out by me because it is the one parish left in North Louisiana that is unbulldozed and unterrorized.

Q. O, you want to retract what you said about the sugar parishes ?—A. No, sir ; no further than to correct a possible inference that might be drawn from what I said. I desire to say this : that East Carroll Parish was singled out by me as being a parish in North Louisiana where the laborers were treated kindly and well, and where they were getting on favorably ; and, therefore, what I stated in regard to the amount paid for the land and for labor, and the amount of the cotton crop paid at the end of the year for land, &c., was taken as a sample of the best parish in that section of the State, and not as a sample of the other parishes of the State.

Q. Are you speaking now, Mr. Ruby, of East Carroll ?—A. Yes, sir ; of East Carroll.

Q. Well, now, Carroll is a county in the northeastern part of Louisiana, is it not ?—A. Yes, sir ; I am speaking accurately.

Q. It is the extreme northeastern county, is it not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it lies next to the Mississippi River ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You speak of East Carroll ; do you mean the east half of Carroll County ?—A. Yes, sir ; the parish is divided into East and West Carroll.

Q. Let us get these counties correctly (consulting the map). Carroll is the extreme northeastern county of Louisiana, and Morehouse lies next to it on the west ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Union County west of that ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Claiborne still further west ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Monroe, is it—no, Webster and Bossier (spelling it) next, and then comes Caddo at the extreme northwestern corner of the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these counties that I have named form the northern tier of counties in Louisiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, if I understood you yesterday, the majority of those leaving the State are from these northern counties ?—A. Yes, sir ; from these

northern counties, and also from the Red River section (indicating) down here as far as Natchitoches.

Q. Well, Carroll is not in the Red River section?—A. No; the Red River section lies lower down.

Q. The Red River section heads up toward the northwestern part of the State?—A. Yes, sir; in the northwestern section.

Q. And Caddo Parish is in that section?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say that some were there from that section; what counties beside Caddo and Bossier were represented?—A. Following down from Caddo to De Soto.

Q. Yes.—A. And then down to Natchitoches Parish.

Q. Yes; and you say that the "exodus," as we call it, has been mainly confined to these six or seven counties in the northern line of the State, and then following the Red River country down through De Soto to Natchitoches Parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that would make eight or nine parishes—counties we call them in the North—that would make nine parishes, you say, in which the people have been mostly affected by this desire to leave the State. Am I correct in that?—A. If you will permit me, Senator, to look at the map I can perhaps explain more satisfactorily. You come down here from Red River [indicating] from Caddo Parish through De Soto to Natchitoches, that embraces some eight or nine parishes; then there is Winn and Grant and Concordia here, which is one of the river parishes—the Mississippi River parishes. All these parishes have been bulldozed as recently as 1878 and 1879.

Q. How many parishes would you embrace in the answer to my question as to what portions of the State this exodus has been from?—A. It would embrace Madison, Tensas, Caddo, and portions of Catahoula; we don't hear very much complaint from the section of Catahoula, because that portion is very sparsely settled; Caldwell, Ouachita, and portions of Winn, Jackson, Bienville, Claiborne—there are not many people in Claiborne either, not so many of them there—and Webster, Bossier particularly, and Caddo; with De Soto and Red River Parish and Natchitoches, with sections of Rapides Parish, together with the Feliciana parishes—East and West Feliciana, portions of Pointe Coupee Parishes; and that takes up the principal parishes of the State from which the exodus has come.

Q. Yes. Well, these regions you speak of are very densely settled with colored people, are they not?—A. The Red River parishes are particularly so, and the Red River country also.

Q. By the river parishes you mean the Mississippi River parishes, do you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Red River country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, two or three thousand people moving from such an extent of territory would be a very slight percentage, comparatively, of the whole population, would it not?—A. It would be a slight percentage, comparatively, but it affects the labor interest keenly, because all these people are workers.

Q. The two or three thousand that you speak of are men, women, and children, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They would seem to be constituted of these laborers with their families?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that would not take more than five or six hundred men at the outside, would it?—A. No, sir, not more than five or six hundred men, I should think.

Q. That would not affect the labor interest keenly, would it?—A.

They commenced coming down from Morehouse and Ouachita Parishes into Madison Parish, on the Mississippi here on the river banks, and commenced flooding that parish and making the exodus very large from that parish. They created more alarm among the planters on that score.

Q. I can easily understand if they all went to one neighborhood how they might affect the labor interest, but I cannot understand how it could be so if they were scattered over so much country.—A. They have not the facilities for getting away from Caddo Parish, in the extreme western end of the State, as they have from the Mississippi River parishes.

Q. Now, you spoke yesterday of disturbances and outrages that had been committed. I think you spoke of one in Ouachita Parish?—A. Yes, sir; it is detailed in this paper.

Q. What year was that in?—A. The date of the Observer is November 16, and an article is taken from the Ouachita Telegraph detailing the account of these outrages.

Q. November 16 of what year?—A. November 16 of 1878.

Q. Of 1878?—A. Yes, and taken from the New Orleans Observer of that date.

Q. You are speaking now of Ouachita Parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke of one also in Carroll County; what date was that?—A. In Caddo Parish?

Q. No; in Carroll Parish, at Providence, I think you locate it.—A. It was Caddo Parish; I do not remember anything on my notes, in Carroll Parish.

Q. Then call it Caddo.

Mr. BLAIR. I think there was some misapprehension about that when the witness was examined before.

The WITNESS. It is Caddo Parish that I was referring to, not Carroll.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it makes little difference whether it was in one corner of the State or the other.

The WITNESS. The Caddo Parish matter is detailed in the Observer of November 23, 1878.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. I am not asking for any details now; I want to know when it took place. To save time, Mr. Ruby, I want to get at this point; you say it is detailed in that paper. It is often the case with newspapers, even as enterprising as those in Louisiana, that matters occur some time before the account of them is published. I do not care to know so much when it was published as when the transaction took place.—A. I have not charged my memory with it. It appeared in the paper of November 23, 1878.

Q. Well, don't the article tell when the difficulty took place?—A. Yes, sir; I assume it does; that is the reason why I wanted to look.

Q. Then you spoke of the Madison Parish difficulty; when did that take place?—A. The Madison Parish outrage took place at the last election, in 1879.

Q. In 1879?—A. In 1879.

Q. Well, in Texas; you spoke of some trouble in Texas; when was that?—A. That took place in 1878; it is detailed in the Observer of October 19 and October 26, 1878.

Q. And Concordia?—A. The Concordia matter took place at the same time; it was some of that same power or influence that went from that parish.

Q. Pointe Coupee Parish?—A. The outrages in that parish took place in 1878.

Q. These are all the matters you spoke of, Mr. Ruby, and they appear to be, as far as detailed in your paper, the offspring of the excitement of the 1878 election.—A. 1878 and 1879.

Q. Yes, you spoke of one in 1879; you spoke of but one.—A. But there are several in 1879.

Q. You only spoke of one, I believe?—A. I have not been examined in regard to others.

Q. I supposed that you were examined by Mr. Winlow as to all you knew; you were told to do that.—A. I had proposed calling the attention of the committee to others.

Q. What election did you have in 1878?—A. We had an election for Congressmen in the several election districts in the State.

Q. How many election districts have you in Louisiana?—A. We have six election districts in the State.

Q. What election had you last fall, the fall of 1879?—A. We had an election for governor and State officers.

Q. Who was elected governor last fall?—A. Gov. Louis A. Wiltz was declared elected.

Q. Who was declared elected in 1876?—A. Governor Nicholls was finally recognized by the official authority.

Q. Yes. Who represents the northern tier of counties here in Congress?—A. General J. Floyd King does, sir.

Q. Well, that is clear across the State.—A. But it is in the north district.

Q. Who divides the northern part of the State with General King—Judge Elam?—A. Yes, sir; Judge Elam.

Q. Now you have detailed six points of which you have heard as a newspaper man, as a journalist, that difficulties took place in 1878 and 1879, and you think that that accounts for the exodus and the discontent that prevails all over the South, do you?—A. I think, as stated in the report of the committee before that convention in April, 1879, that the series of outrages perpetrated from 1874, and continuing year by year, and growing worse from year to year, increased in these people the feeling that they must leave the localities where they were suffering.

Q. Do you think it is growing worse now?—A. I assume it is not growing better.

Q. I do not want you to assume.—A. Well, I think it is not growing any better.

Q. And you say that there is no other solution for it except for them to leave these localities that you have indicated?—A. That is the general feeling.

Q. You have no trouble in New Orleans, have you?—A. No, sir; we have no special trouble there.

Q. And you are advising them all to leave the localities in the northern and middle part of the State—in all the Red River country?—A. I am, sir; publicly, as a journalist.

Q. Yes, as a journalist you are advising them to leave?—A. Yes, sir; advising them to leave.

Q. I believe I asked you yesterday where you were advising them to go?—A. I have advised them to go to no particular locality, but to go anywhere that they can get a living, and have a measure of their rights as freemen.

Q. Very well. They vote in Louisiana, don't they?—A. The best an-

swer to that is contained in a letter that I received and have on file in my paper here.

Q. No, sir; the best answer would be your own answer.—A. Well, the best answer I can give is that when they vote the Democratic ticket it is all right, but when they vote the Republican ticket it is all wrong.

Q. Do you pretend to say that the colored people are not allowed to vote the Republican ticket in Louisiana?—A. I pretend to say that in the parishes indicated they are not allowed to vote the Republican ticket.

Q. Not allowed to vote at all?—A. In instances and localities they are, but as a general thing they are not allowed.

Q. What do you mean when you say they are not allowed to vote, and then, that they are allowed to vote in "instances and localities"?—A. I mean to say that it is possible for them to vote here and there, but, as a general thing, not.

Q. What proportion, Mr. Ruby, of colored people at these points that you have indicated, embracing more than one-half of the State—about one-half of the State, as it would seem here from the map—what proportion of the population in that densely settled part of the State are allowed to vote the Republican ticket when they want to?—A. I judge only in such proportions as when the sentiment of the planters—the conservative sentiment that I spoke about yesterday—is strong enough to see that fair play is given them.

Q. The colored people are in a large majority all through that region that you have indicated, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; they are in a majority in those parishes.

Q. But you say they can only vote as the few white people in the minority there allow them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Although, as you said yesterday, they had arms, but gave them up when these few white people demanded them?—A. I said yesterday that they had fowling-pieces.

Q. You said "shot-guns" yesterday?—A. I think I said "shot-guns for hunting"—fowling pieces; pieces for the purpose of shooting birds and small game.

Q. You did not make that distinction yesterday?—A. Well, I desire to make it now, sir.

Q. I see you do, and you shall have the chance. Were you in the State in 1876?—A. Yes, sir; I was in Louisiana in that year.

Q. And you think they were not allowed to vote then except as they voted the Democratic ticket?—A. I think the reign of terrorism was intense during that year.

Q. Well, answer my question; you think they were not allowed to vote here in these twenty or thirty parishes that you have indicated on the map to me this morning?—A. I think they voted whether or not; they regarded it as a supreme struggle for existence, and they voted.

Q. You think they voted that time, but not the next time?—A. Yes; for the reign of terrorism was very intense that year and the negroes voted notwithstanding they did not vote the next time. Wherever they could get to the polls they voted, but they were turned back from the polls in many instances in 1876.

Q. How were they turned back from the polls?—A. By armed bands of men, in 1876.

Q. Yes, and what proportion of them voted in 1876?—A. I think only seven-eighths of them voted that year.

Q. Although the reign of terrorism was intense at that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you think they could not do it the next time, and they have not done it since?—A. Then they determined at all hazards to vote, so they went into the field, rolled up their sleeves, and voted.

Q. Well, why did they not do it again?—A. After that the government went back on them.

Q. You mean Mr. Hayes when you say the government?—No, sir.

Q. You do not mean the President?—A. I did not refer to any individual; I referred to the government.

Q. Well, tell us just what you mean?—A. The government is the power of the United States as expressed through the chief magistrate of the nation.

Q. Well, you think that went back on your people; who made it go back, as you call it, on them?—A. The logic of events.

Q. You mean the President as a part of the "logic of events"?—A. I think the President yielded to a sentiment in common at that time in the country.

Q. In point of fact, you mean to say that the President ordered the troops away from Louisiana, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the government went back on them you mean to say that the President, Mr. Hayes, who purports to have carried Louisiana at the ballot-box, took the military away from the State, and left the people to control themselves; is that what you mean by the government going back on your people?—A. I do not assume that the mere fact of his taking the military away made any difference in the feelings of the Republicans there, but the fact that Mr. Hayes felt constrained, yielding to the sentiment common at that time in the North to withdraw any of his countenance from the Republican government there, made them feel that they were completely at the mercy of their enemies.

Q. Yes.—A. He withdrew his countenance from the Republican government in Louisiana.

Q. Well, Mr. Hayes was the Republican candidate for President in 1876, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you voted for him?—A. Yes, sir; I voted for him.

Q. And you thought he ought to have encouraged the Republican government in Louisiana?—A. Yes, for I believe he honestly carried Louisiana.

Q. Yes, Mr. Ruby, and you think it is his course that has discouraged the Republicans in Louisiana so that they will not go into the field now and "roll up their sleeves" as they did in 1876?—A. I said that they did not go in 1878.

Q. So that Mr. Hayes's course in withdrawing his countenance from the Republican government in Louisiana has discouraged them, you think?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you aware, Mr. Ruby, of the fact that under the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution it is in the power of Congress, by such legislation as it may see fit to enact, to protect everybody in this country in the enjoyment of their political rights?—A. I have heard that matter mooted, sir. I am not sufficiently aware of it, perhaps.

Q. Did you ever read the Constitution of the United States?—A. I have read it; yes, sir.

Q. Have you read the fourteenth amendment to it?—A. I have, sir.

Q. Did you ever hear it doubted that Congress under that article of the Constitution had the power by sufficient legislation to protect everybody in the right to vote and in the right to personal liberty?—A. I have heard it doubted by leading Democratic journals and leading Democratic lawyers.

Q. Will you state to me any leading Democratic lawyer that ever doubted that?—A. I think at one time, in the course of my reading, that even in the North Jere. Black doubted the power of Congress to do so, and I have seen that power questioned by some of the leading Democratic papers in my State.

Q. Well, I will look over that matter about Jere. Black.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You stated in reply to Mr. Voorhees that you had no apprehension in going back to New Orleans after testifying here; should you have any apprehensions in going into these bulldozed townships and dwelling there after giving your testimony here?—A. I do not think that under the circumstances, my publishing a Republican paper in New Orleans and my testimony as given here before this committee, it would be at all safe for me to go into those bulldozed parishes, that is, if I cared for my life.

Q. New Orleans has a large number of Republicans, and it is regarded as the safest place in the State for these refugees, is it?—A. Unquestionably it is.

Q. Mr. Voorhees asked you whether this testimony was not hearsay, and you have answered that it was largely hearsay; are the facts as you have stated them such as are believed by the colored people in your country, as you understand it?—A. Yes, sir; and believed not only by the colored people, but by the whites.

Q. Therefore, whether it is hearsay, or otherwise, if the facts are such as they believe them to be, it would have the effect to produce this discontent in the minds of the colored people, would it?—A. Yes.

Q. And they are believed, not only by the colored people, but by the whites. And it is sufficient to account for the colored people leaving the State in desperation, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VOORHEES :

Q. Have you the returns of the last election in your State with you, the vote that was cast?—A. I think I have.

Q. Will you let me see it?—A. [Producing the file of the New Orleans Observer, containing the published returns of the vote by parishes.]

Mr. VOORHEES. I am not very familiar with the population or the locality of Louisiana; I am more familiar with that of North Carolina; consequently it will take less time after we get through with this witness.

Q. Mr. Ruby, I have your paper, the New Orleans Observer, in my hands, the issue of May 3, 1879, and I find a long address, the address of the colored citizens of Louisiana, given before the Louisiana Citizens' Convention, published in it, and signed by John G. Lewis, chairman, C. F. Ladd, Henry Adams, Rev. W. P. Forrest, Rev. Marcus Dale, Rev. A. M. Newman, and George Nelson, the committee on address. Do you remember that issue of your paper and the publication of this address?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

[This address being ordered to go upon record is inserted in place here.]

ADDRESS OF THE LOUISIANA COLORED CITIZENS' CONVENTION.

To the honorable President and members of the Convention :

GENTLEMEN: We, your committee on address, respectfully beg leave to submit this our report:

Viewing as we do the condition of our people, and the manner of treatment received

by us at the hands of our white fellow-citizens, we deemed it our indispensable duty to convene a number of them in convention for the purpose of discussing and taking whatever action may be necessary to insure to us the rights awarded by the Constitution of the General Government of the United States.

We have viewed with alarm the attitude of our white fellow-citizens towards us, for no other cause than the putting into execution that which nature instills in us—*thought*.

It is pregnant that we do not enjoy those certain inalienable rights which the Constitution of the general government has given us, viz: Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We have, as American citizens, been citizens in deed, and in word, and have performed the part or role assigned to us with loyalty, and we now ask the government, through the sovereign people, to see to it that we have given to us what the Constitution awards.

“With charity to all and malice towards none” of our fellow-citizens, we appeal to the law-abiding and honest people of the entire country, of whatever political party or creed, to join with us in deprecating the outrages and wrongs perpetrated upon colored people in various sections of our State, because of our relations as freemen and citizens; and we ask that all acts of violence towards us, from whatever source, shall be condemned by the public sentiment of the country, in such unequivocal terms as that law and order shall be enforced, and our rights secured to us as American citizens.

We have been liberated only to become worse enslaved. Law and equity in the South are not for the black man; hence, this attempt to better our condition by migration is the only solace left us. We have counted the cost of this movement; we know that it is improvident for some of us; but why hesitate between two evils? We will accept the lesser of the two and trust God for deliverance from further evil. If we remain here we will have to undergo the same merciless treatment endured by us on the eve of every election, as well as being defrauded out of all we earn by the sweat of our brows.

Liberty to the negro in the South is a mockery. Liberty is the combination of principles and laws, which acknowledge, protect, and favor the dignity of man. This principle is not enjoyed by the negro South, and its constituent parts are basely ignored and trodden under foot (as far as the colored citizen is concerned), and that, too, by a class of people styling themselves inheritants of this glorious commonwealth. Civil liberty, we are taught, is the result of man's two-fold character, as an individual and social being, so soon as both are equally respected. Natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race. “Civil liberty,” says Alexander Hamilton, “is founded on natural liberty, and, in fact, is only natural liberty modified and secured by civil society.” We in the South are not allowed to enjoy either; or if we enjoy the one, we are not allowed to put the other into execution.

Theoretically speaking we are freemen, but practically we are not, as will be hereafter set forth.

We have in the State of Louisiana, according to the census of 1875, 450,611 colored people, and 404,916 white people, as well as 1,512 Indians and Chinese. Total population, 857,039. Deduct 450,611 colored population, and there remain 406,423 whites, Indians, and Chinese. Deduct 1,512 Indians and Chinese, and there remain 404,916 white population, giving net majority of colored over white population of 45,695, and net majority of colored population over whites, Indians, and Chinese, 44,183.

We will now see how stands the population of the several parishes, where men, for liberty's sake, have been driven from their homes, while others, less fortunate, have fallen victims to the shrine of liberty at the hands of a ruthless Democracy.

PARISH OF CADDO.

According to the census of 1875:

17,094 colored population.
6,302 white “
3 Indians and Chinese.

Total.....23,399

Colored majority over the whites.....10,792
Colored majority over the whites, Indians, and Chinese.....10,789

PARISH OF CONCORDIA.

According to the census of 1875:

10,794 colored population.
673 white "

Total.....11,467

Colored majority over the whites.....10,121

PARISH OF NATCHITOCHES.

According to the census of 1875:

15,404 colored population.
5,907 white "
47 Indians and Chinese.

Total.....21,358

Colored majority over whites..... 9,497

Colored majority over whites, Indians, and Chinese..... 9,450

PARISH OF POINT COUPEE.

According to the census of 1875:

10,188 colored population.
3,971 white "

Total.....14,159

Colored majority over whites..... 6,217

ST. MARY'S PARISH.

According to the census of 1875:

11,975 colored population.
5,270 white "
33 Indians and Chinese.

Colored majority over whites..... 6,705

Colored majority over whites, Indians, and Chinese..... 6,672

PARISH OF TENSAS.

According to census of 1875:

17,100 colored population.
1,417 white "
3 Indians and Chinese.

Total.....18,520

Colored majority over whites.....15,683

Colored majority over whites, Indians, and Chinese.....15,620

And in the parishes where lawlessness has been and is now being perpetrated under the color of law, and under the protection of the same as administered, the following figures will set forth how far law and order go in the State of Louisiana, when an expression of opinion is to be given, to wit:

In East Baton Rouge the will of	13, 674	people was overruled by	6, 353
In West Baton Rouge	3, 996	"	1, 746
In Bossier Parish	10, 775	"	2, 623
In Claiborne	7, 806	"	6, 892
In De Soto	8, 642	"	4, 648
In East Feliciana	10, 946	"	4, 077
In West Feliciana	10, 058	"	2, 098
In Franklin	3, 444	"	2, 379
In Morehouse	8, 775	"	3, 504
In Ouachita	9, 354	"	4, 042
In Rapides	11, 339	"	7, 214
In Red River	4, 990	"	2, 025
In Richland	4, 084	"	3, 392
In Webster	5, 282	"	4, 240
14 parishes.	Colored, 113, 165	White, 56, 233	

The parishes of Caddo, Concordia, Natchitoches, Pointe Coupee, St. Mary, and Tensas are not enumerated in the above fourteen parishes.

From the above figures we find a total population in the fourteen parishes of 169,398, Indians and Chinese excepted, of which 113,165 are colored, and the difference of 56,233 are white, showing a colored majority of 56,932 over the whites, or a ratio of two to one in favor of the colored population. From the foregoing we find that we have in only fourteen parishes 113,165 colored people, whose liberty is not enjoyed, and whose lives are endangered, for the crime of being made freemen. And as to the pursuit of happiness, we are strangers to that boon; we know it not, although it is said to be guaranteed to us by the general as well as our local governments. Here, in plain words, is the will of over one hundred thousand people set at naught by less than half their number, who are banded together for the purpose of controlling our every thought, word, and action, or persecuting and outraging us if we dare to resist their banded lawlessness. And more than this, we appeal to law through the courts, and are only derided and scoffed at for so doing, and are boldly threatened that should we ever return to our homes and friends we will be dealt with summarily, and not be enabled to arraign them before another tribunal of justice (such justice as it is).

We would respectfully call the attention of this convention and the American people to a few instances of the wrongs we have endured, and the indignities that colored American citizens south are subjected to, to wit: On the 21st of last September, 1878, an organization of white men, known as the 298 of the parish of Natchitoches, drove the leaders of the colored people from the parish, after hunting them down like dogs, for no other reason than being influential and popular with their people; drove them from their homes, their families, and property, and all that is dear to the heart of the freeman, because they thought and dared to put that thought into execution. They did not stop at that, but herded the colored people together and made them vote contrary to their wishes, under the threat and peril of being exiled from their homes, if not murdered on the spot, should they refuse to obey them. Badges were pinned on the lapel of their coats, after voting, as a source of protection from the ruthless mobocrats patrolling the streets and public highways of the parish. One of these badges marked *voted the Democratic ticket* is far more potent than the arm of the law.

The parish of Caddo followed in the same wake of Natchitoches, if not of a worse character. Concordia, St. Mary, and Pointe Coupée, did not escape the contagion. And Tensas put on the climax by assassination, murder, and rapine. And this is enjoying life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (said to be self-evident truths). These may be truths, but they are not self-evident with us.

Is it our purpose to show to the people of this country the reason of our unsettled condition to-day, and why we are ready and willing to undertake any task, and welcome as best we can what an all-wise Providence has in store for us. When our government changed hands, the successful governor and legislature guaranteed to us equity, justice, and protection, under the law, in the following pledges:

Pledges of Governor Nicholls.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
STATE OF LOUISIANA,
New Orleans, April 18, 1877.

HONS. CHAS. B. LAWRENCE, WAYNE McVEAGH, JOHN M. HARLAN, JOS. R. HAWLEY,
JOHN C. BROWN.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the joint resolution adopted by the general assembly of the State of Louisiana. In so doing, I desire to say that they express not merely abstract ideas, but the convictions of our people,

which will be practically executed by them through their representatives, their courts, and their executive government. As the chief magistrate of the State, it will be not only my pleasure, but my bounden duty, to give every assistance in my power leading to that end. I am thoroughly satisfied that any course of political action, traced on a narrower line than the good of the whole people, regardless of color or condition, must inevitably lead to ruin and disaster. My views on this subject were fully stated to the convention by which I was nominated, and to the people by whom I was elected; and every day's experience fortifies me in the belief that my policy, founded on these principles, must necessarily result in the attainment of ends for which all just governments are established. I have earnestly sought to obliterate the color line in politics, and to consolidate the people on the basis of equal rights and common interest, and it is a source of gratification to be able to say that this great object is about to be realized. I feel that I do but speak the sentiments of the people when I declare that their government will secure —

1st. A vigorous and efficient enforcement of the laws, so that all persons and property will be fully and equally protected; and, should occasion require it, I will proceed in person where any disorders may menace the public peace or the political rights of any citizen.

2d. The establishment of a system of public education, to be supported by equal and uniform taxation upon property, so that all, without regard to race or color, may receive equal advantages thereunder.

3d. The fostering of immigration, in order to hasten the development of the great natural resources of the State.

Having thus committed our government and people to these great principles, I desire to add the most emphatic assurances that the withdrawal of the United States troops to their barracks, instead of causing any disturbance of the peace, or any tendency to riot or disorder, will be the source of profound gratification to our people, and will be accepted by them as the proof of the confidence of the President in their capacity for orderly self-government. Enjoying under the blessings of Divine Providence the happiness resulting from a government based upon liberty and justice, the people of Louisiana cannot fail to appreciate that their good fortune is largely due to the magnanimous policy so wisely inaugurated and so consistently maintained by the President of the United States.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

F. T. NICHOLLS.

Pledges of the Louisiana legislature.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Louisiana in general assembly convened, That we cordially indorse the policy of the President, as enunciated in his inaugural, and we pledge our hearty co-operation, aid, and support in the execution thereof.

SEC. 2. That the execution of the said policy in Louisiana will prove a source of inestimable blessings to our people, lift up their burdened spirits, heal their wounded prosperity, renew their wasted fields, bring happiness to their homes, and give to the whole people, without distinction of race or color, a future of progress, as well moral as material.

SEC. 3. That as an earnest of our endeavors we solemnly declare that it is and will be the purpose of the government of Louisiana, represented by Francis T. Nicholls as the executive head:

1st. To accept in good faith the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States in letter and spirit.

2d. The enforcement of the laws rigidly and impartially, to the end that violence and crime shall be suppressed and promptly punished, and that peace and order prevail, and that the humblest laborer upon the soil of Louisiana, throughout every parish in the State, of either color, shall receive full and equal protection of the laws, in person, property, and political rights and privileges.

3d. The promotion of the kindly relations between the white and colored citizens of the State upon the basis of justice and mutual confidence.

4th. The education of all classes of the people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property, as provided by the constitution of the State, which shall secure the education of the white and colored citizens with equal advantages.

5th. Desirous of healing the dissensions that have disturbed the States for past years, and anxious that the citizens of all political parties may be free from the feverish anxieties of political strife, and join hands in honestly restoring the prosperity of Louisiana, the Nicholls government will discountenance any attempt at persecution from any quarter of individuals for past political conduct.

SEC. 4. That the governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States.

LOUIS BUSH,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
LOUIS A. WILTZ,
Lieutenant Governor, and President of the Senate.

Approved April 20, 1877.

FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

The treatment we have since received shows how these pledges have been kept. Our rights, and even our lives have been sacrificed to those pledges—and still they are not redeemed, nor has there been an attempt to put them into execution. These acts of lawlessness are not perpetrated in a corner, but are perceptible to the most obturate of mankind.

And it is now time to show to the people of the South that if we have rights that they are bound to respect, and will not respect them, we will flee from the South to a more congenial clime, where we can enjoy the liberty we have tasted, and be with a people who will respect our rights and who

*Deem our nation brutes no longer
Till some reason they shall find,
Worthier, of regard and stronger
Than the color of our kind.*

*Slaves of gold, whose sordid dealings
Tarnish all your boasted powers,
Prove that you have human feelings
Ere you proudly question ours.*

And now, having set forth our wrongs in this condensed form, we appeal to a liberty-loving people North, East, and West, irrespective of color, to tender us your sympathy and prayers that we may be enabled to escape from the oppression heaped upon us by those who should be our friends.

For representing, as we do, the materiality of the South, by our exertions in labor and loyalty, we have only asked to be let alone to enjoy the rich blessings of Providence and the guarantees of the government. This is refused us. We have aroused our dormant powers, and awakened to a sense of our duty. We believe the negro's labor to be as material North, East, and West, as in the South. We can till the soil and follow our vocations as well in any other section of the American Continent as in the South. We can stand the climate North, East, or West as well now as when fleeing from the cruel yoke of bondage. We believe life, liberty, and happiness to be sweeter in a cold climate than murder, rapine, and oppression in the South; hence another cause of this exodus. And why should we hesitate.

*Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.*

And, in conclusion, we hereby express our heartfelt gratitude to our colored brethren and friends at Saint Louis for their kindness to those who have gone before us to the broad fields of the West in search of liberty and homes; also to the entire people who have vouchsafed their aid in our behalf in the North, East, and Western States, and we sincerely pray that they, with the help of God, go on in the good work, for bread cast upon the waters will surely return to you again.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

JNO. G. LEWIS,
Chairman.

C. F. Ladd, Henry Adams, Rev. W. P. Forrest, Rev. Marcus Dale, Rev. A. M. Newman, George Nelson, committee on address.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Now, in this address, Mr. Ruby, I find the following statement:

"We have in the State of Louisiana, according to the census of 1875, 450,611 colored people, and 404,916 white people, as well as 1,512 In-

dians and Chinese; total population, 857,039. Deducting the 450,611 colored population, there remain 406,428 whites, Indians, and Chinese. Deducting the 1,512 Indians and Chinese, there remain 404,916 white population—giving a net majority of colored over white population in Louisiana of 45,695, and a net majority of colored population over the whites, Indians, and Chinese of 44,183." Then, speaking of the various parishes that have been mentioned this morning, I find, Mr. Ruby, in this comparative statement of the parishes, the following figures: Parish of Caddo, according to the census of 1875, 17,094 colored population, and 6,302 white population, with 3 Indians and Chinese, making a total of 23,399; giving a colored majority over the whites in Caddo parish, according to the census of 1875, of 10,793. In Concordia the majority of colored population over the whites is 10,121, and a white population of only 673.

Mr. WINDOM. And yet the parish, with such a colored majority, all went Democratic!

Mr. VOORHEES. And these 673 whites drove out these ten thousand negroes—ten thousand negroes, with shot-guns in their hands!

In Natchitoches I see the colored majority over the white population is put down, according to the census, at 9,497, out of a total population of 21,358; in Pointe Coupée, a majority of 6,217; in St. Mary's, 6,705; in Tensas, 15,683. Now, Mr. Ruby, are these the same parishes that you spoke of as having been bull-dozed by the whites?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the colored people in them were forced to emigrate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will read a little farther, Mr. Ruby, to see whether this is correct: "From the above figures we find a total population in the fourteen parishes"—some others having been named which I did not read—"is 169,308, Indians and Chinese excepted, of which 113,165 are colored, and the difference of 56,233 are white, showing a colored majority of 56,932 over the whites, or a ratio of two to one in favor of the colored population." Now, Mr. Ruby, is it your opinion that the race to which you belong can be run out of their own country and their own homes by a people representing only one-half as many as they do?—A. It is my opinion, sir, that a race of people who are agricultural laborers, and attend simply to their duties as such, who work from early in the morning until late in the day and night, and go home to rest quietly after their labor, and are not armed—if their cabins are invaded by armed bands of men to the number of one hundred and fifty to three hundred, the same riding from cabin to cabin in the several parishes, where they are bull-dozed, can be speedily subjugated by the means thus employed.

Q. You say that the negroes are not armed?—A. Yes, sir; they are not armed.

Q. You told us yesterday that they were armed?—A. I said they might have fowling-pieces, to shoot squirrels and birds with.

Q. Cannot they get arms? Is there any law prohibiting their buying arms?—A. No, sir; they can get arms if they want to.

Q. There is no law in Louisiana, then, to keep the colored people from buying arms?—A. No, sir; there is no act on the subject.

Q. No?—A. None that I know of.

Q. And it is in these parishes where the tremendous majorities of colored people exist, as I understand you, that the worst complaints are made on their part?—A. If you will permit me right there, Mr. Chairman—

Q. Yes, sir.—A. There is a paper published in North Louisiana, in

the town of Lake Providence, and known as the Carroll Conservative, a Democratic paper, and it instances the fact that Carroll parish is the only one now left unbulldozed, and where the colored people are at ease and contentment; and it details the outrage committed in Madison parish at the last election. It is very short, and if you will permit me I will give the salient points.

Q. Before you read it, let me ask you one question: You do not yourself believe that Carroll parish is the only one in the State in which the colored population is at ease and contentment, do you?—A. Yes, sir; I do—that East Carroll is the only parish left in North Louisiana that is unbulldozed and unterrorized.

Q. You mean to say that the parish of Carroll is not bulldozed, and you believe that now?—A. Yes, sir; I admit that.

Q. Well, I am glad to see that you get one parish out of the trouble. The WITNESS. We published the statement from the Carroll Conservative in the New Orleans Observer of the 13th of December, 1879. The Conservative is the leading Democratic journal in Carroll parish in North Louisiana, and in the Observer we stated that the Conservative, in its issue of Saturday, December '6, 1879, published an article under the caption of "TERRIBLE KILLING IN MADISON PARISH." That extract stated that David Armstrong, a colored man, living with his family on the Morancy place, near Milliken's Bend, in Madison Parish, was taken out—

Q. That is one of the parishes on the Mississippi River, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; one of the Mississippi River parishes. This man Armstrong was taken out of his house, according to the account in the Carroll Conservative which I am quoting, and at midnight, or to use the exact words of the statement, "between 11 and 12 o'clock on Sunday night last."

Q. What is the date of the paper containing the account?—A. December 6, 1879.

Q. And you say the Conservative is a Democratic paper?—A. Yes, sir; the leading Democratic organ in Carroll Parish. It says: "Armstrong was taken out of his house at 11 or 12 o'clock on this Sunday night by a band of between twenty-five and thirty men." Over twenty shots were fired and heard by persons living on the place. Pools of blood and a sheet covered with gore were found near the bank of the river the next morning, but no trace of Armstrong, who is reported to us," says the Conservative, "as being an industrious, paying tenant on the Morancy place, making good crops every year, was found. Since writing the above," the paper continues. "a report has been brought to town that the body of Armstrong was fished out of the river three days ago and interred."

From the same paper and of the same date the Observer quotes this paragraph:

The political upheaval that began in Concordia and Tensas Parishes last year is rending slowly, but surely northward. Madison, with its huge Republican majorities, is reported to have given twenty-two thousand Democratic majority on Tuesday last !!!

Q. Twenty-two thousand Democratic majority, do I understand you?—A. I beg pardon, twenty-two hundred Democratic majority, I should have said—and the end of that sentence is marked by three exclamation points. The extract goes on to say:

How long before East Carroll will feel the overwhelming tidal wave of this resistless Democracy is difficult to determine. We are ignorant of the immediate causes that led to the political revolution in Madison Parish, but sudden conversions are

seldom durable, and things of rapid growth are of equally rapid decay. We shall wait and see, bearing in mind the truism that they who "sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind."

And the same Democratic paper admits its astonishment and the phenomenal character of his sudden conversion in the following language, which we extracted and published in the *Observer* of December 13th :

The sudden conversion of the negroes in Madison Parish to the Democratic faith on Tuesday last was decidedly phenomenal in its character, and now the question is, "What agencies produced this miraculous change?"

This is all taken from the *Carroll Conservative*, a Democratic organ.

Q. And published where?—A. At Lake Providence, in East Carroll Parish.

Q. What is the name of the editor?—A. His name is D. C. Morgan.

Q. And what is the date of the paper?—A. It is the issue of December 6, 1879.

The WITNESS. I was told that I might go on and give any additional testimony in reference to the condition of our people. I have something here that I desire to submit to the committee as a part of my testimony. It is very short, and is taken from a pamphlet or a monthly published by J. W. Sproull and D. B. Willson, who are the editors and proprietors, at Allegheny, Pennsylvania.

Q. What is the name of the pamphlet?—A. It is the "Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter"—a monthly paper, or magazine, devoted to the interests, as I believe, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of America. It is printed at Pittsburgh, and published there, I believe, though the editor's and proprietor's address is at Allegheny, the city adjoining.

Q. What is the date of the pamphlet?—A. It is the issue of November, 1879.

The statement I wish to give is taken from an article in that magazine written by a correspondent, a clergyman, a colored gentleman, an educated colored gentleman, at Selma, Alabama. Some six or eight weeks ago, while I was over in Alabama in the interests of my own paper, I met this gentleman and made his acquaintance, and he placed in my hands this copy of this book or monthly—I believe it is a monthly. He told me that he had written this article in reference to the freedmen. Its caption is "A plea for the freedmen," and the text he quotes as the foundation of his article is "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." It contains some facts pertinent to your inquiry and I desire to have them incorporated in the testimony. It is actual experience. He says :

"That one-half of mankind does not know how the other half lives is a common proverb. While human nature is seeking its own ease, it is at times inclined to be insensible to the sufferings of thousands of others. Could there be chords of sympathy binding all humanity into one common person, as all the nerves of the body connect with the brain, we should have some idea of what our world is composed. But the wide fields and broad plantations, the high hills and frowning mountains, which separate us from our brethren by nature, cause us to be forgetful of them, and to be unmindful of their condition. The love of ease and the dread of suffering also cause us to forget those that are suffering, or whose circumstances are different from our own."

The writer then goes on to set forth the true condition of the freedmen of the South and their claims upon the general sympathy and support. "Having been emancipated," he says, "from one system of bondage, they are held in another that will in the end prove as destructive as the former. This bondage manifests itself in various ways." He then specifies, first, that "they are held in the bonds of ignorance,

What else," he asks "could we expect, when we remember the condition in which they were formerly held? It was a school that trained them in everything that is evil and nothing that is good. To teach slaves was a violation of the laws of the Southern States, subjecting the transgressor to heavy fine and imprisonment. Men blind to every sense of humanity and respectability, guided by a hardened conscience and base passions, used every diabolical means to shut out that light which is one of man's greatest safeguards. Now thousands suffer and bewail the baleful consequences. To suppose that men may be kept in the paths of rectitude and virtue without education is an idle dream. It is difficult to do this with all the advantages of the best culture and the most happy surroundings. How much more when there is no restraint whatever. * * * * * Although in this deplorable state there are few to pity them. As much is expected of them as if they had been trained under the most refining influences and had had access to the best literary advantages. All are ready to blame, but few are willing to consider their surroundings and commiserate their unhappy lot. Blinded by prejudice, incensed at the change of fortune, harboring a spirit of revenge, their former and present oppressors do nothing to instruct them. They drive them to crime and vice by robbing the laborer of his hire. Then the first thing is to blame, then condemn, and finally punish. Where is the justice in driving a man to crime and punishing him for its commission? To teach men that dishonesty and immorality are wrong, and then to give them a fair chance by surrounding them with favorable influences is the only way to elevate a race. 'Strip a man of all that constitutes manhood—of all self-reliance and self-respect, of all the rights which nature has conferred upon him, and of all the faculties with which the Creator has endowed him; take away from him all control and disposal of himself—all ownership of himself, and all that can stimulate to activity and incite to noble attainments, and excellence is gone at once.'—*Haven's Moral Philosophy*. Education is stimulating to the whole man. * * * Its whole tendency is to exalt and ennoble. * * * But on the other hand, ignorance is debasing in all its tendencies."

The writer then goes on to give statistics of the condition of education of the colored people and of the number of colored children in the schools of the South. He says:

"There are many parts of the South in which no schools have ever been opened for the colored people. Thousands of children are growing up in stark ignorance—attending no schools and getting no home instruction. It is estimated that there are in the South 1,515,500 colored children within the school age. Of this number only 134,066 are in school. We will particularize for the benefit of those who have never looked into this subject, and know little of what is being done in the South toward the education of the freedmen.

We begin with our own State (Alabama). In Alabama those of the proper school age are estimated at 160,000; of these 10,000 are in school, the remaining 150,000 out of school. In North Carolina there are 125,000; 12,000 in school and 113,000 out. South Carolina, 145,125; of which number 56,249 attend school, 88,776 do not. Georgia, 250,000; 12,500 in school, 237,500 out. Mississippi, 150,000; only 6,000 are in school, 144,000 are out of school. In Tennessee there are 123,000; in school 7,000, out of school 121,000. Louisiana, 100,000; 25,000 are in school, out of school 75,000. In Kentucky and Texas there are no public schools for the colored people. In the former State there are 130,000, in the latter 75,000. Their only opportunity for education is in the mission and select schools. We have not been able to ascertain the number of school children in Virginia and what is being done among them; but having traveled through almost the entire State we can say that the work of education is very limited. We visited many neighborhoods in which there were no schools. As for Maryland, ask the Church of Rome what is being done there."

He then takes up the subject of the oppression of these people, and

asserts that they are in the bonds of a sore oppression, and because of this he says:

"No wonder thousands are fleeing the country looking for some place where they may receive fair wages for honest labor. This they do not get in the South. It is a fact their enemies are obliged to admit. They are charged such exorbitant prices for everything that at the end of the year they are in debt to their employers, since they are compelled to remain another year and struggle to pay a debt which only grows larger. They are thus virtually kept in a system of slavery. So it is the boast of the planters that they are getting on better now than in the days of slavery, for then they were obliged to provide house, clothing, pay doctor's bills, &c., but now they get all the black man's labor and are at no expense. This is indeed a deplorable situation. It is, therefore, nothing but a dire necessity that is driving the colored people from the South. They would far rather remain. No climate suits them so well, but forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. The past has been dreary, and the future seems dark, and the way closed in with towering mountains which frown upon them and threaten to crush them with immediate destruction. They have great difficulties in acquiring homes. There is a general disposition on the part of the planters to hold their lands in large tracts so that those in ordinary circumstances cannot pay for a home. There are many who might be able to pay for a farm of twenty-five or fifty acres, yet there are thousands of acres in the South lying waste with no plow upturning the soil, no hum of the busy reapers, no fields waving with grain or snowy with cotton. They would rather have the whole country lie waste than see it in the hands of the colored people."

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Who wrote that article?—A. A clergyman of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

Q. What is his name?—A. G. M. Elliott.

Q. Where is he located?—A. He has a church and school in the city of Selma, Alabama; it is one of the neatest little churches and largest schools in that section of country. I visited his church and school while there.

Q. You don't know whether that "reform" in the church to which he belongs embraces a license on his part to tell stories, do you?—A. I believe that gentleman, sir, from what I know of him, to be an eminently truthful man.

Q. The return of the superintendent of public schools for North Carolina shows that the statement of this clergyman is about one-fifth of the truth, which is doing pretty well for a "reformed" Presbyterian? I will file a copy of that report of the superintendent of public schools for North Carolina.

Redirect examination of witness:

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. About the last thing you testified to in your last examination by Mr. Voorhees, was as to this miraculous conversion spoken of by the Democratic papers, which took place last year in Madison Parish. What can you tell us, Mr. Ruby, about the nature of that miracle; how it was brought about, from the best information you have?—A. I can tell you that it grew out of the fact that a body of armed white men, variously estimated at from one hundred and fifty to three hundred strong, entered the parish of Madison from the other side of the river in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and the adjoining parishes, and at a time fixed upon in advance, and upon a preconcerted signal, visited all the leading colored men in that parish; visited their houses.

Q. How long before the election there was that?—A. Some two days before the election. It seems that this took place on Sunday night; the election took place on Monday.

Q. Saturday and Sunday, was it not?—A. Yes, sir; I believe it was Saturday and Sunday.

Q. This man Armstrong lived in that parish?—A. Yes, sir; Armstrong lived in Madison Parish, and he was a man who was very quiet and inoffensive; but he had great influence.

Q. He was an active Republican, was he?—A. Yes, sir; an active Republican.

Q. And was organizing the Republican party there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. His murder was one of the instrumentalities by which the miracle was wrought that the Democratic papers spoke of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, tell us, as near as you can, what is the process by which so comparatively small a number as Mr. Voorhees has stated it, of white men, can so completely terrorize the black men?—A. This is very easily done. I have already said that the freedmen have very few arms; they are mostly fowling pieces, for hunting purposes—for killing squirrels and small game; they are not, generally, armed. They are a simple people, an agricultural people, and after the labors of the day they go to their cabins to rest at night, and they naturally suppose themselves to be perfectly safe on the plantations where they are. The plantation is invaded—suddenly invaded—by an armed band of men who commence firing their pistols, and then keep up a fusillade, thus making a noise, and naturally creating a commotion among the women folks, and the men become alarmed, and at once run out from their houses or away from them, leaving their cabins when they can get away; and so they are completely at the mercy of these armed men. A stampede is created at once, for they are powerless to attack the numbers that come suddenly upon them; and they can do whatever they desire. If these men tell them that they had better not vote, they will not vote, unless there are some of their leaders there—some of their strong colored leaders—who are prepared for it and resist the attack.

Q. Is it possible for a man brought out from his cabin under such circumstances, or for half a dozen men, to resist an armed force coming at midnight, and with preconcerted action, armed with deadly weapons, and attacking them in that way?—A. The only way they could do it would be by watching the enemy, and determining that something was going to be done, and by being prepared for it; not the working men, I mean, but their friends, their political friends, their political leaders who watch the enemy and find out his intentions.

Q. Are they strong enough in these townships, generally, to do that?—A. Not if the leaders of the colored people constituted a force of ten or twelve men.

Q. Well, suppose it was understood that these leaders were prepared for that, what would be their fate?—A. They would be taken singly and bushwhacked or hung, or something of that kind.

Q. What would be the effect if they did make a resistance and shot back?—A. It must be remembered that the sympathies of the community are on the side of the white people.

Q. Suppose a thousand of these people should arm themselves and attempt to take the offensive, what would be the result?—A. They would finally go under.

Q. The whole authority of the State would be called upon to put them down, would it?—A. Yes, sir; when the Texas troubles came, an order was issued to the troops to hold themselves ready to go up and stop the murder by negroes, as it was understood by the whites. The white people armed themselves, for all the military organizations were under their control.

Q. They had everything at their command?—A. Yes, sir; they had

the military under their control, and they have the courts generally under their control.

Q. The legislature was Democratic, was it?—A. Yes, sir; the legislature was Democratic.

Q. And the governor Democratic?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that if they appealed to arms it would be declared to be an insurrection, and the whole State would be called upon, at the instance of Democratic bulldozers, to put down the insurrection?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If the governor and the courts should agree upon calling it an insurrection, would there be any hope whatever for these people if they should attempt to resist?—A. I cannot see any hope under such circumstances.

Q. Suppose they should rise in that way and attempt to defend themselves, as would be perfectly proper for them to do, what would be the action of the legislature and the governor if called upon by the national authorities?—A. It would be to put down a colored insurrection—an insurrection of armed barbarians who were committing all sorts of atrocities upon the white people—that is what they would call it.

Q. In that condition of affairs one hundred and fifty to three hundred white men coming at night to these lone cabins and discharging their arms, or in other ways intimidating the colored people, as you have stated, would it be any evidence of cowardice upon their part as a race, if they did not attempt to resist such attacks?—A. No, sir; the chairman has assumed, I think, that the negro is more cowardly than other classes of people.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not assume any such thing.

The WITNESS. I took that as the inference from what you said.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I did not believe that you were stating the facts correctly. I do not believe your people are as cowardly as your evidence would make them out to be. I thought better of your people than you are describing them.

The WITNESS. I do not think the negro is more cowardly than other people in like condition in life; on the contrary, I think he is less so, because he is ignorant of the force—for instance, I think he would march right up to the cannon's mouth and not think the cannon could reach him a mile off or less than that, but he would march right up to the cannon's mouth under a proper leader. I think their ignorance makes them braver than other classes of people in like condition of life. But when they have no leaders they are very much like sheep—easily stampeded.

Q. Do these white people go masked now since the days of the Ku-klux have passed?—A. I am told that in one case at least, in Madison Parish, they went without any special disguise at all.

Q. So that they could be known?—A. They did not care whether they were known or not. One of the colored leaders there told me that one of these parties came out to where his people were and said that they did not want to hurt them, but that they were going to carry the parish whether or no, and in that way they intimidated them.

Q. And they did carry the parish, did they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is the mode by which that miracle spoken of in the Democratic paper was wrought in that parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not a fact that bulldozing takes place in strong Republican districts where the votes are likely to do damage to the Democratic party?—A. Certainly, for it is not necessary to bulldoze in Democratic parishes; it is all done for political purposes.

Q. Mr. Voorhees asked you if you knew whether the Fourteenth

amendment does not authorize Congress to pass such laws as would protect the citizens of the United States. What is generally believed among the colored people who are emigrating as to whether a Democratic Congress would be likely to do anything to protect them?—A. They simply regard the whole thing as absurd—that is, the idea of believing anything of that kind.

Q. Is it not a fact that they have lost all hope of protection because of a Democratic Congress, and that that has had much to do with the final resolution of these people to leave the State?—A. That has had very much to do with it.

Q. You say you have heard of riots in the Western States; have you heard of any riots recently for the purpose of intimidating and preventing any one from giving his vote? Have they not arisen from other causes than political?—A. So far as I have seen in the papers they have arisen mostly from personal reasons, brought about by the heat and passion of political contest, but as between individuals.

Q. Then the difference between these riots as you have heard of them in the Northern and Western States, and as you have seen them in Louisiana and these parishes, is that in the latter they are political and have arisen from outrages committed by those who were aiding the Democratic party in order to prevent the Republican party from casting its votes; is that your understanding of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Recross-examination of witness.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How long was Governor Kellogg governor of Louisiana?—A. He remained until the end of his term, four years.

Q. He was governor for four years, was he?—A. Yes, sir; his full term.

Q. Did any outbreaks or troubles occur while he was governor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About how many?—A. I have not a tabulated statement of them, but I know that a number of outrages took place during his term. The first serious trouble in Governor Kellogg's administration took place, I think, in 1874—I think in this same parish of Natchitoches in 1874—when an armed mob of men in the town of Natchitoches determined that the local officials should resign, and they went to them and forced them to resign at the mouth of the revolver; and these officials appealed to Governor Kellogg, but he for some reason or other temporized with the mobocrats, and he eventually met the tidal wave of September, 1874, which came near sweeping him out of office.

Q. He is a Republican, is he not?—A. Yes, sir; he is a Republican.

Q. And was governor of the State during the time you speak of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You put it very mildly when you say that he "temporized" with the mobocrats. He did not do anything to protect your people, did he?—A. He did what he could under the circumstances.

Q. He could not do anything, being governor of the State, could he?—A. O, yes.

Q. What did he do?—A. He put in motion the machinery of the courts, in an attempt to punish them; and wherever the local laws could reach offenders, the courts were ample to punish them; and so far as the sentiment of the officials of the courts was concerned, I will say that it was somewhat in favor of justice.

Q. The "sentiment," you say, of the court officials, was not altogether in favor of those who committed these crimes? Is that the way you put it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what Governor Kellogg did to enforce these laws.—A. I can only make that general statement.

Q. So I supposed. When you say that he “temporized” with these men, you mean that he did not do anything to bring them to justice?—A. Yes, sir; that expresses the result.

Q. There were a good many difficulties of that kind between the two races, were there not, during Governor Kellogg’s administration?—A. Difficulties of that kind occurred whenever an election was to be carried, and it was desirable that certain officials in a parish known as police jurors, who determine the character of an election and the polling places, should be under control; whenever it was desired by the Democrats to get these men out of power, or to get the sheriff out of power who had charge of the poll-books, under the law, or anything of this character, they went to work to do it by violent methods, and whenever the government could reach them it did reach them; but sometimes the administration was powerless to help them.

Q. And, being powerless, it stood by and let it be done?—A. Well, I will not say that at that time Governor Kellogg was completely powerless, but that he honestly undertook to effect some sort of a compromise in the case that would satisfy both parties.

Q. But the State government during that four years was in the hands of the Republican party?—A. Yes.

Q. It had a Republican governor and all the influence that he could bring to bear?—A. Yes.

Q. And you had a Republican legislature at that time pretty frequently, did you not?—A. Only a portion of that time.

Q. But you had a Republican legislature during part of that time. Did this legislature, in the hands of the Republicans, take any steps to put down this lawlessness?—A. I returned to New Orleans in the spring of 1874, and am not so conversant with what the legislature did before it came here.

Q. And you know something about the laws of the State?—A. My impression is they did take action that was deemed effective for the purpose.

Q. What was that action?—A. I think it was authorizing the governor to offer rewards for the men who were charged with these crimes.

Q. Did he offer such rewards?—A. They were offered.

Q. In what instance—if you can give any instances?—A. In all instances so far as he knew of them.

Q. Then in all instances of crime that occurred under Governor Kellogg’s administration that he knew of he offered rewards?—A. He offered rewards and incited the officials to undertake to find out and punish the guilty parties; and the guilty parties were obliged to flee from the localities where the crimes were committed.

Q. You say that he was powerless to do anything?—A. I said that in the case of the armed insurrection in Natchitoches he temporized.

Q. He had the power under the constitution in case of an armed insurrection to call upon the government, had he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But he did not do it?—A. No, sir; not in that instance, but he did it subsequently.

Q. He had the troops, had he not?—A. He had a few soldiers.

Q. And General Grant was President at that time, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; General Grant was then President.

Q. You think, then, that General Grant’s administration was as unsatisfactory as Mr. Hayes’s?—A. I think General Grant felt the influence of the sentiment in the North on the question of the employment

of the troops to protect the lives and property of the people of the South; and Mr. Hayes came into power as one of the expressions of that sentiment. You know that General Grant did issue an order for the withdrawal of the troops on the 3d of March, 1877, and that the troops were not withdrawn at that time, simply because the then Secretary of War did not—

Q. Well, that was the day before General Grant went out of office, was it not?—A. Yes.

Q. Up to that time the Army had been represented by a garrison and troops that were kept there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But two years before that he refused to give the troops when Mississippi at the constitutional call of her governor and legislature called for them?—A. I desire to state facts—what I know to be facts.

Q. I have no doubt about that.—A. Two years before General Grant went out of office he felt that sentiment that was common in the North, and he did not send the troops at the call of the legislature and governor of Mississippi.

Q. If I understand you correctly, you think that General Grant felt such an influence in the northern mind against keeping troops in the Southern States that he as well as Hayes bowed to it?—A. Yes, sir; I think he yielded to that sentiment.

Q. To that Northern sentiment, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir; the sentiment that I think was in the Northern States on this subject at that time.

Q. Still, Mr. Ruby, that don't explain how, during the four years that Kellogg was governor and Grant was President, these armed insurrections that you speak of and these troubles continued; and the State government being powerless in some instances, as you say, to put them down, made no call on the Federal Government, although the Federal Government was represented there by the Army?—A. It may not fully explain it, sir.

Q. Well, all that don't look right to you, does it?—A. It would not look right to me if I was an ignorant man and not conversant with the character of the country in which I live, or its people, or what makes, to some extent, the executive will in a country like ours. I know that, so far as Republican thought and purpose went with those who understood the position of matters in the South, that there was a purpose among the Republicans—among Republican leaders and statesmen, I mean—to suppress these disorders; but they found that the country had been so misinformed in relation to affairs in the South that they could not use the power they had at their command to do it. That is the way I understand it. I never blamed particularly Mr. Hayes nor Mr. Grant.

Q. I desire to get them on the same platform on this matter, that Grant did not do any more than Hayes has done to suppress these disorders, although he had the troops there?—A. He did suppress disorders where he could.

Q. You think, then, that the government was not strong enough to do it?—A. No, sir; I do not think that.

Q. Well, hadn't you better elect some man who could suppress these disorders, as you say General Grant did not?—A. I think it probable that the sentiment of the people has to be educated to that point and to a proper understanding of the condition of affairs in a large section of this country before this can be brought about by any executive power of the government.

Q. You think that Northern opinion on this subject is responsible,

then, for the condition of affairs down in your section of country?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Mr. Windom asked you what you thought of the probability of a Democratic Congress carrying out the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution to protect your people in their rights. I suppose you know that up to within a very short period, within the last two or three years—Congress has been Republican, and that they have done nothing of that kind? What do you think of them for their failure to do it?—A. I can only answer that by saying that the sentiment of their constituents, the people, on that matter has been such that it would not permit them to take what was deemed a radical course on that question.

Q. The constituents of my friend Mr. Windom, you mean, would not permit it?—A. I do not speak of individuals at all, but only of the general sentiment of the people.

Q. Yes, the Northern sentiment, the opinion of the Northern people?

Mr. WINDOM. Well represented by the Indiana statesmen.

Mr. VOORHEES. You had a majority in Congress till a little while ago.

Mr. BLAIR. But it was mighty hard work to keep that majority. The witness understands the philosophy of Northern opinion and action pretty well, I think.

By the CHAIRMAN;

Q. The last legislature you had but one, Mr. Ruby, was a Republican legislature, was it not—the one I mean, that elected Kellogg Senator?—A. Yes, sir; it was a Republican legislature.

Q. It was a Republican legislature?—A. Yes, sir; and the one previous to that was the “Wheeler Adjustment” legislature.

Q. Which “Wheeler” do you mean?

Mr. VANCE. The Wheeler patent adjustment double back action rotary!

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. It was a compromise like that of 1850, wasn't it?—A. The compromise was called the “Wheeler Adjustment.”

Q. Has the Vice-President given his name in that way to your State legislature?—A. It is a name that the Democrats gave it there—they were very much pleased with it.

Q. Do you think it properly describes that legislature, the legislature that Mr. Wheeler here, and Mr. Foster, and some other prominent Republicans went down there to adjust?—A. Yes; it was left with Mr. Wheeler to adjust the differences.

Q. And you say that was charged up to him?—A. Yes, sir; it was.

Q. And do you call it a Republican legislature?—A. Well, it was not, clearly, because Republicans were seated from the very parishes that were declared to be Democratic by the adjustment.

Q. That is, Wheeler's adjustment declared some parishes Democratic that were really Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What that the legislature that elected Kellogg Senator?—A. That was the legislature that was elected in 1876.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you ever see that legislature in session?—A. I did, sir; I think I was present the day that Kellogg was elected.

Q. Well, we will not infringe upon another committee's work. You say that there were two legislatures, one that elected Kellogg, and the

one that Mr. Wheeler adjusted; and that they were both Republican; and Kellogg being governor, and Grant, President.

Mr. VANCE. And the courts all Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and the courts all Republican; that still these troubles existed and were not suppressed?—A. My knowledge of politics in the South leads me to believe that the Southern politicians are far shrewder and bolder and cleverer in every respect than their Northern brethren! (Laughter all around.) They have damaged the public sentiment in the North!

Mr. BLAIR. Well, I agree to that! Now, Mr. Ruby, upon a fair vote and a fair count, let me ask you whether you believe Louisiana is a Republican or a Democratic State?—A. Upon a fair vote and a fair count Louisiana is to day a Republican State.

Q. By what majority?—A. By a majority of at least fifteen thousand, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. People think that of Indiana, but they are mistaken.

Mr. BLAIR. Perhaps they are; that remains to be seen. I want to know, Mr. Ruby, what, in your judgment, is likely to be the result in Louisiana of the Presidential election now impending?—A. My impression is, sir, that the Democrats down there, being somewhat disgruntled by reason of the provision of the new constitution, in some respects, depriving them of their former means of livelihood in matters of election, having frequent elections—and in other respects by giving them, perhaps a class of offices that some of them don't altogether want—has left the Democrats in a condition that, with a vigorous and judicious campaign on the part of the Republicans, the State may be carried by the Republicans.

Q. What would be the opportunity or the probability of getting the vote counted for the Republicans, after having been carried by them?—A. Well, that would depend very much upon the local Democratic managers as to how much they might be affected by this general feeling of discontent that I have referred to as prevailing among the respectable class of Democrats in that country.

Q. If then this State, with fifteen thousand Republican majority, as you say, is carried by the Republicans, and counted as carried, it will be by reason of the divisions among the Democrats there?—A. Yes, that is my opinion about it.

Q. And not because there is a bona fide majority of fifteen thousand Republicans in the State?—A. No, sir.

Q. It will be counted as Republican, if it is counted so at all, for the reason that you name, on account of the division in the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir. One of the leading papers of the State, and perhaps of the southwest, the New Orleans Picayune, intimated in an editorial lately that if Mr. Tilden, or a man like him, was nominated by the Democrats, three or four States in the South would support General Grant, and goes on to give its reasons for this assertion.

Q. What is your own opinion—that General Grant might carry several of the Southern States, by the aid of the Democratic party?—A. If what the Picayune says is correct, and it is noting the current of public opinion among people of its party, I think it is not improbable that the Republicans might carry some of these States in that way.

Q. Do you think the Republicans would be successful in getting their votes counted, or do you think it would result in a disputed count?—A. Whether the Republican vote would be counted or not, I do not know. As to what might be the feeling among the counties, among those who have the machinery of the Democratic party at their command, is

another thing. My own opinion is that even if General Grant were nominated, with that feeling current among the conservative Democrats in Louisiana, that the machine Democrats would certainly act with their party, and determine to carry the State against General Grant, notwithstanding the fact, as the Picayune article seems to imply, that General Grant would be very friendly to the Southern Democrats.

Q. How would the Southern Republicans, this suppressed party you speak of, feel at the election of a President by the co-operation of the Democracy of the Southern States?—A. They would regard it simply as a continuation, in a stronger sense, of the pacification policy which President Hayes attempted in 1876 and 1877.

Mr. VANCE. As a friend of Grant's, I think I shall have to object to any further assaults upon him. (Laughter.)

Mr. BLAIR. We are after the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, go on, go on.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you think, Mr. Ruby, in other words, that there is no probability that General Grant could carry any of the Southern States, unless in such a way as to place him under obligations to the Democratic party of the South?—A. I do not think General Grant would be considered to be under obligations to them even if the Southern States were carried for him. I have yet to find that General Grant has given permission to any such feeling on their part. But the Southern politicians are exceedingly clever and shrewd, as I said before, and they are not apt to give an opinion about a matter of that character unless they know upon what premises it is based. My own idea is, and thoughtful men among Republicans there feel, that it is perhaps "buying potatoes in a bushel" to cry out very lustily for our great General.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do you mean Sherman?—A. I mean the greatest of all generals, General Grant.

Q. That is "buying potatoes in a bushel," is it?—A. Yes, or buying them in the lump, without looking at them.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. If carrying a portion of the Southern States for General Grant would not place him under obligations to the Democrats who gave him those States, and so be likely to have an influence in shaping the administration in the South, why do these thoughtful Republicans object to his candidacy?—A. They object naturally; they naturally distrust any such movement just now, upon the part of the real and true leaders of the Democratic party in the South, and they do so because of the position in which they are placed by Mr. Hayes's attempted pacification policy in the South.

Q. Have the Republicans of the South, so far as you know—I mean the discreet, sensible, thoughtful Republican leaders, white and colored—have they the belief that if General Grant was elected he would initiate any different policy from that of the present administration, and the concluding years of his own administration? Would he endeavor, do they think, to make a difference in Southern affairs, and use the Army, if necessary, to protect life and property there?—A. They think it is possible that General Grant would certainly insist upon an observance of the law; that the forms of law certainly would be upheld.

Q. You do not mean to say that President Hayes fails to do that?—A. President Hayes insists upon the observance of the forms of law, so

far as the machinery of the courts of law, &c., is concerned, and that these should be put in operation to suppress this lawlessness, and that those guilty of these outrages should be punished, &c.; and it is not, therefore, the fault of the administration that they are not; but they do believe that it is possible, considering the sentiment which obtains in the South among the better class of Democrats, the real leaders of the party, men of brains and of character, that they would say, very naturally, to the President elected by their aid, as the Picayune assumes General Grant would be under certain contingencies, "All we want you to do is to let the local State governments remain as they are; if you choose to appoint any of our people to Federal offices, well and good; we won't particularly insist upon it; we will ask for it through our Representatives in Congress. Our legislature being left intact, we will have Democratic Representatives in Congress and Democratic Senators, and if you choose to give us Federal patronage we will accept it; we will endeavor so to round up your public life as to have your name go down into history as the Great Preserver of our entire country. And if a few negroes and lower classes of the white men who have acted with the Republican party are in the way, time will heal all the difficulties as to them; let matters take their course." That is the way we think it is possible a President so elected, a man so renowned as is General Grant, might conclude to act with reference to that section of our country.

Q. What effect would that have upon the true interests of that portion of the country, and upon the Republicans, colored and white?—A. It would naturally, of course, crush out all Republican thought and sentiment in that portion of the country.

Q. You mean to say by that, that it would continue the existing order of things?—A. I think that it is possible—highly probable—that those localities where the negroes are now without protection, would be left in the hands of the rougher elements of the Democratic party, and in localities where they are protected to-day and living somewhat in comfort and peace, they would continue to have the same treatment as they are having now. But I think that political and civil rights would be ignored to a large extent necessarily, for there would be no reason why they should be asked to vote one way or the other if the thing is all one-sided, if nobody required their vote.

Q. What benefit, under any circumstances, will the election of a Republican President be to the Republicans in the Southern States?—A. It will be the benefit of introducing absolute freedom, I think, through all sections of the South, and of giving the common rights of citizenship to all classes of the people.

Q. You mean the election of a Republican President now, would change the Republican policy towards the South?—A. Whether there would be a change in the Republican policy towards the South in the event of the election of a Republican President, I cannot say; I can see a change of sentiment in the North on that question.

Q. A change of sentiment resulting partially from the labors of this exodus committee, do you think?—A. Resulting from a variety of causes—the outrages that have occurred have become more known.

Q. These have been developed largely by this committee, have they not?—A. I think your committee has aided to develop these facts.

The CHAIRMAN. Especially in North Carolina!

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You think, then, that in case a Republican President is chosen,

and changes should be made in the existing Republican policy in pursuance of a coming change in public opinion at the North, that then you would get your rights and be practically free; but you think that if a Republican President is chosen in the way you suggest in regard to General Grant and his probable feeling, as I understand you to assume it will be, you think the result would be a continuation of the present status of things?—A. I think so, sir. I think it would result in more effectually squelching—to use such a term—Republican ideas and thoughts in the South than has ever before been the case.

Mr. VANCE. Almost thou persuadest me to be a Grant man!

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Now, setting that part of the matter to one side; if the present Republican policy is perpetuated there for the next four years, what will be its effect upon the exodus?—A. I think we shall have very few plantation laborers left in the cotton parishes of Louisiana.

Q. Is there any doubt, then, that for the benefit, and almost the entire existence, of the South, it is necessary that there should be a Republican victory and a change in the Republican policy?—A. I was asked yesterday what I knew of the feelings of capitalists and business men in my section of the country. I stated that capitalists and business men were rather of the opinion that the local party managers of the Democracy had gone not only too far but had given the State a fatal blow in its industrial interests. And apart from that they feel—and I know it, because I have read it in the public prints, in the editorials and communications that have come out in the Democratic newspapers generally—they feel that under the present party in power they cannot get the development, the material development that they need for their section—the internal improvements necessary for the development of the South. They are largely affected by the necessity of having this commerce come to their section, and they know their party to be opposed to it, the policy of the Northern leaders of their party to be opposed to it, and many of them are tired of being bound to a party that does not aid them in that respect, and they are opposed to it for that reason. Take that in connection with the labor interests, and in connection with the mismanagement of public affairs by the local Democratic party, especially in Louisiana, and they have cause enough for grievance and propose to take a new departure in politics.

Q. You know the feeling of the colored race in the South pretty thoroughly, I should judge; will you tell us what, in your opinion, would be the effect upon the exodus of the election of a Democratic President?—A. My judgment is that the election of a Democratic President would effectually settle the entire question as to whether they could live there or not, by their all leaving. That writer in the book from which I read states some other facts. He states, what is a fact, that it is difficult for the colored man, living in the large cities of the South, to have comparatively even a measure of his rights as a freeman. He is allowed those rights only as a sort of pariah, not only a social pariah but a political pariah, regarded as one to be contemned and despised by everybody. The better educated he is, the better advantages he may have had elsewhere, the more culture he possesses, the more keenly, of course, he feels the outrages imposed upon him. If the Democracy were to come into power, with this feeling that obtains in the South to-day among so large a class of Southern people as towards these people, they would be obliged to leave. Now, in Louisiana, as I said yesterday, we are an exceptional State. Before the war a large number of colored people in

Louisiana were free, and were then, as they are to-day property-holders, and some of them were slaveholders even, and some of them were large planters in various sections of the State, and some of them are large property-owners in the city of New Orleans. They find it difficult for them to live under the existing condition of things. They say to me openly and aboveboard that it was far pleasanter for them in the days of slavery, when they had a definite status as free men of color with certain rights guaranteed to them, than it is to-day. This class, known as free people, are contemned and despised as representatives of the race, and share in the general proscription of the Democrats against the negro.

Adjourned to Friday, March 12, 1880.



TWENTY-THIRD DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Friday, March 12, 1880.*

The committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE T. RUBY CONCLUDED.

GEORGE T. RUBY, redirect examination :

By Mr. BLAIR :

Question. Some matters you spoke of yesterday, Mr. Ruby, that you desired to offer from the magazine or pamphlet you quoted ; just state them to the committee.—Answer. Under the caption that the freedmen are in the bonds of sore oppression, Mr. Elliott remarks :

This grows out of the dissatisfaction of the former owners with regard to the manner in which the slaves were taken from them. It is their general opinion that they should have been paid for them. As it is, all turns are taken to make them miserable in their present state, and, if possible, cause them to depreciate freedom. It has been stated that some of the colored people prefer slavery to freedom. This we declare to be a base falsehood. No man naturally desires bondage ; and nothing but the brutifying influence of slavery will drive anybody to wish himself a slave. " Who is here so base that would be a bondman ? " A criminal may remain in prison till he seems to have a fondness for his chains and his dungeon, and he loath to leave them ; but shall we therefore conclude that he would rather be a prisoner than breathe the air of liberty ? No doubt many of the ex-slaves have a harder time than they experienced in the days of slavery. But why ? Because now they have no favors shown them. They are in the midst of those who once cared for them because of their value as property—in the same sense that a man will care for a good horse, but now they hate them because they occupy a different relation, and frequently the ex-slaveholder has an opportunity to make the poor black man as miserable as heever was. * * * We can but expect the business and wealth of the South to be still in the hands of the former slaveholders. They are the hirers, while the former slaves are the hired. To pay for labor that once was obtained free, is, for many, a hard task, and it is frequently evaded. Those who do not seek to avoid paying for work, pay as little as possible and frequently barely enough to buy bread. The pay oftentimes comes in the way of cast-off clothing. Many think it their privilege to use as much abuse and "loggedness as they please towards those in their employ. We may say almost all this treatment results from the fact that they are obliged to treat in a measure as their equals those who once served them and were ready subjects to do their bidding when there was no recompense. Should the Southern people be paid for their slaves we think much of the oppression would cease ; but, as it is the poor blacks are almost reduced to serfdom. The people are kept in one condition, with like hopes of a change for the better. There is no chance to rise. They have not a chance. There are few encouragements to energy

Q. Where does the writer of this reside ?—A. At Selma, Ala.

Q. Over what district or range of country does his observation ex-

ted?—A. He claims that it extended to Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas; and, in fact, through the South generally.

Q. Would Georgia also be included?—A. Yes, sir; Georgia is included in his estimate as to the educational advantages of the freedmen.

Q. You say there are four hundred thousand colored people in Louisiana according to the census of 1875?—A. Yes, sir; that is the statement made here in this address to the Louisiana colored citizens' convention.

Q. Yes; that would give, then, an adult male population of about one hundred thousand?—A. Yes, sir; about one hundred thousand, in round numbers, of adult males.

Q. Of that one hundred thousand, in round numbers, of adult male black people in your State, how many are owners of land?—A. I have been endeavoring for the last year and a half to acquire information in that respect, but have not been able to determine. I can only say this, that in the city of New Orleans, owing to its former free population, it is estimated that there are at least ten million dollars worth of property owned by men with negro blood in their veins. In the other sections of the State I have not been able to obtain much data.

Q. Of the laboring colored men on the plantations—the sugar plantations and the cotton plantations—or those whose vocation employs them in the cultivation of sugar and cotton, how many are landholders?—A. In the parishes of Saint John the Baptist, Saint James, Ascension, Assumption, Bernard, and, perhaps, Plaquemine, there are a number of property-holders among the former freemen. Some of them own plantations in Terre Bonne Parish; some of them own quite respectable sugar plantations, and one or two are owners of quite respectable places in Ascension Parish.

Q. Of the male freed population, what proportion are owners of land?—A. My observation leads me to believe that as a general thing the industrious and thrifty freedman desires above all things to own land.

Q. I did not ask you as to his desire to own land; I wanted to know if you can give any idea—and if you can, say so, if not, say so—of the numerical proportion of those who own land and those who do not?—A. I cannot, for the reason that I have not the data as to that.

Q. Is there any difficulty in the purchase of land, or any disposition to convey land to colored people on the part of those who own it?—A. They have complained hitherto of considerable difficulty in many parishes in buying land in fee simple; they can hire land, but not buy it so readily.

Q. Do you know anything in regard to the rent paid for the use of land by colored people?—A. The rent averages from eight to ten dollars an acre per year. That is the average in the cotton belt.

Q. What would that land be worth per acre?—A. That land is variously estimated in value. Sometimes it is said to be worth fifteen to twenty dollars an acre to buy it, and at other times not so much. On an average, I should say it is worth from fifteen to twenty dollars an acre.

Q. How much would that same land rent for?—A. From eight to ten dollars per year.

Q. At least half the value of the land as a yearly rent for the use of it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is all.

Recross-examination of witness:

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Mr. Ruby, you are not a native of Louisiana, are you?—A. No, sir; I am a native of New York City.

Q. When did you go to Louisiana?—A. Sixteen years ago last January I went to Louisiana.

Q. Where have you lived since you have been there?—A. I lived for eight years in Louisiana, and for eight years in Texas.

Q. In what part of Louisiana did you live during the eight years you were there?—A. I lived in the parish of New Orleans and Bernard when I first went to Louisiana.

Q. You never lived in Natchitoches Parish, did you?—A. No, sir.

Q. The place in which the difficulties and outrages you described the other day are alleged to have occurred?—A. Yes, sir; the same place; I have not lived there.

Q. Did you know that forty to fifty citizens were indicted for that Natchitoches outrage in the Federal courts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And acquitted?—A. Yes, sir; and acquitted.

Q. Before a jury fixed up by a United States marshal?—A. I don't know that the jury was fixed up by the United States marshal.

Q. Well, he summoned it, did he not?—A. Yes, sir; he summoned it.

Q. You say the white people in Louisiana do not like to sell land to the colored people if they have got the money to pay for it, and they want to buy and the owner wants to sell.—A. That is the claim made by the freed people themselves.

Q. You do not know that to be so of your own knowledge, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. If the colored man had money to buy land, you have no knowledge that the white man who wanted to sell would not as soon sell to him as to anybody else?—A. I have no personal knowledge of that.

Q. And you say that land rents for eight to ten dollars a year per acre?—A. Yes, sir; that is in the cotton belt, in North Louisiana.

Q. What kind of land is it?—A. Land that usually yields from three-quarters of a bale to a bale per acre, or perhaps half a bale only.

Q. Well, that is considered to be rather poor land in Louisiana that will not yield more than half a bale to the acre, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Ruby, you read from a pamphlet there containing a letter or article written by a man by the name of Willson, I think you said.—A. No, sir; Elliott—the Rev. G. M. Elliott; Willson is the name of the editor or proprietor; the pamphlet is the monthly periodical of the Reformed Presbyterian and Covenant Church.

Q. Reformed Presbyterian; and by asking to have this matter go into your statement you indorse the truth of it, do you?—A. I have good reason to indorse it, because I know the writer.

Q. Well, would you prefer to take his statement in regard to the colored people and education in North Carolina, or that of the official superintendent of public instruction in the State—which would you believe?—A. I should say that the official superintendent of public instruction in that State ought to know about the educational matters in his State.

Q. Now let me read to you an extract from the report of Mr. J. C. Scarboro, superintendent of public instruction for the State of North Carolina, taken for the year 1878; he reports the number of children in the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years as follows:

White males, 141,354; white females, 132,413; total white children, 273,767. Colored children—males, 75,461; females, 73,152; total colored children, 148,613. Number of children attending the public schools between September 1, 1877, and September 1, 1878: White children—79,832 males, 66,849 females; total, 146,681. White children attending public schools—average attendance, 82,054. Colored children—males, 40,625; females, 40,786; total, 81,411; average attendance, 50,499. Now, what becomes of the Rev. Mr. Elliott's statement after this showing? Mr. Elliott's statement was, that there were only 12,000 colored children attending the schools in North Carolina, out of the 125,000 colored children in the State, thus leaving 113,000 out.—A. Yes, sir; I believe that is his statement.

Q. Now, don't you think you would prefer an old-fashioned Presbyterian that hadn't been "reformed," to a man who would make such a statement as that?—A. I think the statement of the superintendent of public instruction ought to be the correct one.

Q. Certainly it ought.—A. I think so; though sometimes, I know myself, as an educationalist, that if the instructions are not very positive, they are apt in gathering statistics to include in their reports all the children of scholastic age in attendance on the schools, when very often they are not.

Q. Yes; and that is carefully guarded against; the superintendent gives here in his report full and particular details as to the number in attendance on the schools, the average attendance, the time during which they were in attendance, &c.; I have not at hand, Mr. Chairman, a report from any of the other States.

You don't know anything about this man, Mr. Ruby, whom you have vouched for as authority for this statement as printed in your pamphlet, do you, except that you met him and made his acquaintance in Selma, Ala.?—A. No, sir; I only know this; well, I had no personal knowledge of him before he married into a family in Pennsylvania, with whom I was acquainted; and he comes from a church where the training, both religious and moral, and otherwise, is as rigid, perhaps, as that of any church in this country—as rigid as they educate the priests, perhaps, in the Catholic church. I am not a Roman Catholic, though I admire that church in some respects; in the education of its clergy, particularly; and the Reformed Presbyterian church vies with it, perhaps, in that respect.

Q. Do you know how long this Mr. Elliott has lived in Alabama?—A. I do not know, sir; but I think he has been in the South for some years.

Q. You do not know what his opportunities have been for acquiring correct information, do you?—A. His opportunities of observation have been extensive, I should judge, and he has gathered his statistics, I take it, from the reports of the several State superintendents of education. I should suppose that he had gathered his data in that way.

Q. You cannot suppose that he has taken his statement in regard to North Carolina from the report of the superintendent of public instruction, because that would convict him of willful falsehood?—A. This statement of his is made, as I said before, in this pamphlet which appeared in November, 1879, and is edited at Allegheny, P., by J. W. Sproull and D. B. Willson, editors and proprietors, and is printed and published at Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. And you say that these men who were arrested for the Natchitoches outrages were acquitted?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there any witnesses against them ?—A. Yes, sir ; there were a number of witnesses against them.

Q. Was there any trouble, or did you hear of any trouble in getting witnesses to testify in regard to these outrages ?—A. The testimony was considered to be quite positive, but as I have understood from legal gentlemen it is hard to convict a large number of people of a crime of that character ; but if they had tried several of them, or if they had tried even two or three of them, it might have been possible to have convicted them ; but when it seems to have been the whole population up there, or a very large proportion of the white population up there, the jury failed to agree.

Q. The jury failed to agree, did they ?—A. Yes, sir ; they failed to agree.

Q. And they acquitted them all of the charges against them ?—A. Yes, sir ; they were all acquitted.

Mr. WINDOM. That is all.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Who was judge of that court ?—A. His name was Billings—Judge Billings.

Q. You say that the jury failed to agree ?—A. Yes, sir ; they failed to agree.

Q. Was the the case *nolle prossed* and then dismissed ?—A. I think it was tantamount to that, sir:

Q. Who was the prosecuting attorney ?—A. The district attorney, Leonard, of Caddo Parish.

Q. And after the jury failed once to agree the case was dismissed against these thirty or forty men ?—A. I think there were several indictments pending against them ; and I do not know but that on one of the indictments—my memory may not serve me accurately about it—that upon dismissing one of the indictments they may have been tried on another indictment. At any rate, the jury failed to agree and the case was subsequently dismissed. On one of the indictments they were acquitted.

Q. They were tried twice, then, and had one acquittal ?—A. I do not know whether Kingman and Cosgrove were tried twice, but some were, I know.

Q. But you understood that there was one trial in which the verdict was “not guilty,” and another trial in which there was a hung jury ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then the cases were dismissed ?—A. I do not know whether they have been dismissed or not, at least they were not, ostensibly ; but it was tantamount to a dismissal.

Q. They were not tried again ?—A. No, sir ; they were not tried any more.

Q. Was Judge Billings a Democrat ?—A. He was appointed as a Republican, and I am told he is a Republican.

Q. He is a Republican ; and District Attorney Leonard, is he a Democrat ?—A. No, sir ; he is a Republican.

Q. He is a Republican ; and the United States marshal, Col. Jack Wharton, is he a Democrat ?—A. No, sir ; he is a Republican, I believe.

Q. Yes ; so the judge, district attorney, and marshal are all Republicans and the court is Republican in all its machinery—drawn juries and everything. That is all Mr. Ruby.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY ADAMS.

HENRY ADAMS (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. State your full name.—Answer. Henry Adams.

Q. What is your residence?—A. Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long have you lived there, Mr. Adams?—A. I first went there in 1865—the latter part of 1865.

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

Q. Did you go from Georgia to this place in 1865?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you live?—A. In De Soto Parish, Louisiana.

Q. How long did you live there?—A. Well, I left Georgia—I don't exactly remember the date when I left Georgia—but I landed in Louisiana in 1850, when I was a little boy only seven years old.

Q. And you had lived in Georgia prior to that?—A. Yes, sir; ever since I was born I had lived in Georgia.

Q. Then your life has been spent in Georgia and Louisiana mainly?—A. I went to Texas and lived in Texas some, too.

Q. What is your business, Mr. Adams?—A. I am a laborer. I was raised on a farm and have been at hard work all my life.

Q. Now tell us, Mr. Adams, what, if anything, you know about the exodus of the colored people from the Southern to the Northern and Western States; and be good enough to tell us in the first place what you know about the organization of any committee or society among the colored people themselves for the purpose of bettering their condition, and why it was organized. Just give us a history of that as you understand it.—A. Well, in 1870, I believe it was, or about that year, after I had left the Army—I went into the Army in 1866 and came out the last of 1869—and went right back home again where I went from, Shreveport; I enlisted there, and went back there. I enlisted in the Regular Army, and then I went back after I came out of the Army. After we had come out a parcel of we men that was in the Army and other men thought that the way our people had been treated during the time we was in service—we heard so much talk of how they had been treated and opposed so much and there was no help for it—that caused me to go into the Army at first, the way our people was opposed. There was so much going on that I went off and left it; when I came back it was still going on, part of it, not quite so bad as at first. So a parcel of us got together and said that 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 had held us under bondage or not. Then we did so and organized a committee.

Q. What did you call your committee?—A. We just called it a committee, that is all we called it, and it remained so; it increased to a large extent, and remained so. 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 there, and post one another from time to time about the true condition of our race, and nothing but the truth.

Q. You mean some members of your committee?—A. That committee; yes, sir.

Q. They traveled over the other States?—A. 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 living our people lived; whether we

could remain in the South amongst the people who had held us as slaves or not. We continued that on till 1874.

Q. Now, before you come to 1874, let me ask how extensive was the operation of your committee? Did they go into almost all the Southern States?—A. Nearly all of the States we could get reports from as to how our race was living there.

Q. Whom did you report to?—A. To the committee; we reported to the committee there.

Q. To the committee at Shreveport?—A. Yes. The reports were sent, and our committee met, so that they would be read at the meeting.

Q. Were they addressed to the committee or to some individual?—A. They were addressed to some individual of the committee—just addressed to the members or ones that we knowed belonged to the committee, and knowed would get the letters we would write to them.

Q. Was the object of that committee at that time to remove your people from the South, or what was it?—A. O, no, sir; not then; we just wanted to see whether there was any State in the South where we could get a living and enjoy our rights.

Q. The object, then, was to find out the best places in the South where you could live?—A. Yes, sir; where we could live and get along well there and to investigate our affairs—not to go nowhere till we saw whether we could stand it.

Q. How were the expenses of these men paid?—A. 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.

Q. Have you any idea how many of your people went out in that way?—A. At one time there was five hundred of us.

Q. Do you mean five hundred belonging to your committee?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I want to know how many traveled in that way to get at the condition of your people in the Southern States?—A. I think about one hundred or one hundred and fifty went from one place or another.

Q. And they went from one place to another, working their way and paying their expenses and reporting to the common center at Shreveport, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

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. In what respect?—A. They said that in other parts of the country where they traveled through, and what they saw they was comparing with what we saw and what we had seen in the part where we lived; we knowed what that was; and they cited several things that they saw in their travels; it was very bad.

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 about these?—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. But that they would be shot, or might be shot, if they voted the Republican ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State what was the general character of these reports—I have not yet got down to your organization of 1874—whether what you have given was the general character; were there some safer places found that seemed a little better?—A. Some of the places, of course, were a little better than others. Some men that owned some of the plantations would treat the people pretty well in some parts. We found that they would try to pay what they promised from time to time; some they didn't pay near what they promised; and in some places the families—some families—would make from five to a hundred bales of cotton to the family; then at the end of the year they would pay the owner of the land out of that amount at the end of the year, maybe one hundred dollars. Cotton was selling then at twenty-five cents a pound, and at the end of the year when they came to settle up with the owner of the land, they would not get one dollar sometimes, and sometimes they would get thirty dollars, and sometimes a hundred dollars out of a hundred bales of cotton.

Q. What were the best localities that you heard from, if you remember, where they were treated the best?—A. In Virginia was what they stated was the State that treated them best in the South; Virginia, and Missouri, and Kentucky, and Tennessee.

Q. There the treatment was better was it?—A. Yes, sir; it was better there.

Q. Had you any reports from North Carolina?—A. Some few from North Carolina.

Q. Do you remember anything about them; or is your knowledge of that State only general?—A. Well, they reported that some parts of North Carolina was very bad and other parts was very good.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What year was that in?—A. When the reports was made, do you mean?

A. Yes, sir.—A. From 1870 to 1874.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. During that period, from 1870 to 1874, was that what was known as the ku-klux period in the South?—A. The ku-klux was raging there in 1865, '66, '67, '68, and '69.

Q. Well, what followed that—what organization as enemies of your race, as you regarded them, followed the ku-klux, as you remember?—A. The white league.

Q. Were there any other organizations of that kind?—A. Any other bull-doing organization?

Q. Yes; any other white organizations that were abusing or murdering the colored people, that you know of?—A. I don't know of none, only the white league; still there was the same connection—they had other names besides the "white league," but they had so many kind of names.

Q. Do you remember any other names they went by?—A. Except ku-klux?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, since that time, of course it has passed as "bull-doing."

Q. I am speaking now of the period from 1870 to 1874, and you have given us the general character of the reports that you got from the South; what did you do in 1874?—A. Well, along in August sometime in 1874, after the white league sprung up, they organized and said this is a white man's government, and the colored men should not hold any offices; they were no good but to work in the fields and take what they would give them and vote the Democratic ticket. That's what they would make public speeches and say to us, and we would hear them. We then organized an organization called the colonization council.

Q. What was the difference between that organization and your committee, as to its objects?—A. Well, the committee was to investigate the condition of our race.

Q. And this organization was then to better your condition after you had found out what that condition was?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The result of this investigation during these four years by your committee was the organization of this colonization council. Is that the way you wish me to understand it?—A. It caused it to be organized.

Q. It caused it to be organized. Now, what was the purpose of this colonization council?—A. Well, it was to better our condition.

Q. In what way did you propose to do it?—A. We first organized and adopted a plan to appeal to the President of the United States and to Congress to help us out of our distress, or protect us in our rights and privileges.

Q. Your council appealed first to the President and to Congress for protection and relief from this distressed condition in which you found yourselves, and to protect you in the enjoyment of your rights and privileges?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, what other plan had you?—A. And if that failed our idea was then to ask them to set apart a territory in the United States for us, somewhere where we could go and live with our families.

Q. You preferred to go off somewhere by yourselves?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, what then?—A. If that failed, our other object was to ask for an appropriation of money to ship us all to Liberia, in Africa; somewhere where we could live in peace and quiet.

Q. Well, and what after that?—A. When that failed then 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 there and live under their flag.

Q. Have you given us all the objects of this colonization council?—A. That is just what we was organized for, to better our condition one way or another.

Q. At the time you organized you had no idea of going into the Northern States, had you?—A. Yes, sir; we thought maybe the government would set apart a territory for us, or else say that we could go to some State or other and they would assist us in getting there.

Q. Then, if I understand you aright, your first object was to appeal to the President and to Congress for relief. Failing in that, you would then ask to have a territory set apart for you?—A. Yes.

Q. Failing in that, you would ask to be sent abroad under some other flag where you could be protected in your rights as men and citizens?—A. Yes.

Mr. BLAIR. No; you have forgotten the proposition to Liberia.

Mr. WINDOM. Yes; it escaped me for the moment; that was the other proposition, to go to Liberia.

Q. Well, what did your council do now under these various modes of

relief which they had marked out for themselves?—A. Well, we appealed, as we promised.

Q. Did you make any appeal to Congress and to the President?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who, in your association, authorized that appeal; how was it gotten up?—A. It was gotten up by resolution.

Q. By resolution?—A. Yes, sir; and just passed by the organization.

Q. Well, by "the organization," what do you mean?—A. I mean the members of it.

Q. Did they have meetings?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How were these meetings held and where did they hold them?—A. We held them in rooms and houses.

Q. Were they secret meetings or public?—A. We didn't allow nobody in there but our friends. If he was not a member he couldn't get in until we came out in public. When we called a public meeting we came out to the park or anywhere, and didn't care who heard. Then anybody could participate who believed in our movement. There was no meetings held of our members that allowed anybody but our members unless it was somebody that wanted to give us some of their views.

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 politicians 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. So you did not trust any politicians, white or black?—A. No; we didn't trust any of them.

Q. That was the condition of things during the time the committee were at work in 1870 to 1874?—A. Yes, that was the condition.

Q. Now, when you organized the council what kind of people were taken into it?—A. Nobody but laboring men.

Q. You did not extend the kind of membership; you did not take in the politicians?—A. Nobody that had held an office by the votes of the neighborhood could become a member.

Q. No one who held office could become a member?—A. No, sir; none of them.

Q. Did any prominent, active politician become a member of it?—A. No, sir; not if he was seeking an office he could not.

Q. Not if he was seeking office or had sought office?—A. No, sir; he could not.

Q. What kind of pledges did you make, if you are willing to state? Were you sworn?—A. Of course we was all sworn as members of the committee.

Q. You had then your formal initiation and pledges and forms as a secret society; was there any means of recognition? I am not asking you to tell your secrets, but when your men went out—the hundred or hundred and fifty men that went out from you all over the country as a sort of committee of investigation or inquiry—if one of these members met another, could he know it by any sign of recognition?—A. No, sir.

Q. They had no sign ?—A. No, sir.

Q. And no means of recognizing each other ?—A. No, sir ; no sign.

Q. So that if one member should meet another he could not tell by any secret sign or password that he was a member ?—A. No, sir. When we met in committee there was not any of us allowed to tell our name. I was chairman of it and I didn't dare to tell anything ; I only had to perform my duty.

Q. You would not give to each other the name of any other one ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you organized this council after you had made this investigation in the different States as to whether you could find any place where you thought you could be well treated under the present condition of things in the South ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this was a broader organization, which you called the colonization council ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say you made your appeal to the President ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. To whom did you first appeal ?—A. We first appealed to General Grant, when he was President.

Q. When was that ; about what year ?—A. That was in September, 1874. We told him our condition—how we was living there ; and told him, if there was no other chance, why we wanted to leave. I will give you a little bit of a sketch of some few things we said to him. I clipped it out of a Democratic paper journal after it was published—after we sent the petition to him.

Q. Well, just give us the facts.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Was the matter correctly reported in the Democratic paper ?—A. It was correct as far as I know. There is just a little bit of it that is not correct. Some of it is correct and some of it is not.

Q. You had better not read it, then, if it is not all correct.—A. Well, it only sets forth the date and time, and what the origin of the thing was.

Q. Well, go ahead and give it to us. [The witness searching but failing to find the newspaper scrap.]

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. If you cannot find it readily, you can tell us about the time and what the nature of the appeal was. You may find it after a while, and you can then give us the date.

The WITNESS. Very well.

Q. After you had appealed to General Grant, to whom did you next appeal ; did you send anything to Congress ?—A. O, yes, sir ; we sent something to Congress. I don't exactly remember the date that we sent to Congress. It was some time in 1874 ; but I know at other times we sent to Congress.

Q. Well, what was the nature of the appeal ?—A. We told them our condition, and asked Congress to help us out of our distress and protect us in our lives and property, and pass some law or provide some way that we might get our rights in the South, and so forth.

Q. Well, you got no relief or any adequate protection, you say, under the appeal to the government, did you ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you mean to say you did or did not ?—A. We did not.

Q. You did not get any relief ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you appeal again ?—A. After the appeal in 1874, we appealed when the time got so hot down there they stopped our churches from having meetings after nine o'clock at night. They stopped them from

sitting up and singing over the dead, and so forth, right in the little town where we lived, in Shreveport. I know that to be a fact; and after they did all this, and we saw it was getting so warm—killing our people all over the whole country—there was several of them killed right down in our parish—then we appealed.

Q. Do you, yourself, know of any who were killed there?—A. O, of course, I knowed some.

Q. How many, if you could state?—A. Heaps of them killed, of my friends.

Q. Could you give us the names of some of them?—A. Well, out there on the Buncombe road—well, it is about eighteen miles from Shreveport—a colored man I knowed very well, but I cannot think of his name now—

Q. Perhaps you will think of it after a while, and then you can give it to us. What were the circumstances of the case?—A. Well, he was killed on the public road.

Q. What was he killed for?—A. God Almighty knows; I don't. They had him arrested, and accused him of shooting an old white man that was shot down on the road, and he was accused of it by somebody, and they arrested him and started to bring him to Shreveport to jail, and they shot him.

Q. Shot him on the road?—A. Yes, sir; I saw him when he was shot.

Q. What sort of a man was he?—A. He was a colored man.

Q. Was he an active man in politics?—A. O, no, sir; he was a laborer.

Q. Well, you say that several were killed; do you remember the names of any who were killed about that time?—A. I don't remember the names by heart, but I think I have got them written down.

Q. Well, perhaps you can find some of them before we get through?—A. Yes.

Q. What was the condition of the people in that neighborhood as to the rights and privileges; had they any?—A. At that time, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. At that time it looked like it was almost dangerous for a colored man to say that he was a Republican.

Q. Well, was that the offense that caused the persecutions there, or was it some other offense? What was the chief complaint against the colored people, as they made it themselves, which caused this bulldozing and abuse?—A. Well, the Democrats would say to us, that "you all is trying to follow these carpet-baggers, scallawags, and negro leaders, and just as long as you try to follow them we are going just to kill you as we did them." They told us so to our teeth. They told me so many a time.

Q. Well, after you made your appeal to Congress and the President for relief, what next steps did your colonization council take, if you remember?—A. Well, after we seed that things got a little quieter, after along about the latter part of September—

Q. What year was that?—A. In 1874.

Q. Very well, go on.—A. When things got a little quieter then, and it looked like they were sort of talking friendlier to us than before—after September they commenced talking a little friendly with us then—so we knocked along and didn't say no more, and didn't hold any more meetings. We was scared to hold meetings then—afraid to meet—though we met on the sly sometimes, but we was afraid they would

come across us and kill us, and sometimes we would have to go away off in the woods and hide ourselves.

Q. At the time you were doing that, was there anything political in your organization?—A. Nothing in the world.

Q. You were simply looking out for a better place in which you could get work and enjoy your freedom?—A. Yes, sir; that was all.

Q. When did the idea first enter your council to emigrate to the northern and northwestern States; if you remember, what were the first movements in that direction?—A. Well, in that petition we appealed there, if nothing could be done to stop the turmoil and strife, and give us our rights in the South, we appealed then, at that time, for a territory to be set apart for us to which we could go and take our families and live in peace and quiet.

Q. The design of your organization, then, as you understood it, was not so much to go north to live among the white people in the Northern and Western States as it was to have a territory somewhere that you could occupy in peace and quiet for yourselves?—A. That is what we wanted, provided we could not get our rights in the South, where we was. We had much rather staid there if we could have had our rights.

Q. You would have preferred to remain in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your organization was not in favor of your moving, providing you could get your rights and be protected in the enjoyment of them as any other men?—A. No, sir; we had rather staid there than go anywhere else, though the organization was very careful about that, and we said so from the first; and then, if that could not be done under any circumstances, then we wanted to go to a territory by ourselves.

Q. Well, about what time did this idea of a territory first occur to you; did it occur at all during the organization of your committee, or after the council was organized?—A. After the committee had made their investigations.

Q. Well, what did you do after that?—A. We organized the council after that.

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

Q. Not until 1877?—A. No, sir. In 1877 we lost all hopes.

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 along 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. Well, what was the complaint after you failed to get the territory?—A. Then, in 1877 we appealed to President Hayes and to Congress, to both Houses. I am certain we sent papers there; if they didn't get them that is not our fault; we sent them.

Q. What did that petition ask for?—A. We asked for protection, to have our rights guaranteed to us, and at least if that could not be done, we asked that money should be provided to send us to Liberia.

Q. That was in 1877, was it?—A. Yes, sir; that was in 1877.

Q. Still, up to that time you did not think at all of going into the Northern States; at least you had taken no steps toward going into those States, had you?—A. No, sir.

Q. When did that idea first occur to your people?—A. In 1877, too, we declared that if we could not get a territory we would go anywhere on God's earth; we didn't care where.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Even to the Northern States?—A. Yes; anywhere to leave them Southern States. We declared that in our council in 1877. We said we would go anywhere to get away.

Q. Well, when did the exodus to the Northern States from your locality, or from your country you are acquainted with best, begin?—A. Well, it didn't begin to any extent until just about a year ago.

Q. It didn't begin to any extent until 1879, you mean?—A. No, sir; not till the spring of 1879.

Q. But you had prior to that time been organized and ready to go somewhere, as I understand you?—A. Yes, sir; we had several organizations; there were many organizations; I can't tell you how many immigration associations, and so forth, all springing out of our colonization council. We had a large meeting, some five thousand people present, and made public speeches in 1877 on immigration.

Q. What was the character of those speeches as to what you intended to do?—A. We intended to go away, to leave the South, if Congress would not give us any relief; we were going away, for we knowed we could not get our rights.

Q. Where were these meetings held?—A. Some were held at Shreveport, in Caddo Parish, some were held in Madison, and some were held in Bossier Parish.

Q. Was there any opposition to these meetings in which you talked about going away?—A. No, sir. There didn't nobody say anything to us against our having our meetings, but I will tell you we had a terrible struggle with our own selves, our own people there; these ministers of these churches would not allow us to have any meeting of that kind, no way.

Q. They didn't want you to go?—A. No; they didn't want us to go.

Q. Why?—A. They wanted us to stay there to support them; I don't know what else. Mighty few ministers would allow us to have their churches; some few would in some of the parishes. There was one church, Zion, in Shreveport, that allowed us to talk there.

Q. Were the ministers opposed to it?—A. Yes, sir; they was opposed to it.

Q. How was it with politicians?—A. The politicians? When we held our meetings we would not allow the politicians to speak. We would not allow any one to speak but in our favor.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Are you speaking of colored men who were politicians?—A. Yes.

Q. And you would not allow the politicians among your people or the ministers to talk?—A. O, yes; we would allow them to talk in our favor.

Q. But not otherwise?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Your meetings were composed, then, of men in favor of going away ?—A. Yes, and of the laboring class.

Q. Others didn't participate with you ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why didn't the politicians want you to go ?—A. They were against it from the beginning.

Q. Why ?—A. They thought if we went somewhere else they would not get our votes. That is what we thought.

Q. Why were the ministers opposed to it ?—A. Well, because they would not get our support ; that is what we thought of them.

Q. They thought it might break up their churches ?—A. Yes ; that is what they thought ; at least we supposed the ministers thought that.

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 98,000 names enrolled.

Q. Women and men ?—A. Yes, sir ; women and men, and none under twelve years old.

Q. Well, the colonization council itself numbers about 500 ?—A. It's strength is about five hundred ; it is not that strong at this time, for some has died.

Q. But that was the highest number it has reached ?—A. Yes, sir ; that is the highest it has reached.

Q. Then through that council, as sort of subscribers to its purpose and acts and for carrying out its objects, there were 98,000 names ?—A. Yes ; 98,000 names enrolled.

Q. In what parts of the country were these 98,000 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. So that is an organization for the purpose of giving direction to and managing the affair, and doing what it can to secure relief to your race from the oppressions of the South ?—A. Yes, sir ; that is what it is for—to try to get our rights some way or other.

Q. How many of your people have gone from that part of the country to the North, if you know ?—A. I don't know exactly how many have gone.

Q. Of course you cannot tell us exactly, but as near as you know ; give some idea of the number, if you can.—A. My reports from several members of the committee, in parts I have not been in and seen for myself—I take their words and put their words down as mine, be-

cause they are not allowed to lie on the subject. And so from what I have learned from them from time to time I think it is about five thousand and something.

Q. Do you mean from that section of country down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. From Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

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.

Q. Well, what inducements, if any, have been offered by railroad companies, speculators, or others, sending out representations of the advantages of Kansas or other States to the colored race; do you know anything about this?—A. No, sir; they ain't said nothing to me about such a thing.

Q. Have you heard of anything of that kind operating upon your people to induce them to leave?—A. They only told me, some members did, how cheap they would carry us, and how cheap they would let us have lands, provided we was going.

Q. That is, the government would let you have land cheap under the homestead law?—A. Yes, sir, and the railroads, too, would sell us land cheap if we wanted it.

Q. Now, Mr. Adams, you know, probably, more about the causes of the exodus from that country than any other man, from your connection with it; tell us in a few words what you believe to be the causes of these people going away.—A. Well, the cause is, in my judgment, and from what information I have received, and what I have seen with my own eyes—it is because the largest majority of the people, of the white people, that held us as slaves treats our people so bad in many respects that it is impossible for them to stand it. Now, in a great many parts of that country there our people most as well be slaves as to be free; because, in the first place, I will state this: that in some times, in times of politics, if they have any idea that the Republicans will carry a parish or ward, or something of that kind, why, they would do anything on God's earth. There aint nothing too mean for them to do to prevent it; nothing I can make mention of is too mean for them to do. If I am working on his place, and he has been laughing and talking with me, and I do everything he tells me to, yet in times of election he will crush me down, and even kill me, or do anything to me to carry his point. If he can't carry his point without killing me, he will kill me; but if he can carry his point without killing me, he will do that.

Q. He would a little rather not kill you?—A. Yes; but if he cannot control my people just as he pleases, he will get us out of the way, or I can get out of the way, and he won't do nothing with me.

Q. You say that that occurs in times of election. Now you heard the examination yesterday, and the question that was asked the witness, how it was that in a population where there were five or six colored people to one white man, the white people could bulldoze the negro and prevent him from voting. Tell us the process by which that is done; how is that thing done by the Democrats of that country?—A.

Well, I can tell you a little something about that. Now, in many instances, whenever they wants to do anything of that kind, they raise a little disturbment with some of the colored people to start on. They may not, perhaps, just come in with a rush and do anything that way to us, but they will come to a place where there is a kind of a little gathering. One will come down and take a drink, and after he takes a drink—he will not get drunk—he don't drink enough to get drunk—

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Whom are you speaking of?—A. Some of these bulldozers; some of these bad white men down there. Well, he goes and takes a drink, and then comes out and commences to meddle with one of the colored men; when he wants to, he will meddle with him; and maybe the colored man will say something sort of rash like, as he do to him. If he does, he will haul out a revolver and strike him on the head, and knock blood out of him, or something of that sort, and maybe, perhaps, shoot him. In many cases he will shoot him, or shoot at him—maybe he won't hit him, but shoot at him; and after he has shot at him, and as soon as they hear that firing, many will come with guns and revolvers, and the first colored man they see talking anything concerning this man that was shot at or struck, then they will commence on him and they will beat him or shoot him. Then there is a passel of them will commence firing on them colored men who haven't got anything to fight with. Now, if one of the colored men will show fight, if he shoots one or hurts one of them pretty bad, his life ain't no more than a chicken's. He may go home if he wants to, but he won't stay home, for a passel will come after him that night; and if they don't get him then they will come again. But they will get him; any one that done anything or said anything at the time this was first raised, they will get him. They won't get 'em all at once. They will come to their house and take one one time; then they will come and take another at another time, and so they will get all them that says or does anything to resist them.

Q. Suppose the colored men should resist these attacks; what would be the result?—A. Well, if the colored people think of showing any kind of resistance, or of making any stand against them, or come out like they were going to make a stand, they ain't going to come up boldly and fight.

Q. Who ain't?—A. The white men ain't; that is, if they think the colored men are prepared to make a fight, they ain't going to attack them. But they will do this: One kind of peaceable man amongst our people will come and say, "Don't have a fuss; don't be preparing to raise a riot or nothing; all this fuss is over, it is all settled, and settled good; it shan't come to no riot, and we want you all to be quiet." If there is any leader of that kind, he will say that, and he won't allow our men to raise a riot; and as all they ask is to have peace, they don't defend themselves against these men. Them men has done so to one after another, and they let them just go, and we will go on paying no attention and thinking no harm at all. But the white men will go around to this softhearted one who don't care for our race, and they will find out from him all they can about who would have done something, who would have tackled them, and the first thing they know here will come one or two white men in a field on the plantation where one or two of them are working, and they will take them and arrest them and take them to prison. Then they will go to another plantation, and to another and another, and get them all arrested after awhile, and maybe they will come to the jail in a little while and take them out, and turn them loose, and tell them,

"You had better go such a course, because it is safer, and they might catch you." They go, and a crowd meets them and catches them, and they kill them in the woods. You never hear of them after that.

Q. Why do not the colored people arm themselves against these outrages, and attempt to defend themselves? Cannot they get arms?—A. They can buy just as many arms as they want; if they have money they can buy as many as they want to.

Q. Will they let them keep them?—A. Yes, till the riot come. I will tell you how that is. If there was a riot started—for instance, this may be a little town here; if there is a riot started somewhere about ten or fifteen miles from that town, they would form themselves at that town and would go down there by fifties and hundreds in a gang, which I have seen with these eyes many a time—I have seen it many a time. And then they would go there themselves, but would keep some one there at the place to watch us, to see whether the colored men were going to that town to buy arms or not. If the colored men are attacked they call it a riot, because they are killing the colored men. You never hear of the colored man raising the riot, because he never gets the chance. If he shoots at a white man and strikes him, they kill fifty colored men for the one white man that was shot.

Q. And the colored people understand that, do they?—A. O, yes, sir; and at the time, seeing there is a riot going on, the colored man cannot buy any ammunition. If the riot is ten or fifteen miles off he can't buy no ammunition.

Q. What is the process by which just before an election a large district is carried by these men? How do they prevent the colored man from voting?—A. In some particular districts, and districts where the colored people are in a large majority, there is the only places where they does such devilment. In parishes where the colored people are in the minority, they hardly ever raise up that way to prevent them.

Q. Do they visit them at night, or how do they manage that?—A. They go 'round to the houses at night.

Q. To individual houses?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do they do at these houses? We don't understand this, you see.—A. Well, in some instances they will come to our houses and ask us—well, if you are the president of a club, you know, they will call you out. The man will go out, and they will ask him is he going to—or, "Where's your tickets?" "What tickets?" he will say, and they will say, "The Republican tickets you are going to carry with you to the polls to-morrow." If he says he ain't going to carry none, they will say, "Why, you had some tickets to-day, hadn't you?" He will say "No," or will deny it, and then they will search him and search his house, and if he ain't got none they won't do anything to him; but if they find any tickets on him, or in his house, they will perhaps whip him or knock him about a little. They won't kill him then, without he says he is determined to issue his tickets and go to the polls and vote them. They won't kill him at all, but just beat him and knock him about a little and let him go. That scares him from going. Then they will tell him, "If you go to the polls to-morrow, and carry them tickets to your club and vote against us, we will fix you. You had better not do it." And to save his life he won't do it. Some will undertake it, but in some instances they have to run off during election day. They have to leave the polls, or else they will be killed; many of the presidents of the clubs have to do so.

Q. How many colored people would vote the Democratic ticket if they had the chance—if you would just let them have the privilege?—A. Well, not but a few sets of men will do that. All the ones I ever seed

vote the Democratic ticket down there is men, some of them barbers, in the stores, some few draymen that dray for the houses when they can get it. If the boss men know they vote the Republican ticket they won't employ them.

Q. Well, that is not what I mean; that is not voting from choice.—
 A. Well, otherwise I don't believe there is over a hundred, to my knowledge, that would do it, unless it was something about theories of working, or something of that kind it would have to be to combine them to make them do it. I recollect I used to run a plantation; I used to boss a plantation for a man in Shreveport, in 1872, and boss a wood-yard. I was a wood-chopper myself, and managed the affairs of the wood-yard for a part of the time for him. Then, in 1873, I had charge of his plantation and used to boss on his plantation for him, and attend to all the business on his plantation, and made my reports to him each month. It was about twelve or thirteen miles from the town of Shreveport, in Caddo Parish; and in 1874, the time when the white league raised up so, and said this was a white man's government, and nobody who voted the Republican ticket should not have no more employment, and anybody who employed such a man as that he should be denounced by the white men, and they called it the white man's party. Well, then, me and him was very friendly till that time. He is a large farmer, and he owns twelve plantations, and I had been his agent, buying cotton seeds and corn to run his plantation, and attended to his oil mill; he owns an oil-mill, and he thought a heap of me. In March and April I worked for him, and when I went back to get employment, and told him that I wanted him to employ me, he said, "I cannot do it." I never had anything to do with politics any more than going to vote; or when my men who belonged to the society that I belonged to would come to me and ask me what I thought best as to the way they should vote, I would tell them, of course, and I would issue them tickets—all my members; I would issue tickets to them and tell them how I thought they ought to vote. To a great extent our organization would not vote there unless I issued an order to them telling them how I thought they ought to vote, and they would not prepare to do so unless I would tell them. Well, I went back to my old employer and told him that I wanted employment. He said to me, "Adams, I think a heap of you as a man; I know you are a true man, and that you will do what you promise to do, but under this order I cannot employ you."

Q. What was his name?—A. Hambleton—W. C. Hambleton, of Hambleton & Company.

Q. Is his residence at Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir; at Shreveport. Well, Mr. Hambleton said to me, "Adams, you are a good old Republican, and I cannot employ you because you are a Republican. I cannot employ you no more." I says to him, "Why, Mr. Hambleton, you votes as you please, and acts as you please, and why not me?" "Well, I have no objection to that whatever, but you know I cannot employ you, because I said I would not employ no more Republicans, and I cannot do it. That is all the reason. I've got nothing against you—nothing in the world against you but that, and I cannot employ you nohow on that account." Now, him and me had been good friends. He gave me four hundred and fifty dollars a year the first year I done business for him, and I have made off'n him one hundred dollars a month chopping wood."

Q. By what?—A. By chopping wood; with these hands and a maul and axe, chopping and cording wood, I made a hundred dollars a month off of him, that same man, and he knows it.

Mr. VANCE. That is equal to wages in Indiana, Mr. Chairman.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Did he allow you by the cord?—A. Yes; so much by the cord. I got \$1.25 a cord, and I can cut from three to seven cords a day, and cord them up; and I can split from three to five hundred rails a day.

Q. Well, Mr. Adams, you regard this organization to which you have referred as the first movement in this country on the subject of this emigration of your people, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; the first I have known anything about.

Q. I will ask you, Mr. Adams, what you think of the probabilities of this exodus in the future; is it going to be large or small; is it increasing or decreasing?—A. Well, it is increasing to a great extent.

Q. Do you think it is likely to reach much larger proportions?—A. O, yes, sir; I believe it will.

Q. In any event, do you mean?—A. I believe it will unless there are some steps taken to prevent it.

Q. What kind of steps?—A. Well, by extending to my race their rights, in every respect.

Q. You think, as you said awhile ago, that your people lost all hope of securing these rights in 1877, and have not recovered any confidence in that matter since?—A. Yes, sir; we have lost all hope of securing our rights where we are, and we are preparing to leave.

Q. What would be the effect, do you think, of the election of a Democratic President upon this movement of your people?—A. I could hardly tell what effect it would have upon them.

Q. Would it increase the confidence of the colored people that their rights as freedmen and their privileges would be secured to them?—A. My own candid opinion is that if a Democratic President was elected—I, myself, believe—I give that as my belief, that if a Democratic President was elected, that we would not be able to come out of there, unless we come through the woods as we did when we run away in the slave times.

Q. Is not that fear operating now, to some extent, in hurrying your people away at this time?—A. Yes, sir; that is making them feel like going now.

Q. You want to get away before a Democratic President is elected?—A. We don't know who is going to be elected.

Q. That is what I think.—A. That is what I tell them, and what I believe.

Q. You believe that would be the effect if such an evil were to befall the country?—A. Yes, that is what I believe.

Q. Do you know whether they are interfering with any one's going away now?—A. There has been many reports to me, individually, of that kind, that they have been interfered with in getting away.

Q. Tell us in what way this interference has been shown, from the reports you have heard and from what you have seen and know yourself.—A. Well, I belong to that emigration committee that was created by that convention in New Orleans last April. There was a committee of fifteen appointed by that convention, and in that committee of fifteen I was one of them that was appointed. The convention appointed it to consider the matter of emigration.

Q. Were you a member of that convention?—A. Yes, sir; and I was appointed on the committee there; and that committee of fifteen that was created by the convention appointed me as a member of the committee on arrangements and transportation. I served as a member of that committee, and was not chairman of that committee of arrangements and transportation, but only a member of it; but I did my duty

which I was instructed to do by that committee what time I was about there. I was there in part of May, about four or five days in May, when I went away into the country and country parishes, and never came back till along about the 7th of June, and then I staid there then for two or three months. And the people, whilst I was there on that committee, several of them came from the country, some of them from Mississippi, and some from Alabama, and some from several parts of Louisiana, and would report to me this: Two men reported that, one of them, he left a place where he was living at in Mississippi, and whilst being in the field plowing alone, that he saw a large crowd of white men coming to him with guns, and he said that he didn't know what they was coming for, but somebody, some colored person, got to him before they did, and said that these men was going to kill him. "What for?" he asked. "Wasn't he out on the river that night with a lot of colored people going to Kansas?" "Yes, he was," he said, "Well, that man is going to kill the man that was leading them." And sure enough he had been. So he whirled right out and they captured his horse; his horse was plowing; and he run that night to his house and expected to get his things, as fifteen others was going away with him; but when he went back to his house he found that they had been there and took his trunk and all his clothes, and everything he had, and carried them up to the bo-s-man's house, and they had his horse too. I asked, "Did he owe the man anything?" and he said "He didn't owe the man five cents in the world." He said this was his own crop and everything. And this man took his horse and his plow, and everything he had, and put his horse in his own stable and put his things up there in his own store-room; and told him that he could not have anything. And he had \$125. in his trunk that he was going away with, and he took that too; and he had to run away himself to save his life.

Mr. VANCE. Perhaps that man borrowed some money of you?

The WITNESS. Not a cent, sir. He was trying to get away, and to save up enough to take the boat that evening, but they took all he had from him; but the next Saturday I gave him something to get away with.

Mr. VANCE. Then you did help him?

The WITNESS. O, yes; I paid his fare myself, out of my own pocket.

Q. Have you heard of any other difficulties in your people getting away?—A. O, yes, sir; another man with him that run off from the same place was in the same condition, though he didn't have as much as that other left behind; and then there was some come from Red River that said the captain of the boat would not take him and his family because they said he was going to Kansas, and they would not take them down to the mouth of the river.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Did he offer to pay the captain?—A. O, yes, sir.

Mr. VANCE. Give me the name of the man from whom this horse and property was taken?

The WITNESS. I can't remember the name in either case at this time, but I know 'em, and I knew at the time the man told me. I wrote it down on a piece of paper, because that was some part of my duty; as being a member of the colonization council, it was part of my duty to do so, and I did do it, though I don't remember where it is now, but I know it is written down. Not only his case is writ down, but those who came to me in these circumstances I wrote down, and I have got them somewhere now.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Were there many cases like that?—A. Several come to me and said, during the time that I was performing that duty, that they had to slip out and run away; and while I was absent from there off of the duty I don't know how many people had taken the boat there during the time I was absent, but I was informed that there was six hundred; but I had taken the account of those that had taken the boat during the time I was there, and I had a conversation with the majority of them.

Q. What was generally the reason they gave for going away?—A. A great many of them stated that "I have been working ever since I pretended to be free"—some would say "pretended to be free," and others would say "ever since I have been free"—and I never have got nothing of any account, but every year I come out in debt," and he says that sometimes I may come out, this year may be, perhaps, he says, with about twenty dollars—and again I would come out with nothing, and if I attempt to go away from the place where I live and on which I have a horse, and I have a cow, and I have hogs, and I have a wagon, and I have a team—some of them would state—and if I attempted to leave the place, everything that I have would be taken away from me, and I would go off with nothing.

Q. Was that to go off from one place, from one plantation, to another?—A. Yes, to go off to any other plantation.

Q. This is what some of these people told you who were ready to leave their homes and were waiting to take the boat at Shreveport?—

A. Yes, sir; these facts—the people that took the boat there told me this, and I took them down at the time, and I can state facts that I seen with my own eyes, where they did do it.

Q. What were they?—A. In the parish of Caddo, on Red River, there is Reuben White, a well-known farmer there.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. No, he is a white man, and a rich man. He have two plantations on Red River, to my knowing. And I knowed the man that knowed him in slave times, that belonged to him, and have been with him, and been working on the plantation ever since he was there—the old man Logan Low. He has a son named Tim; and then an old man named Dickson, if I recollect the names right now, and many more that knowed their names personally, but I cannot call their names personally. They went to go off of his place, and some of them made—the men and their families—and they were working their families in conjunction. I have known them to make a hundred bales of cotton to the family; and when they went away, year before last, they swept the last thing from them, and never allowed them to carry away nothing, nothing more than their wearing clothes.

Q. Where were they going—to Kansas?—A. No; only from his place to another place.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Can you recollect the name of the man who took their property?—A. Yes; his name is Reuben White.

Q. What is the name of the colored man?—A. Logan Low is one, and Dickson is one.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Does Reuben White live at Shreveport?—A. Yes, sir; he is one of my friends.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Have you heard any reports from the men who have emigrated with their families and made this exodus?—A. Yes.

Q. As to how they were received in the places where they went, and how they are doing?—A. Yes.

Q. What reports came back to the organization from these people?—A. They all gave good reports—every letter I have received is encouraging for them to come.

Q. What do they say of their condition in the localities where they now are as compared with what it was in the places which they left?—A. They say that when they work for a man there in Kansas and Nebraska, and some of them that has gone to Colorado—they says that when they work for a man there he pays them, he has no trouble to get his money whatever. They says there is no such thing as whipping him, there is no such thing as shooting him, there is no such thing as running him off from his club meeting, or any thing of that sort, when he is holding his meetings. They says there is no such thing as an order to close the churches at nine o'clock at night, and there is no such thing as arresting them if they sets up over their dead after nine o'clock, as it has been in some parts of Louisiana where he had lived. They says everybody is free there, and everybody has free intercourse there every way. And they says that wages is—some stated that they got nine dollars a week for their work, and some of them stated—that is the men—and some of them stated that their wives got from three to four dollars a week for work in Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado.

Q. Did they say anything about their advantages for schooling?—A. Yes; they said that they had public schools there, and they had the same privilege to send their children as anybody else had that was there before.

Q. What did they say, if anything, as to the climate, whether it was hard on them, or otherwise?—A. They says that is a little colder there, than where they come from, but they said that the cold didn't hurt them anything; they was all satisfied to stand the cold; they can stand it.

Q. What did they say, if anything, about the sickness and suffering amongst them as they were going to Kansas, and getting settled there?—A. Well, they say they have had some little hard times in that way, of sickness in traveling, before they got to the places and got settled; some of them says that, but some of them says they had no trouble in that way.

Q. Some had more strength and were in better spirits, and so were a little more jolly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they say anything as to the disposition of the people to receive them in a friendly way, and to assist them in getting places, or otherwise?—A. Yes; everybody seems willing to help them in every respect; everybody, men and women, was ready to help them and was kind to them, and they could find a friend most anywhere who would be ready to do something for them.

Q. These people that you mention as having heard from went to Kansas, Colorado, and Nebraska; have you heard anything from those who have gone to other States in the North?—A. Not directly I haven't; I have received letters only from Kansas, and Nebraska, and Colorado—these three States.

Q. Have you had any correspondence with the colored men that have been interested in the movement at any time in Missouri?—A. O, yes; we have heard from them.

Q. Mention any names that occur to you of colored men who have corresponded with you in reference to that?—A. I have had correspondence with the leaders of the organizations there.

Q. Can you mention the names of any of these men?—A. Yes; two of them were Turners—two different Turners. I don't know just their names; I know both of them started with J's—they were two Turners anyway.

Q. Well, tell about these two Turners, each of them, what correspondence you had with them?—A. They wrote to me and sent me their pamphlets.

Q. From what parts of Missouri did they write to you?—A. Both of them from Saint Louis.

Q. What did they represent themselves to be; what connection did they say they had with the movement?—A. They were leaders of the Emigration Aid Associations there in Saint Louis. One was the Emigrant Aid Association there, and one was the Emigrant Relief Association there. I think that was it. One was, I think, called the Colored Emigrant Aid Association, and one of them was president of the Colored Emigration Relief Association—that was it—or Relief Board perhaps.

Q. Now were these two associations organized for the same purpose—that is, to relieve the colored people who were going North?—A. I do not know what was their purpose more than what they said.

Q. Well, what did they say their object was?—A. One of them said the object was to help all those which came; the other said the object was to help them and encourage them when they did come.

Q. Did either of them write anything to discourage the emigration?—A. O, nobody didn't write nothing to discourage us at all; only in this light, they would tell me when the money was nearly exhausted, you know—they would tell me that, and when they didn't think they would be able to help us and when they would be able.

Q. Well, what was this correspondence about; what else did they say?—A. Well, when they first wrote to me I didn't know anything about it—they wrote to me first.

Q. Have you any of these letters, any of this correspondence, with you?—A. I have got one of these Turner letters or pamphlets with me. I have one of the others, too, which I can bring.

Q. Go on.—A. Well, when they first wrote to me they sent me some of the pamphlets of the organizations. I didn't know them, but supposed that there was some men that had went from our place up there which gave them my name, and they sent them to me; I didn't know nothing about them till then; or they may have seen my name in some printing of the organization in the papers, or something of that sort; I don't know how they got my name.

Q. Well, what did you do when you got these pamphlets or circulars?—A. When they wrote me I answered them, and then kept a regular correspondence with one of the associations.

Q. With which one of the associations did you keep up a regular correspondence?—A. I kept up a regular correspondence with John Turner, I think it was—his name started with "J;" some time he would put it John Turner.

Q. Was that the Aid Association or the Relief Association?—A. That was the relief.

Q. And the other was the Aid Association?—A. Yes; that was the other, the aid.

Q. What became of your correspondence with the Emigration Aid Association, the other Turner?—A. Well, it busted up somehow or other. I didn't receive no more than one letter from him, I think; I got the pamphlet.

Q. He sent you a circular or pamphlet?—A. Yes, sir; he sent me his pamphlet about the organization.

Q. Have you got it with you?—A. Well, I have got one of them here, and I can get the other.

Q. Was that circular to encourage or discourage your people from emigrating?—A. The letter was to encourage I know; the pamphlet I hardly know about now; I did not get no more letters about that.

Q. Have you the circulars or pamphlets from both of them?—A. I have one of them here, I know. (Searching.) Here is one from the first Turner. (Handing to Mr. Blair the circular of the Emigration Aid Association.) This is the one that busted.

Q. You mean the one whom you ceased to have correspondence with?—A. Yes, sir; this is the one that the correspondence busted with.

Q. I would like to know further about it. This man, you say, wrote you a letter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was the president. (Reading:) "Hon. J. Milton Turner, president."—A. Yes, sir; and he wrote me a letter.

Q. Yes; and in that letter he wrote you, what did he say with regard to the exodus?—A. Well, I don't remember all that he said; I remember a few words.

Q. Well, what few words do you remember, or the substance of them; I don't expect you to give the words—just give us the impression made upon you as to what its meaning was, and whether it was for or against the exodus?—A. Well, it was for the exodus, because you know that he wrote it altogether for the exodus, so that our people could get out of their distress, he said; he said he was glad to see them trying to get out of their distress.

Q. He said he was glad to see them trying to get out of their distress?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say you have not got the letter?—A. No, sir; not here, I haven't. (Producing the circular of the Colored Immigration Aid Association.) I did not know I had this till I found it in my pocket here.

Mr. BLAIR. I will read this, as I understand Mr. Turner is a man who has changed position on this subject. (Reading the circular.) On the first page is—

An appeal to the humane and philanthropic.

THE COLORED IMMIGRATION AID ASSOCIATION.

Hon. J. Milton Turner, president.

Albert Burgess, secretary.

W. H. Souder, acting treasurer.

Board of directors: Chas. H. Tyler, Jas. W. Wilson, Matthew Richardson, John J. Harris, James P. Thomas, Richard Smith.

Board of managers: Chas. H. Tyler, Jas. W. Wilson.

The citizens of Saint Louis are in no way instrumental to instigate this migration of colored people. Their work is alone that of humanity.

Then follows the appeal, in these words:

THE COLORED IMMIGRATION ASSOCIATION.

SAINT LOUIS, Mo., April 22, 1879.

The colored men of this city, who have been active in the organization of the above-named society to assist the colored immigrants from the South in finding a local habitation in the rich and growing West, have just perfected that organization, with the above named as president, secretary, treasurer, and directors. These names include

some of the leading colored men of the place and an advisory board, to be composed of some of the most public spirited and benevolent of our citizens, and these are a guaranty to all who know them of perfect good faith, integrity, and trustworthiness in the distribution of such funds as may be contributed to them for the purposes indicated.

The articles of the society have already been incorporated, and the object is set forth in the following:

The object of the association shall be to raise funds for the establishment of colored settlements and to aid the colored immigrants who may reach our city while fleeing from the Southern States.

Aid will only be extended to the colored immigrant on his way *bona fide* to his own home.

The exorbitant rent he has been compelled to pay the land-owner in the South, and the annual bills to the storekeeper, eat up the entire fruits of his labor, while murder, rapine, arson, and most barbarous outlawry have prevailed to persecute the negro, and now that a general exodus of those poor afflicted people is upon us, we recognize in that only the legitimate result of the persistent plunderings and exactions of the haughty planters of that section.

Saint Louis is the first objective point of all these exiles, and is the place where aid can be most effectively and economically rendered them, and where sound judgment and friendly counsel can be best employed to so distribute them in their desire to form settlements in Kansas and other parts as to avoid their becoming paupers in the land whither they journey.

Our streets are crowded almost daily with men, women, and children without sufficient clothing, shelter, or food. The tireless charity of our citizens has responded liberally to the appeal of suffering humanity in this case until we find it necessary to ask for help.

This appeal is made to the charitable, the philanthropic, the benefactors of the race of all localities who desire to assist the lowly and the down-trodden in establishing homes where he and his family can enjoy in peace and security all the fruits of his labor.

Contributions to the cause can be sent through Charles Parsons, president of the State Savings Association, Saint Louis, Mo., and will be thankfully received.

Respectfully,

ALBERT BURGESS, *Secretary.*

By order of—

Hon. J. MILTON TURNER, *President.*

[Following is the text of the other "Turner circular," referred to by witness as the "J. Turner pamphlet," and made a part of his statement, ordered on the following day to go in the record, but which is inserted here as in proper place:]

COLORED REFUGEE RELIEF BOARD, OFFICE 903 MORGAN STREET, SAINT LOUIS, MO.

Directors: Rev. Edgar Pitts, C. H. Tandy, P. H. Murray, J. W. Wheeler, Sandy Mix, James W. Grant, Wm. H. Stanton, John Casey, Golden Worthington, Rev. G. W. Wright, Rev. J. Washington.

Committee on transportation: Daniel Prince, C. E. Parker, C. W. Prentice, chairman.

Committee on commissary: Wm. R. Lawton, chairman,

The frequent and continued arrival of colored emigrants from the South, in a majority of cases utterly destitute, and the information received from credible sources that thousands are assembled at steamboat landings along the Mississippi ready to embark, and that tens of thousands in the interior of Mississippi and Louisiana are preparing to join the exodus at the first convenient opportunity, has made it necessary for the relief committee of twenty-five, originally appointed and approved by mass meetings of the citizens of Saint Louis, to assume a form more perfectly adapted to meet the increasing demands and facilitate its operations.

They have organized under the title of the Colored People's Emigration Relief Board of Saint Louis, Mo., with the following officers, directors, and committees:

Rev. Moses Dickson, president; Wm. R. Lawton, vice-president; John H. Johnson, secretary; Rev. John Turner, treasurer.

WORK OF THE COMMITTEE: The committee found 2,000 emigrants half clad, without food or means, filling the colored churches, halls, and houses, and began at once an active canvass for funds, and for weeks liberal hands administered to their every want, and boxes of clothing and baskets of food were given without stint; but still they came upon every boat from the Lower Mississippi, until the movement assumed stupendous proportions, and the original committee felt the necessity of extending their appeal.

Already the committee, through solicitations, have issued **50,000 rations** and clothing and transportation for 4,004 persons, with the following

FINANCIAL EXHIBIT: By Rev. Moses Dickson the committee on finance made its report as follows:

Received by the committee up to April 1.....	\$374 00
Mullanphy board.....	287 00
Charles Starks.....	206 95
By Rev. John Turner, through Globe-Democrat.....	1, 220 85
By Rev. John Turner, from other sources.....	523 47
By the chairman, through Indianapolis Journal.....	85 00
From other sources, of which notices have been published in the Globe-Democrat.....	257 15
Sarah O. Farrar, Newton Centre, Mass.....	20 00
Good Samaritan, Boston, Mass.....	250 00
Joseph Hale, Boston, Mass.....	5 00
Christopher Wey, Portland, Maine.....	2 00
L. W. String, Saville, Ohio.....	5 00
J. R. Parkins, Brookline, Mass.....	6 00
From refugees.....	97 00
Total.....	3, 341 42
Amount paid out ending April 22:	
To Missouri River Packet Company for refugees and freight.....	2, 607 50
For transportation on railroad.....	30 00
Groceries and provisions.....	247 99
Telegrams, stationery, and stamps.....	10 40
House rent and cartage.....	74 00
Total.....	2, 973 89
In treasury.....	367 53

When they arrive in Kansas their wants are still pressing. Governor St. John, of that State, through representations made by delegates sent from our board, has organized a State central board, with auxiliaries throughout the State, to afford them relief.

We earnestly beseech the friends of humanity everywhere to send money, food, clothing, and grants for land if possible, to help us in this arduous but laudable undertaking.

Contributions may be sent to the following persons: Rev. Moses Dickson, No. 903 Morgan street; Rev. John Turner, 1512 Morgan street; John H. Johnson, custom-house; Dr. B. St. J. Fry, Central Christian Advocate; and office of the Globe-Democrat, Saint Louis, Mo.

Adjourned to Saturday, March 13, 1880.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Saturday, March, 13, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY ADAMS CONTINUED.

HENRY ADAMS'S direct examination continued:

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Mr. Adams, how long were you a soldier?—A. I enlisted in September, 1866, and I was discharged September, 1869. I have my papers in my pocket if it is necessary to show them.

Q. You were in the Regular Army, I think you said?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where were you stationed during these years?—A. Part of the time I was stationed at Shreveport, part of the time at Greenville, near New Orleans, and part of the time at Fort Jackson.

Q. State whether you have been through the country a great deal or not during the last ten years.—A. I have, sir; I have traveled a great deal on horseback, on the steamboat, and on the cars.

Q. In what capacity were you traveling?—A. Well, part of the time I traveled on my own hook, sometimes going to a place to attend to my own business; at other times I traveled as a government scout to gain all the information I could.

Q. In the interest of your organization?—A. Yes, sir; in the interest of our organization.

Q. Well, during these travels through the last ten years have you kept any memoranda of occurrences which you observed?—A. Yes, sir; I have kept a memorandum of a great deal.

Q. State whether you have prepared a succinct statement of these facts which you can swear to?—A. Yes, sir; I have got some drawn up which I ascertained in traveling from 1865 up to 1876; and then there is times that I have got some that is written out in lead pencil, writing from time to time since that time up to the date of 1879; but I haven't got that in good shape, not written off in ink.

Q. I will ask you in a few moments to give us that statement, but in the mean time, and before I ask you that, I will ask you whether you have ever been attacked yourself—whether any attempt has been made to injure you in any way, or to do anything to your detriment, by reason of what you were doing?—A. Yes, sir; in some instances; but I will explain that. In De Soto Parish, where my mother and father have lived for many years—my mother is now dead, she died since I left Shreveport, or about the time that I left, and I have not seen any of my people since she died—and in going down there to see them late in 1865, or in 1866, I was shot at in December, 1865, twenty times by a crowd of white men, and in running from them trying to make my escape, dodging behind trees and one thing or other, they never struck me, but I was shot through the coat tail once or twice, and through my hat once.

Q. What was the cause of their shooting at you?—A. Well, they said that I had left De Soto Parish, in one instance, and was trying to come down there to get others to leave of my friends; and then, besides that, there was some robbers of 'em who was trying to rob me. I had a little wagon and plenty of produce, and I was going back to Shreveport, and they robbed me of all that—everything I had—to about \$500 in all. I called it \$250, but it was about \$500. And then at another time in 1866 I was down there, and going on back I was met up by about five men, and they asked me who I belonged to. I told them I belonged to nobody. "You don't belong to nobody?" I said "No." "Well, by God," they says, "negroes can't travel through here that don't belong to somebody, and we will fix you up right here." I was on a good horse—a pretty good horse—and I made a break and ran. They tried to kill me but I got off; they shot four or five times at me, but never hit me. I ran and got away.

Q. I will call your attention to the condensed statement that you will swear to of outrages which have fallen under your observation; do you recognize that as your paper (handing paper to witness)?—A. Yes, sir; that is my statement.

Q. Are you prepared to swear to that statement?—A. Yes; I can swear to that.

Q. It is a pretty long statement and we will have to have it read, or at least parts of it. You say this statement was prepared by yourself and copied by your clerk or secretary?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINDOM reading portions of the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. (To the witness.) Do you write yourself, Mr. Adams ?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir ; but I am not a good reader of anybody else's writing than my own.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Windom, we will just consider this statement as presented, and will not require it to be read through at present.

By Mr. BLAIE :

Q. What are the other papers you have there ?—A. (Handing papers.)

Q. Is this also a statement of things that have occurred ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How came you by these, Mr. Adams ?—A. They gave me them statements when I was part of the times in my travels in every direction. I traveled to gain information of what had been transacted concerning them.

Q. Are these from memoranda made by yourself of statements made by these parties ?—A. They made the statements and I wrote them down as they made them. They signed some of them, and they were told me what they knowed by others.

Q. And here are two sheets marked " affidavits " ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were these made in your presence ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And signed in your presence ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they were read over in your hearing before they signed them ?—A. Yes ; as they made them I wrote them out and they signed them.

Q. These are not the writing as made by them are they ?—A. No, sir ; these are copies.

Q. They are correct copies are they ?—A. Yes, sir ; I know that they are correct. I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, that none of these papers that I have got here I didn't prepare to meet any committee whatever with ; I didn't know I would be called on to swear to anything concerning these things.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Why did you prepare them, how did you come to prepare them ?—A. In keeping a statement of the true condition of our race in the South and others that I ascertained when I was a scout for the government—some of them.

(The statements and affidavits were admitted as evidence and are inserted at the close of witness's examination.)

Q. You speak of being a scout for the government ; when were you employed in that capacity ?—A. I commenced in April or March.

Q. Of what year ?—A. 1875.

Q. You were employed by whom ?—A. When I made my reports I always reported to the adjutant of the Seventh Cavalry at Shreveport.

Q. That was while you were in the Army ?—A. No, sir ; in 1875.

Q. After you went out ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. BLAIE :

Q. You said you had some memoranda in pencil ?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. WINDOM. He left that with me.

(Mr. Windom was referring here to another lead-pencil document—the petition to President Grant—not to the papers in question.)

Q. What have you there ?—A. (Handing some printed matter to Mr. Blair.)

Mr. BLAIR. (Reading.) It is entitled " The White League in Louisiana ; examined by the Light of White League Testimony : the occasion of its Organization, its Object, and the Design of its Originators and Leaders."

Mr. BLAIE. We will look it over and see whether it is pertinent.
(Admitted afterwards, and portions, as marked by Mr. Windom, inserted at close of witness's examination.)

Mr. WINDOM. (To the witness.) That is all.

Cross-examination of witness :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Mr. Adams, were you born a freeman?—A. No, sir. I was born a slave, and was a slave till June 16, 1865.

Q. You were born in Georgia, I think you said?—A. Yes, sir, I was born in Georgia.

Q. What time did you go to Louisiana?—A. If I mistake not, it was in March, 1850.

Q. How old were you when you first went to Louisiana?—A. They told me that I was seven years old that month.

Q. When you went to Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you wrote this paper that I hold in my hand?—A. That is the copy of it that I wrote from memorandums that I made at the time.

Q. Do you know that it is a correct copy?—A. I believe it is a correct copy, because I sat by my clerk when he was writing it.

Q. In one place you say: "Whilst traveling on my way to De Soto Parish a large body of armed white men met me and asked me who I belonged to. I answered them and told them that I belonged to God, but not to any man." Is that right?—A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. "They then asked me where was my master, and I told them the one I used to have was dead, and I have not had none since 1858." Is that right?—A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. You were not a slave at that time?—A. Well, that was when my master died, in 1858, and I belonged to one of his little children, a girl.

Q. So that you were not a freeman then, and were not until 1865?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you went to Louisiana in March, 1850?—A. Yes, sir; if I don't make no mistake I think that was the month I got there; I always heard my mother say so.

Q. Tell us more about this secret organization you belonged to; when was it first organized?—A. The committee was organized in 1870.

Q. You call it a "committee."—A. Yes, it was a committee.

Q. Well, it was a committee, if you choose to call it such, that extended its influence among your people there?—A. Yes, and to other States too.

Q. Some of its members traveled to the other States, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you took in a certain class of your own people?—A. Yes, sir; those who would keep their work secret amongst themselves.

Q. But you said you did not take in preachers or politicians?—A. Yes, I said that; we just took in laboring men that worked on the plantations.

Q. Then you said you sent out traveling agents through your State and through other States?—A. Yes, sir; you can call it "agents" if you see proper.

Q. Well, you may call it what you choose.—A. I call it men of the committee.

Q. Well, they were agents of the committee, were they not?—A. They might be called agents, perhaps. When one of them leaves here he

may be going to go to one or the other of these States, and before he start he would have a kind of consultation, and they would give him instructions what he must do.

Q. Very well, he went then as your agent?—A. Yes; agent of the committee.

Q. That is all I wanted to get at, simply that fact —A. Yes, sir.

Q. What are you doing now, Mr. Adams?—A. When I am at home, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. Working.

Q. What at?—A. I was working on the levee at New Orleans when I was subpoenaed here.

Q. Do you live at New Orleans?—A. No; my home is in Shreveport, but I have been in New Orleans off and on.

Q. For whom were you working when you were subpoenaed here?—A. Who for?

Q. Yes.—A. O, I was working for anybody that I could get work from.

Q. Well, for whom were you working?—A. At the very moment I was subpoenaed I was just working for anybody I could get a job from.

Q. Well, what was the last job you were working on?—A. The last job I had was working on the levee with the weigher.

Q. How long since you were employed in the custom-house?—A. I was employed there some six weeks, I think, by Mr. Smith.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. In March or April, last year.

Q. Six weeks; was that all the time you ever spent in the custom-house?—A. I worked five weeks there since.

Q. Is that all?—A. Yes, that is all, regularly. Twice I got a job from a weigher on the levee who would hire me, and I took jobs from any one who would hire me.

Q. How long has it been since you were in Shreveport?—A. The last time I was in Shreveport was the 4th day of December, 1878.

Q. Why have you not gone back since?—A. I was afraid to go back; I didn't expect to go back to Shreveport until them cases were decided.

Q. What cases?—A. Them men that went down before the United States court as witnesses. I was subpoenaed there.

Q. Haven't these cases been dismissed long ago?—A. No, sir; not them in Caddo.

Q. Where are they pending now?—A. The district attorney told me there was no appropriation to have any witnesses brought there.

Q. Where are the suits pending?—A. Before the United States court at New Orleans.

Q. How many of them are there?—A. Of Caddo? I don't know how many there is.

Q. You left in December, 1878?—A. Yes, sir; then is when I left.

Q. And you have not been back since?—A. No; not in Caddo.

Q. And you say you will not go back until those cases are decided?—A. No; not in Caddo.

Q. When they are decided are you going back?—A. If they turn them loose and don't do nothing to them I will go back, and if they put them in prison I will go back, but if they fine them a big pile of money I won't go back.

Q. How many are prosecuted, if you know?—A. I don't know how many.

Q. They are the only ones you are afraid of, are they?—A. The ones I testified against.

Q. What were they indicted for?—A. There were some armed forces

going through the country the day and night before the election, and we was afraid to go to the ballot-boxes.

Q. You had been driven away from Caddo by violence, had you?—A. No, sir; nobody come to me and told me to leave.

Q. You have not left Louisiana to settle anywhere else, have you?—A. Because they were going to do anything to me?

Q. Well, for that or any other reason?—A. Well, I am going to leave.

Q. When are you going to leave?—A. Just as soon as I can get my business fixed.

Q. Where do you think of settling?—A. I am making arrangements for that purpose. I allow to go there to fix up my business.

Q. Where is your family?—A. I haven't got no family now but one child.

Q. There is a large majority of colored people in Caddo Parish, is there not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you think that whenever white people ride around—that when they meet free colored people, the colored people just give up their arms and do not resist?—A. Yes; I have known it in several cases. In 1874, I will say, the time when I had a little office at Caddo, when they killed a pa'cel of colored people, that the white men went around and took the guns away from them, and after everything was over, they gave them back to them—in some cases they gave them back.

Q. Now, you say that this secret society of yours was for the purpose of appealing first to Congress and then to the President, and, if necessary, to a foreign government?—A. Yes, sir; that was the object of the council.

Q. I think I understood you to say that you did appeal to Congress?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you made your appeal to Congress, was not the Republican party in the majority in both houses in 1874?—A. The first time we made an appeal it was.

Q. Did they pay any attention to your appeal?—A. Not that I heard of.

Q. If they did would you not have heard of it; you would be likely to hear of it, would you not?—A. It looked like we ought to.

Q. Whom did you send your appeal to?—A. In 1874, do you mean?

Q. At any time that you appealed to Congress?—A. In 1874 we sent to General Grant.

Q. But you appealed first to Congress, you say. When was that?—

A. Yes, to Congress, in 1874; we first appealed to General Grant.

Q. You mean, I suppose, that you appealed to Congress through General Grant?—A. O, yes.

Q. You did not appeal directly to Congress, but you appealed to General Grant?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you send the appeal, through General Grant?—A. By the petition itself.

Q. Did he ever answer you?—A. Well, I told you that I had a little sketch about that that I saw in the newspapers.

Q. Well, you know that would not be a respectful answer, would it?—A. No, sir.

Q. He never paid any attention to it, did he, so far as you know?—A. So far as the appeal was concerned to him individually, why we saw a change down there pretty shortly afterwards.

Q. What did he do?—A. Well, troops came down there and they stopped killing our people as much as they had been; the White Leagues stopped raging about with their guns so much as we had seen them rage about.

Q. Do you mean that when you appealed to General Grant as a secret society, in 1874, he sent the Army there then?—A. No, sir; I don't say he did on that account, but we see'd after that there wasn't so much killing done.

Q. Were the troops there when you made your appeal?—A. Not in our part.

Q. You say there were no troops at Shreveport after the war closed, in 1874?—A. I didn't say that; there was none at Shreveport in 1874, when we made our appeal.

Q. Directly after you made your appeal, you say, troops came there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What troops came there?—A. Some part of the Seventh Cavalry.

Q. A portion of the Seventh United States Cavalry?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was Colonel Sturgis's regiment—Custer's command. Were they down there?—A. Major Merrill was in command of the Seventh Cavalry.

Q. You may be mistaken about its being the Seventh Cavalry.—A. No, sir; I do not think I am mistaken.

Q. You think the Seventh Cavalry was at Shreveport in 1874?—A. Some of it was.

Q. How many companies?—A. I cannot say exactly how many companies.

Q. Who was in command of the regiment?—A. Major Merrill—Merrill—I think that is his name.

Q. Now you say you were a scout in March and April, 1875?—A. Yes, sir; and in May and June of that year.

Q. You were a government scout during those months?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. And reported to whom?—A. To the adjutant.

Q. Who was the adjutant?—A. He was Lieutenant Wallace.

Q. Who employed you to go as a scout?—A. Some of the Army officers.

Q. Well, who were they?—A. Lieutenant Wallace was in command, and he had more to do with it, I suppose.

Q. You were sent out as a scout to find out what was going on?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they pay you as a scout?—A. He gave me fifty dollars a month.

Q. He did?—A. Yes.

Q. You were not in the Army then, were you?—A. No, sir.

Q. How long were you in this business at fifty dollars a month?—A. I named the months.

Q. Very well; when did you first engage in that service?—A. I commenced about the 20th of March.

Q. And continued through April, May, and June?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A pretty good business, was it not?—A. No, sir; a very dangerous business. I had ten times rather have been employed splitting rails. We daren't let nobody know what we was up to.

Q. Did you quit after that and go to splitting rails?—A. Yes, sir; after that I went to splitting rails.

Q. You say that you entered the Army in 1866, and remained in it until September, 1869?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you a private or an officer?—A. I was a private until—I don't know the very day of March; but I was a private till March, 1867; then I was promoted quartermaster-sergeant, and remained till I was discharged a quartermaster-sergeant.

Q. How did you come to be discharged?—A. My time was out. I only enlisted for three years.

Q. Did they take an enlistment of privates in the Regular Army for only three years?—A. At that time they did, but before I came out they would not—they would not take for less than five years.

Q. You are sure of that, are you?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, you say you lost all hope in 1876 and 1877?—A. In 1877 we lost all hope; yes, sir.

Q. In 1877; that was after the State had been counted for Mr. Hayes over Mr. Tilden, was it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that was the reason you lost all hope, was it?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was the matter then?—A. Because States in the South had officers that had held us as slaves; that is the reason we lost all hope.

Q. Why did you not appeal to Mr. Hayes?—A. We did appeal to him.

Q. Did you appeal more than once?—A. Several times; ten to one more than we did to General Grant.

Q. What did he do?—A. Nothing yet.

Q. He has done nothing?—A. No, sir; but I seen a bill was introduced in Congress in 1878, by somebody, I don't remember the name of the gentleman who introduced it—he was from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—I suppose you know more about it than I do; we seen it in the papers, we did; we then made out a petition backing up this bill that he presented to Congress in regards of the poor people of our country for the government land to be set apart for them, and so much money to be aided to them, and for them to pay the amount back at some length of time. And after we sent it we whirled in this petition then to Congress through him to urge that bill to be passed by Congress, so that we could get lands and protection given to us, so that we could stay there. This was in 1878 after we had been rallied so in 1877 to get away; we thought if that could be done, if that bill could be passed, we would stay there.

Q. Do you know that the Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress to pass laws to protect your people in their rights?—A. I have heard people say so, and I have read so.

Q. Have you seen any bill introduced within the last five, six, seven, or eight years by anybody in Congress to carry out the power of the Constitution?—A. Well, I don't know, sir. I think I have seen a sketch of some bills.

Q. How do you account for the fact that your friends, the Republican party—I do not speak disrespectfully—that your friends here, and they are your friends no doubt, have taken no steps under the Constitution to protect your people, if your condition is what you have described it to be, and you have made known your appeal; how do you account for that, and what do you think of that?—A. I can't tell what I do think of that, really. I think, in the first place, that they thought—I think they thought—if they was to undertake to do that they would not be successful in that, and on that account they have failed to do so.

Q. Therefore they have just allowed you to suffer all these wrongs that you were undergoing?—A. Yes, sir; just because we are colored and have been slaves.

Q. Don't you know this, that the Republican party has the administration of this government now, and that President Hayes is commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, and can use them for the purpose of suppressing insurrections and putting down riots? How do your people regard the course of the President and leaders of the Republican party on this question?—A. I have heard some of them talk, and they look at

it this way: Since Mr. Hayes has been President both Houses of Congress have been Democratic, and President Hayes, he can't do nothing without they agreed to it.

Q. But that has been only a little more than a year, and President Hayes has been President three years. You know the Senate of the United States became Democratic just a year ago, and two years before that the Senate was Republican and the President was Republican, and the President has the power to use the troops to put down insurrection; and yet it seems you did not hold them to any responsibility?

Mr. BLAIE. I think the chairman ought to make that statement fairly and in full. I would suggest that he incorporate in it the further statement that the President cannot use the troops, except at the call of the governor of the State, who in this case happens to be Democratic.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Adams, Mr. Blair did not know, but you do, of course, that for four years there was a Republican governor in Louisiana, or he would not have made the remark he did.

Mr. BLAIE. I think the chairman will bear me out that I was suggesting a modification of his question which related to the last two or three years.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Mr. Adams, are you aware that you had a Republican governor in Louisiana for four years during this period that you speak of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, did he do anything for you—did you appeal to him?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he do anything at all for you?—A. No, sir.

Q. He did not?—A. Who are you speaking of now?

Q. I am speaking of Mr. Kellogg.—A. Yes.

Q. He did not try to help you, did he?—A. He did not do it.

Q. Well, do not you know the further fact that you have had several Republican legislatures in Louisiana during this time?—A. Yes.

Q. Have they done anything for you?—A. They passed laws that would do so if they were enforced, but they have never been enforced.

Q. Do not you know that the United States courts are in the hands of Republicans, that the judges are Republicans, the district attorneys are Republicans, and the marshals are Republicans, and that they select the juries; don't you know that?—A. Well, I know that all these men goes by the name of Republicans.

Q. But you do not have much faith in them?—A. No, not in them.

Q. You do not have much faith in Kellogg?—A. I think he was not brave enough; that is my opinion.

Q. You thought he was a little cowardly?—A. Yes, I always thought so.

Q. What do you think of the courts, are they cowardly too?—A. Well, I don't think they are all good staunchest Republicans.

Q. No? And the legislatures you say made the laws?—A. Yes, they made the laws.

Q. Well, do you remember any particular legislation that they enacted to put down these troubles?—A. Well, I have seen little sketches of bills and resolutions that was introduced giving the government power to enroll as many men as they wanted for State marshals, &c., to put down insurrection.

Q. You do not know whether they passed and became laws?—A. I do not know.

Q. Now, Mr. Adams, during four years of this time that Mr. Kellogg

was governor and you had a Republican legislature, did Mr. Kellogg, or did your legislature either, ever call on the President of the United States, either on Grant or on Hayes, for assistance to put down these troubles in your State?—A. Well, I have seen sketches in the newspapers where he did.

Q. Where he called for troops?—A. Yes, sir; where Governor Kellogg did in—1874 he did.

Q. You say that Governor Kellogg called for troops in 1874?—A. Yes, I seen in the newspapers that he did.

Q. Was that the time you made your appeal?—A. Yes, at that time we did.

Q. What did you mean, then, by saying that Governor Kellogg did not do anything to help you?—A. I do not call that doing anything to help us, individually, but I say that we made an appeal one time and he helped us because we was being treated so mean; that was the only time I seed it.

Q. Was not that at the time he was about to lose his own office?—A. Yes [laughing], and we thought that was the reason he done it.

Q. I think so.

Mr. VANCE. It was coming home.

The CHAIRMAN. Things were getting too close to him.

Q. You spoke yesterday, Mr. Adams, about a man by the name of Reuben White, of Shreveport. What did you state about him?—A. I stated that he had a colored man on his place that had belonged to him before the war, and many others, too, and many of them had lived with him ever since they got to be free, and some of them had went there since their freedom and had made a great deal on his place and had horses, and cows, and hogs, and wagons, and teams; I know when they went to leave his plantation he swept the last thing they had away from them. He even took their hogs, and turkeys off the roosts. I was right there on the place at the time.

Q. How long have you known him?—A. Reuben White?

Q. Yes.—A. I have known Reuben White since 1864.

Q. Has he ever been a member of the legislature?—A. I heard that he was before I knowed him. I never saw it.

Q. Do not you know that he has been a member of the Republican legislature?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do not you know that he is a Republican?—A. No, sir; I don't—Reuben White—he ain't no Republican.

Q. Do you know Major Riley, sitting there?—A. Yes, sir; I know him; I have known him before.

Q. Do you think Reuben White is a Democrat?—A. I think he is a Whig.

Q. O, you have Whigs down there?

Mr. VANCE. I protest against that in the name of the Whig party. [Laughter.]

Q. Has he held any office since you have been down there, or run for any office?—A. O, yes; he run for office in the State.

Q. Did he run on the ticket opposed to the Democratic party?—A. O, yes.

Q. Are you certain?—A. Yes; he will tell the colored people he is their friend.

Q. Yes; and take their last turkey?—A. Yes; he tells them he is a great friend of theirs.

Q. You elected him at one time to the State convention?—A. That's what we thought; but after the ticket was nominated he would say he

will see that we have peace on his plantations, and we then put such a man in to protect us.

Q. He says he is a Whig and a friend of the colored people?—A. Yes; but it don't look like he was the way he is taking away their property from them when they leave his plantation.

Q. Well, you think he is a great humbug, don't you?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. He always pretends to be a Republican with you folks and a great friend of yours?—A. He says he is a Whig.

Q. Has the Whig party got down into that corner of Louisiana?—A. I never heard no one talk much about it but him.

Q. Well, you colored people voted for him, didn't you?—A. Yes; we voted for him because he said he would see that we got our rights.

Q. And he took away your turkeys?—A. Yes; and our other goods and property.

Mr. VANCE. That is Whig profession and Democratic practice. [Laughing.]

Mr. WINDOM. That is true.

Q. What was it, Mr. Adams, you said about Hambleton? You worked for him and you thought he was a pretty good man?—A. Yes, sir; I worked for him and thought he was a pretty good man.

Q. The only trouble with him was that after you took a prominent part in politics, he didn't want to employ you as before?—A. Yes; that is what he said.

Q. Did you ever hear of such things up in New England where the folks work in big factories?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never heard of any of the rich men in the North walking up to the polls and showing their hired hands how to vote?—A. No; I never knowed anything about that.

Q. You say, Adams, that you could make one hundred dollars a month chopping wood:—A. I did do it, sir.

Q. How many cords did you chop in a day?—A. Three to seven cords a day, and corded them up.

Q. What kind of timber did you work in, to enable you to cut that much?—A. Wood.

Q. I never heard of such a thing; I was brought up on a farm myself, and I never heard of as much wood as that cut in a day. What kind of wood was it?—A. Ash, box, elder, red oak, and post oak.

Q. And you say you cut from three to seven cords of that kind of wood in a day and put it up?—A. Yes, sir; I done it with these hands.

Mr. BLAIR. I will say right here, that I knew a man in my State who chopped five cords a day for a week.

Q. And you say, Adams, that you cut and split from three hundred to five hundred rails a day?—A. I didn't say I could cut and split them; I say I have did it.

Q. You have cut that many rails in a day?—A. Yes, sir; I have cut and split from three hundred to five hundred in a day, and good timber too; pine timber.

Q. And you made a hundred dollars a month at it?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. Well, don't you think that is pretty good wages for a laboring man?—A. Yes, sir; it was pretty good wages at that time. It was when a man could get it.

Q. When was that?—A. In 1870 and 1871.

Q. Now, Adams, you have been very active in politics and in the

affairs of your people, haven't you?—A. Yes; I took the part of the laboring classes.

Q. I am not complaining of your doing it, but merely want to know the fact. You took a leading part in your committee business, and stood up for what you thought were your rights, did you?—A. Yes.

Q. And with the exception of the two or three times you speak of, you have not been molested in any way, have you?—A. No, sir.

Q. You held public meetings, you say; when did you generally hold public meetings of your committee?—A. We never did hold no public meetings of the committee.

Q. Well, when then did you hold public meetings?—A. Of the council, do you mean?

Q. Public meetings of any kind among your people?—A. In 1877 and 1878.

Q. Why was it that your preachers and ministers would not allow you to hold your meetings in their meeting-houses?—A. A great many of the ministers was opposed to the movement.

Q. Which movement do you speak of?—A. The movement of our race leaving the South, and going anywhere.

Q. They thought you could do as well there as any place else, did they?—A. No, sir; they could not have thought that.

Q. Did they say they thought it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, what reason did they give for not wanting you to go away?—A. They told us to wait a while longer and see; the government would maybe give us our rights after a while.

Q. Have you not in your statement said that the preachers were not allowed to preach the gospel as they wanted to; that is the black preachers?—A. Yes, sir; and that is what they said to me at that time.

Q. You say here in your statement, Mr. Adams, that [reading] "During the time I was passing through the parish a black man was not allowed to preach the gospel anywhere any more than he was about 1865." Is that true?—A. I didn't state that in that connection.

Q. That is what you give here in your written statement?—A. I didn't know any more than what they would say and explain to me; the ministers told me these things.

Q. Well, would the ministers want to stay if they were not allowed to preach the gospel?—A. Well, at that time; you see they are different dates.

Q. Well, this was in the year 1866; I believe you have got it here?—A. Not at that time; they was not allowed to.

Q. And again you say, "As he was, he daren't to preach such doctrines as was suitable to the congregation, and a truth from the holy bible, but he had to preach just what they (the white men) wanted and what they told him to preach." What have you to say to that?—A. That is what they told me.

Q. Who told you?—A. Five or six ministers told me that.

Q. And you say further on "My father was a preacher, and he is even until this day, and they all, or at least the most of them, says they cannot preach the gospel as they wish for the white people didn't nor don't allow them to do it; for the white man says the preachers make meaner niggers, and that they cannot rule the niggers." Do you think they told you that?—A. Yes, several of them told me that.

Q. Did he tell you that?—A. My father?

Q. Yes.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether that is true?—A. It is only what the preachers told me.

Q. Still your preachers would not let you hold your meetings in their meeting-houses?—A. No, sir; they would not. This was in 1866; and this was in 1877 when we was trying to hold meetings in the churches, and they refused; s'nce then they have changed, and they allow them to preach more now than before.

Q. Exactly; things have improved for the preachers since 1866, and the preachers are allowed now to preach the gospel as they please, are they?—A. At this time, in a great many cases, as they please.

Q. And the preachers now have the liberty to preach the gospel, and they don't want their congregations to leave them?—A. Yes, that is the way they stated it to me in several instances.

Q. Then so far as the preacher is concerned the white people allow freedom of speech down there?—A. Yes, sir; so far as the preachers is concerned.

Q. And so much so that the preachers do not want the people to go away from there; they are not in favor of the exodus, and they tell the people so; is that right?—A. They are not in favor of their going on account of the fact that if their people go away they would not get their support.

Q. Are you a member of the church, Mr. Adams?—A. Yes, sir; I am attached to the Methodists.

Q. At Caddo Parish?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where?—A. At the city, since I have been down there.

Q. New Orleans?—A. I joins there lately.

Q. Did you belong to the church in Caddo?—A. Yes; I professed religion just before I left.

Q. Well, was your preacher in Caddo against the exodus?—A. Some say he was and some say he was not.

Q. Your preacher, then, was opposed to the exodus?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In Caddo, you mean?—A. No, sir; I never joined in Caddo.

Q. You never joined in Caddo?—A. No, sir.

Q. You mean that you made a profession of joining in Caddo, but did not join the church there?—A. Yes.

Q. But after you went to New Orleans you became attached to the Methodist Church there?—A. Yes.

Q. And the minister in New Orleans was opposed to this exodus?—A. No, sir; he ain't.

Q. He is in favor of it, then?—A. Yes; he is for our going anywhere where we can get our privileges.

Q. Does he advise you to go away from New Orleans?—A. Yes, sir; he says we should go anywhere on God's earth that we can get our rights.

Q. He thinks you do not have your rights at New Orleans, does he?—A. I don't call that my home.

Q. Well, let us go back to Shreveport, in Caddo Parish; do you know of any exception there to the preachers who are opposed to this exodus?—A. Yes.

Q. Some of them are in favor of it, are they?—A. Yes; some of them are in favor of it.

Q. Who are they?—A. I consider all them is for it that allows us to hold meetings in their churches.

Q. Do you take that as evidence that they are in favor of your going?—A. Yes.

Q. But, as I understand you, the body of the preachers there are against it?—A. Yes; two denominations of the churches allow us to hold our meetings.

Q. Who are they?—A. One organization that allows us is A. M. E. (African Methodist Episcopal), and, I think, another organization that allows us to preach in the churches is the M. E.'s (Methodist Episcopal) of America. They allow us to hold our meetings in their churches, and they is the only ones that allow us.

Q. Another class you speak of as being opposed to your people going away is the politicians; how is it about them?—A. Well, they is opposed to it, and always have been opposed to it; if I was to get up on this stand and make a speech, and was going to mention to the congregation to leave, why, the politicians would not allow me to make a speech if I was going to say anything about that.

Q. What politicians do you speak of?—A. The colored men and white Republicans.

Q. The colored and white Republican politicians?—A. Yes.

Q. They would not even allow you to speak on the subject?—A. No; if I was going to make a speech, or mention to our people to leave, they would not let me make a speech; they would not even do it in 1874—not until 1877. Until then I did not get but one public speech to make in regards to our people leaving before 1877; and I made one speech in October, 1874, in the court-house in Shreveport concerning our people going away. I did it to back up the petition which we had sent to the President.

Q. Who are the most prominent Republican politicians in Caddo Parish?—A. Harper; he is the leading politician there.

Q. Well, what about him?—A. He has always been opposed to our going away.

Q. Has he been in office?—A. O, yes, he has been in office off and on since 1870.

Q. Mr. Adams, have you ever had any office except the one you were in in the custom-house?—A. No; I didn't have no office then but as a laborer, not only what I was doing in the Army and at the ballot-boxes in election. I have been a supervisor of election some time, and been a marshal at election, but that didn't last more than two or three days.

Q. You say that when your committee met in its secret council, you allowed nobody to speak except those who were in favor of the exodus?—A. No; not in our secret rooms we would not.

Q. But even in public you didn't do it?—A. No, sir.

Q. When you met outside, the colored Republican politicians and white Republican politicians and ministers would not allow you to speak in favor of it?—A. No, sir; but in the meetings with ourselves everybody was allowed to express his opinion.

Q. I understand that. Whose district is Caddo Parish in?—A. In the fourth district.

Q. Who represents it in Congress?—A. At this time?

Q. Yes.—A. Mr. Elam.

Q. You spoke of discontent in Arkansas; what do you know about that?—A. In what way?

Q. Didn't you speak of the colored people being discontented with affairs in Arkansas, and of their wanting to leave there?—A. I did not say there was discontent there; I said that some one in Arkansas had signed the roll to leave.

Q. You know nothing about that, then, except what you have told us; you have never been in Arkansas yourself, have you?—A. Yes; I have been in Arkansas, in Pratt County.

Q. When?—A. In 1875 and 1877.

Q. How many did you get to sign the roll to leave?—A. Up there?

Q. Yes.—A. I don't know exactly how many; when I was up there I never got nobody till 1877 to leave.

Q. How many did you get to sign the roll then?—A. About two hundred and fifty the time I was up there.

Q. What other States did you go into besides Arkansas?—A. I went into Texas.

Q. Whereabouts did you go in Texas?—A. I went away out to Limestone County; then I went to Houston, and to Galveston, and to Marshall and several other places.

Q. What year was that?—A. 1875, 1876, 1877.

Q. What were you doing there?—A. I was up there on business.

Q. What business?—A. Business belonging to my organization.

Q. What was the nature of it?—A. I don't want to tell everything about it.

Q. Still, Mr. Adams, we will have to get what we can about it?—A. Well, I expect to be killed for what I am telling you here; I don't expect to live no more after making mention of these places; I won't be allowed no show. If I was to tell you all, why, good gracious—

Q. How did you come to be subpoenaed?—A. I don't know.

Q. Didn't you tell anybody to have you subpoenaed?—A. No.

Q. Mr. Windom and Mr. Blair just heard of you then?—A. I reckon so; my name being connected with the Emigration Association.

Q. Didn't you tell Mr. Ruby to write and have you subpoenaed?—

A. No, sir; I never spoke such a word to Mr. Ruby in my life.

Q. Do you mean to be understood as declining to answer what you did in Texas?—A. I told you I didn't care to tell you all my business that I was doing there.

Q. You said you were on business of the committee, and I asked you the character of the business.—A. The character of the business was to find out the condition of our people, and also to enroll names of who was willing to go away.

Q. Did you find your people were whipped and murdered and deprived of their rights in Texas also?—A. Yes, sir, according to the reports of the people.

Q. Reports of all of them?—A. Reports from heaps of them.

Q. What points did you visit in Texas?—A. In Harrison County, in Panola, in Saint Augustine, in Shelby, and I have been in Houston, Galveston, Jefferson, and in Limestone.

Q. Is that a county?—A. Yes.

Q. Go on.—A. That and several other counties.

Q. Were you in Grimes County and in Brazos?—A. I passed over the Brazos River, but I don't remember all the counties I went into no-how.

Q. You were in a town called Navasota, were you not?—A. I have been there, but not on this business.

Q. What year was this in?—A. Some of these visits I made in 1871; some of them I was there in 1875; some of them I was there in 1876; and some of them I was there in 1877.

Q. You have not been there since 1877?—A. Let's see; O, I may have went in some portion of Texas in 1878; I don't exactly remember; I am always more or less crossing the line; it is not far to go into Texas from Louisiana any time; but I never staid in Texas long at a time.

Q. Well, then, were you in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir; I have been in Mississippi.

Q. Were you in Mississippi on this business?—A. Yes, sir; on this business.

Q. When were you in Mississippi on this business?—A. I was in Mississippi last year.

Q. In 1879?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, were you there the year before?—A. No, sir; not on this business.

Q. At no time before 1879 were you in Mississippi on this business?—A. No, sir.

Q. What parts of Mississippi were you in when you were there last year?—A. In the eastern part.

Q. Will you name the counties, please?—A. I don't know the names of none of the counties I was in.

Q. Were you in any of the towns?—A. Yes; I was in Coomb's City and several other places up there.

Q. How long a time did you spend in Mississippi?—A. About four or five days.

Q. Did you go down into Alabama?—A. Never. I was not ever there.

Q. You were in Mississippi only four or five days?—A. O, I forgot; I went into Mississippi twice last year.

Q. Did you go into any other States beside Mississippi?—A. At that time?

Q. At any time, on this business.—A. (Reflecting)——

Q. Were you in Tennessee?—A. No, sir; I never went to Tennessee.

Q. Did you visit any other States besides Arkansas, Texas, and Mississippi?—A. No, sir; I don't think I did.

Q. Now when you visited Texas in 1871, 1875, 1876, and 1877, and Mississippi last year, and Arkansas at a previous date, who bore your expenses?—A. I bore them myself.

Q. You did?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. In all that traveling you paid your own expenses?—A. The time I was in them places I bore my own expenses.

Q. You didn't raise any money out of your committee for that purpose?—A. No, sir; I never asked the committee for a cent.

Q. And they never paid you anything for that work?—A. No, sir; they did not.

Q. You had the money yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I makes money outside at hard labor.

Q. What at?—A. I am a faith doctor.

Q. A what?—A. A faith doctor. Sometimes I get a hundred dollars to cure one case, sometimes two hundred.

Q. I think, perhaps, that is as good as some other kinds of doctors. How long have you been a faith doctor?—A. From when I was nine years of age.

Q. Do they call you doctor?—A. A great many of them does what knows me.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Can you explain to us the theory of that kind of medical practice?—A. I make all my medicine myself, more or less, what I do use.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Now, doctor, you say you make money outside of your labor in practicing your profession?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you get a good deal of employment among your own people?—A. More than I can attend to.

Q. You did?—A. Yes.

Q. Your style of doctoring is what is called doctoring by faith, is it?
—A. Yes.

Q. And you have cured diseases by that system since you were nine years old?—A. Yes, sir. I recollect curing the toothache when I was nine years old, and I have been following it ever since then.

Q. You have acquired quite a reputation amongst your people for it, have you?—A. Yes.

Q. And in that way you got money more freely and easily than you did as a mere laborer, did you not?—A. O, yes, sir; a good deal more easily.

Q. Your spoke of your doctor bills as being sometimes pretty large?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you make a regular charge at such rates?—A. I never make no charges; they always make it themselves and give it to me.

Q. Sometimes they would give you one or two hundred dollars, you say?—A. Yes.

Q. Those cases must be pretty stubborn cases?—A. Yes; such as other doctors can't mend up, and they get me to work on them and I cures them.

Q. Well, when you leave Louisiana, will you follow your profession and practice as a faith doctor?—A. If anybody calls on me I will. If they find I am a doctor and they send for me I tend to them; if not, I won't; I never go to them without it's a case of necessity.

Q. Were these large fees paid to you voluntarily by the people of your own color?—A. By white as well as colored people I was employed.

Q. You attended white folks then?—A. O, yes; I have had white people many a time.

Q. I will only ask one question about your practice; I don't want to pry into your mysteries, but this question of faith, is it faith in God or faith in you that the patient has to have?—A. Well, if they have faith to believe that I can cure them, that is their faith; of course my faith comes from God.

Q. Yes; so that the patient looks to you, and you look above?—A. If the patient believes that I can cure them, of course I can cure them, and I looks to God for my faith.

Q. How old are you?—A. I will be thirty-seven years old if I can recollect the day. I think my mother said I was born March 16, 1843. I think that is what she gave me my age at.

Q. Are you a pretty good stump speaker among your people, doctor?
—A. O, yes, sir; I can speak to them in my language.

Q. Pretty freely, too, can't you?—A. Well, they hear me and believe what I tell them; and I aim to tell the truth under all circumstances.

Q. And yet you lived at Shreveport twenty years?—A. No, sir; not twenty years.

Q. Well, pretty nearly, and you never got killed?—A. No, I ain't been killed yet; but it ain't by the will of them people that tried.

Q. Now, about this robbery you speak of, of five hundred dollars out of a little wagon?—A. I said I would say, to make myself clear, two hundred and fifty dollars, but I know it was five hundred.

Q. Did you have to get out and leave the wagon?—A. O, yes, sir; I got out and they captured the wagon and everything.

Q. Well, robberies are committed in other counties as well as there, are they not?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. You don't think anybody has been bulldozing you on account of your faith doctoring, do you?—A. No, sir; they have not bothered me

about that; I always thought I got along so well among them because they knowed me, and because I could cure them when their doctors gave them up; and heaps of them would speak for me in times of trouble, and that would cause them to let me alone.

Q. You can hold over these college doctors when it comes to curing old troubles can't you?—A. I goes over medical doctors for I takes cases they can't cure. I rather take them kind than any other kind.

Q. Do you know a colored man by the name of Wash Walker, at Shreveport?—A. Wash Walker? No, sir; I don't remember him.

Q. Do you know a colored man by the name of Alexander there?—A. I know several by the name of Alexander.

Q. Well, here is a little item in the Shreveport Standard; that is a Democratic paper, is it?—A. Yes.

Q. It says, "Wash. Walker and another colored man named Alexander, with their families, some ten persons in all, who worked last year on Capt. J. M. Foster's plantation across the river, and who took the Kansas fever and emigrated to that State about the 10th of January last, returned here bag and baggage on the train Friday night, and left yesterday evening for their old home"?—A. Yes, I know Alexander on Foster's plantation.

Q. Did you know he had gone?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you know he had come back?—A. No, sir; I had not heard that.

Q. The account says further: "When they took their departure for the promised land, they carried with them a two-horse wagon, four good mules, and nine hundred dollars between them. When they returned they brought back the wagon and mules, but were minus eight hundred dollars of their cash." Did you ever hear of that fact?—A. No, sir; I had not heard they had come back.

Q. Well, it seems, according to this item, that "they went to Clark County, Kansas, where they designed purchasing land, but they became so thoroughly disgusted with the country that they gave it out. The only kind of work they could get was husking corn, and the wages paid to a grown hand was only twenty-five cents for a day's work." Is that the kind of information these people send you?—A. No, sir.

Q. They write you that they get two and a half to three dollars a day in Kansas, do they not?—A. Not that much.

Q. How much?—A. Nine dollars a week for men; they tell me that.

Q. Nine dollars a week, that is one dollar and a half a day?—A. Yes, sir; but some of them gets trades, they say, and makes more.

Q. Well, this account goes on to say that "they became homesick, and concluded to pull up stakes and return to their old quarters in Louisiana before their means were all exhausted. They said that some of the colored people who had emigrated from this section had purchased land upon their first arrival, but afterwards deeply regretted that they had done so; and that nearly all of the emigrants they met would gladly return to their former homes if they possessed the means to do so. They complain of the bitter cold weather they encountered, and the scarcity of fire-wood, which they had to haul ten miles, and say that Kansas is no place for a southern darkey to go. For their part, now that they have been and seen for themselves, they candidly confess the folly of the step they took in leaving homes where they were comfortably situated, plentifully supplied with provisions and clothing, and where they were enabled to lay by at the end of the year a handsome surplus from the proceeds of their labor."

Q. Now, what kind of a man is Alexander?—A. He is a pretty good man, a hard worker, and always lives well about his house.

Q. Had he ever been molested that you know of?—A. I don't know particularly whether he had or not; but he always told me he wanted to get away from Louisiana on account of his children; he didn't think his children would ever be raised there as men and women with good education, and he wanted to go where he could have them educated and give them a trade.

Q. This account proceeds to say that they "would advise the colored people everywhere to let well enough alone, and not go penniless to cast their fortunes in a strange land and among strangers, who have neither aid nor sympathy to offer them, and where they are ultimately bound to starve or freeze to death. Walker said that he never wanted to go again where he couldn't see cotton-stalks and gin-houses; and that Marsee Jeems Foster was just as good a man as he ever wanted to work for again. He was completely cured." Did Alexander or Walker ever tell you that?—A. Alexander never told me that, and if he made any such statement as you have read there, I am sure he will tell me.

Q. You don't know anything about that?—A. No, sir; I do not.

The WITNESS. You asked me a while ago about whether our organization sent a petition to President Hayes. I have got a copy of one petition we sent to him here in my pocket, if you desire to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement is sufficient on that point.

Mr. BLAIR. Let me see it; and if you have any other papers you would like to introduce let me see them.

The WITNESS. You asked me yesterday for the pamphlet that came from Mr. Turner, the other Turner, from Saint Louis. (Handing it to Mr. Blair).

Mr. BLAIR. (Glancing over it.) Well, we will put this with the other Turner circular.

[Printed in connection with the Saint Louis circular, before submitted.]

The WITNESS. I was asked whether I had been encouraged by anybody concerning our going to some territory that we made application for in our petition. I wish the chairman would read that.

The CHAIRMAN. (Reading.) Well, this is a communication from the secretary of the Territory of Arizona, J. J. Gosper, inviting colored immigration to his Territory. That is all right if he wanted them there. (Reading.)

Some time in June, 1877, The Inter-Ocean, of Chicago, published the following letter of J. J. Gosper, secretary of the Territory of Arizona. The original communication of which The Inter-Ocean speaks was sent to that paper about the 1st of June. It was signed by the colonization council, by the president of the council, and by others.

"TERRITORY OF ARIZONA, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
"Prescott, June 20, 1877.

"To the Editor of The Inter-Ocean:

"Can you place me in correspondence with any of the more intelligent and leading men of that class of colored people who wish to colonize in some Territory? If they have means with which to pay their expenses to this country and a little left upon which to live for a time, and are willing to work, we can furnish them thousands of acres of good, rich land, which can be made to produce the regular Louisiana sugar-cane, or any kind of grain, fruit, and vegetables. The land would have to be irrigated, however, but that can easily be done. The sugar-cane in question has already been raised in the valley of the Gila, in the south part of the Territory. Under a recent act of Congress any citizen of the United States can select one section of land anywhere in the Territory which is not mineral, timber, or land that will produce without irrigation, occupy and own the same by paying at the time of selecting the land twenty-five cents per acre, and any time within three years thereafter he can procure a patent by

proving by two witnesses that he has reclaimed said land by running water upon it, and paying an additional sum of one dollar per acre. I am willing to assist so far as I can in aiding a colony of industrious colored people in this Territory. I served with the colored troops during the late war, and know something of their habits and character. You have permission to make public notice of the above facts if you see fit.

"Yours, &c.,

"J. J. GOSPER,
"Secretary of Territory."

The above letter is called out by a communication in *The Inter-Ocean* of a late date said to represent the sentiments of 2,000 colored men of Louisiana who, tired of the wrongs heaped upon them, desire to emigrate to some of the Territories. The original communication has been mislaid, and we are unable to give any of the names attached, as they were not published. The letter, however, came from the region of Shreveport, and the parties wishing can no doubt obtain the information they desire by opening correspondence with the secretary of Arizona, whose letter is published above.

Q. Do you state in this paper you have submitted as your account of affairs among your people anything about your skill as a faith doctor?—A. I don't exactly remember. If I did it is all correct. Whatever it says is correct.

Q. Very well?—A. I may have made some little mistakes in putting a word or a number down in its proper place, but it is all so; it is correct.

Q. Now, in point of fact, you had about as much trouble with your own people on the subject of the exodus, so far as the people from Shreveport were concerned, as with anybody else, had you not?—A. There was no trouble with anybody but the ministers, as I have said, and the politicians; we had had more trouble with the politicians than with anybody else.

Q. They are rather against you as a general thing, aren't they?—A. Yes, and always have been. They spoke against it last year and year before last they spoke against it; they told me not to say anything about it at these club meetings; that is what they told me. This is what they would say: "For God's sake, don't stir up the people to go away; wait until next year and we'll elect somebody that'll give us our rights." Why, when we done got ready to vote, and done registering, they would not give us registration papers, you know. They would just write our names down on a book, and when we would go to the polls and want to vote they would say, "What is your name?" and I would say, "Henry Adams." Then they would say they would look over the book. And after they would look over the book they would say, "Your name ain't on this book." "It ain't?" "No." "Well, it was put on there." And they would say, "It don't make no difference; your name ain't on the book and you can't vote." Well, there was many of us was used that way, and several of us went to the man that was supervisor of registration and told him that they would not allow us to vote, and he would go and tell that man that did register our names; but he would say, "Your name is not on the book and you can't vote." They didn't let me vote in '78; they refused to let me vote, although they knowed me, and who I was, very well.

Q. Now, you said that if a Democratic President is elected next time you would all start and take to the woods now I know that Mr. Blair wants to know whom you would prefer for the Presidency, and I will ask you?—A. You desire me to give my sentiments?

Q. Yes, and the sentiments of your people, if you know what those sentiments are.—A. Well, what I wants and what I know the laboring classes wants—for I speak for them as much as for myself, for I am in amongst them there, and I am considered a leading man among them there—

Q. You consider yourself a leading man among them, do you?—A. No; I am considered a leading man with the people there. Well, the laboring class of people down there wants General Grant. I do, myself.

Q. Yes; you differ from Mr. Ruby on that question?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Colored people will differ in politics as well as white people. won't they?—A. Yes, sir; and the largest amount of ministers—I have heard them when they talked generally throughout the county—says General Grant.

Q. The ministers?—A. Yes.

Q. How are the politicians?—O, well, the politicianers, you know—a great many politicianers will say Sherman.

Q. They will, hey?—A. That's what they say; I have heard them say that.

Q. That is the way with some politicians up here.—A. But the politicianers ain't holding any position at this time, and where they have been holding office by the votes cast by colored people, why the majority of them says Grant or Blaine. That is the way they speak. I just say it as it is, and no other way.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. The most of your testimony has been concerning the political condition of your people in Louisiana and Mississippi. I want to ask you something about their industrial condition. What is the average wages of good hands on the cotton plantations?—A. At this time you mean?

Q. Well, say for the last year or two?—A. For the past three years. I will explain that.

Q. Well, for the past three years and up to now?—A. For the past three years labor on plantations, by the month I mean, is from—well, I will commence at five dollars; it is from five to fifteen dollars a month.

Q. For what kind of hands?—A. Some women hands, they only give them five dollars a month, and boys about ten and twelve and fifteen years old they gives them five dollars a month.

Q. You say the women and boys from ten to fifteen years old get five dollars per month. What do the next higher class get?—A. The next class hands gets ten to twelve dollars a month.

Q. Ten to twelve dollars; and the first-class hands, you say, get fifteen dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that has been the case for the last two or three years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, does that include rations?—A. Yes, sir; with that they get rations.

Q. And do they get a house to live in?—A. Yes; a house to live in besides.

Q. And firewood?—A. Yes.

Q. And garden patches or something of that sort to raise sweet potatoes and garden stuff?—A. Well, they don't give garden patches to such as that; if any of them wants that they get it.

Q. How is the labor done; by the day?—A. Well, the general run of them now ain't giving them more than that, and haven't for the past two or three years; they haven't been giving more than fifty cents and a dollar a day.

Q. Fifty cents and a dollar a day; that is, according to the hand?—A. Yes; and that is in the field. A great many is giving seventy-five cents, and makes them board themselves at a dollar a day.

Q. You say a great many of them do that, but that is not the univer-

sal rule, is it?—A. Yes, sir; they makes them board themselves at that price.

Q. Now, when they are hired by the month at this price you have mentioned, that means for the year round, does it not?—A. For the year round; and at that time they only pay half the money at the end of the month when they pays by the year.

Q. They keep half the money back till the end of the year. Is that what you mean?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, now, is there any one season of the year when labor is worth more than it is at another season? What is it worth, for instance, in cotton-picking time?—A. In cotton-picking time they don't give them no more by the month.

Q. That is when they are hired by the year?—A. Yes; when they are hired by the year round.

Q. But it is customary to hire to pick cotton by the hundred, is it not?—A. Yes; that is often done.

Q. What do they pay a good man for picking cotton by the hundred?—A. They pays all, good and bad, the same price.

Q. Well, what do they pay by the hundred?—A. From fifty cents to seventy-five cents a hundred.

Q. How much can a skilled hand pick in a day?—A. A real good hand—cotton-picker—can pick from one hundred and fifty on up to three hundred and four hundred.

Q. Three hundred pounds is not an extraordinary amount for a good hand to pick in a day, is it?—A. No, sir.

Q. How long does that cotton picking season last?—A. It lasts from August sometimes up till December; but the very blooming of the time is in September and October.

Q. The cotton-picking season, then, runs from August until the last of December?—A. No; to the first of December.

Q. Now cotton-picking depends more on skill than on strength, don't it?—A. Yes.

Q. A woman or a boy, then, who is skilled at it can make as much as a man. can he not?—A. O, yes.

Q. You say he can make from one dollar and a half to two dollars a day during the bloom of the season?—A. In many cases they have some trouble to get it; there is few men that pays what they promises.

Q. How does that happen?—A. You know he is figuring it down; he keeps the account and reckons it up at the end of the week—a hundred or three hundred he puts down for this one and so much for another one; but some good man that has good sense can figure it down for himself, and he will keep the account and will settle up with him just as the count is, and keep him from cutting.

Q. You mean that the owners cheat them?—A. Yes, sir; they cheats them that can't understand—that can't count up for themselves.

Q. Exactly; but how does it follow, if they can't understand, that they know they are cheated?—A. The way he knows this is by getting some friend who does know to put down the figures in secret from the man that is keeping the account. I have did it myself.

Q. Do not they ever have this thing tried in the courts?—A. No, sir; it would be foolish in us to go to the courts about it.

Q. Why would it be foolish to take it to the courts?—A. Because they always comes out behind.

Q. The judges, justices of the peace, jurors, and planters, then, are all dishonest?—A. I don't say that they are all dishonest, but I say the one that's got the money will gain the suit.

Q. Those that have the money will gain the suit?—A. Yes; it don't matter how honest a case is, they gains the suit.

Q. Well that is the result of dishonesty, of a want of integrity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Exactly; let us inquire now a little about the renting; how many ways of renting do you have down there; you rent for cash and for part of the crop, and so on, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; some rents for money and some for a portion of the crop.

Q. What is the ordinary price when a man rents for money?—A. Well, on the hills it is from a dollar to three dollars an acre—the hill land—where they can make about one-quarter of a bale to the acre, and about fifteen or twenty bushels of corn to the acre, it is from one dollar to three dollars an acre.

Q. Land that will produce twenty bushels of corn will produce more than a quarter of a bale of cotton, will it not?—A. I don't know as it will; it makes about half a bale in my county; if the land brings sixty bushels of corn to the acre it only makes a bale to the acre.

Q. But the best corn land is not the best cotton land?—A. No, sir; not always.

Q. The biggest stalk does not always produce the best cotton?—A. No, sir.

Q. How is it with the bottom land?—A. The bottom land rents from five to fifteen dollars per acre.

Q. According to quality?—A. Yes, sir; the river bottom brings a bale to the acre and sixty bushels of corn.

Q. Is that the highest rent for land that produces a bale of cotton to the acre—fifteen dollars?—A. It depends upon the number of years the land has been in cultivation; now about the fifth, or fourth and fifth or maybe the sixth, year of cultivation the land will sometimes make a bale and a half to the acre sometimes, but mighty seldom. Taking the land through, it won't average more than a bale to the acre. If you plant ten acres it won't make more than ten bales. I have planted sixteen acres and only got ten bales of cotton, but four acres and a quarter in one place I made four bales and a quarter out of it.

Q. How much can one strong man cultivate?—A. On the hills he can cultivate twenty-five acres of land.

Q. In cotton?—A. No, sir; half cotton, half corn.

Q. Twelve and a half acres of one and twelve and a half acres of the other?—A. Yes, sir; he can cultivate that on the hill land.

Q. Can he make off of that land sixty bushels of corn to the acre?—A. No, sir; that is on the hills.

Q. I thought you were talking about the bottom land.—A. No; I am talking about the hill land, and twenty-five acres that one man can cultivate.

Q. On that land how many bales of cotton and how many bushels of corn can he produce?—A. About a quarter of a bale to the acre. He will put twelve and a half acres in corn and twelve and a half in cotton, and you can add that up yourself.

Q. That will make about two hundred and fifty bushels of corn and about three and a half bales of cotton. Now, cotton was worth about fifty dollars a bale last fall?—A. Yes, sir; about ten cents a pound.

Q. What was corn worth?—A. Generally, for these times, along in gathering corn time, you can buy it at fifty cents a bushel.

Q. Well, say fifty cents a bushel; that would make one hundred and twenty-five dollars' worth of corn and one hundred and seventy-five

dollars' worth of cotton, besides his fodder, peas, sweet potatoes, and garden patches?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is what a reuter can make on the hills?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, on this bottom land that will make sixty bushels of corn and a bale or a bale and a half of cotton to the acre, how many acres can a man cultivate?—A. Ten acres in cotton and corn, with a good mule.

Q. Can he not cultivate more than ten acres?—A. Some of them plants ten acres, but they has to hire all the time that they cultivate that.

Q. That would be five bales of cotton and three hundred bushels of corn?—A. He don't plant half and half; he would plant in ten acres about three acres in corn and the balance in cotton.

Q. Well, that would be seven bales of cotton, or more if the land was good?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And one hundred and twenty bushels of corn?—A. Yes.

Q. That cotton is worth three hundred and fifty dollars—seven bales or more, if he made more—and the corn would be worth about sixty to sixty-two and a half dollars?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is what one man could do?—A. Yes.

Q. And if he had children big enough to help him, he could do still more?—A. He could take twenty or twenty-five acres when he had help.

Q. Now, sometimes, you said a family would make one hundred bales?—A. Yes, sir, they would; a man or wife, maybe, with two or three sons and some daughters, or some connections of his, maybe his wife's sister or brother, all connected with that family, would work together and in that way one family could make one hundred bales of cotton.

Q. And what proportion of that would they make in corn?—A. They would plant what they thought would do; a wagon should hold, say forty bushels to the load; then they would make from twelve to thirteen loads of corn.

Q. They would produce corn enough to do them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that hundred bales of cotton would be worth five thousand dollars, and twelve loads of corn—448 wagon-loads—would be about two hundred and twenty dollars; now, you say that in such cases they frequently came out at the end of the year without a cent.—A. Yes; come out without a cent, and then have to borrow money to buy provisions.

Q. What do they do with the five thousand dollars?—A. What do the men do that takes possession of their cotton?

Q. He and his family don't eat that much up?—A. No, sir; they don't eat it up.

Q. So, if the landlord and the merchant had been honest, they would have heaps of money left?—A. Yes, they would have heaps of money left.

Q. You say it is nothing but the dishonesty of the landlords and merchants there that keeps your people from making money?—A. Yes, sir; they keeps our people from making money.

Q. You described to us yesterday this White League, and filed a paper here this morning in reference to them; were there any other kind of leagues in that country?—A. White men?

Q. Yes, or colored men.—A. Not that I knows of.

Q. Did you ever have an institution there called the Union League?—A. If they did, I didn't belong to it.

Q. You never heard of it before?—A. I seen a Democratic paper speak of it once or twice—about the Union League there.

Q. Why, Mr. Adams, don't you know of colored people in the South that belonged to it—that were sworn into it?—A. Well, I don't know.

Q. But don't you know that fact—that it existed among your people?—A. No, sir, I don't; because none of these men communicated with me in regards of our movement and didn't have nothing to do with it. I know that much, because they would not have did it without consulting with us about it; so I don't know none that belonged to it.

Q. You deny, then, so far as your knowledge goes, that any such thing as a political Union League that your people belonged to was in existence?—A. I don't deny nothing for the politicians, but for the laboring classes of people in my section where I had dealings in that line, I say that they did not.

Q. You don't deny that a Union League was there, and that the politicians may have belonged to it?—A. They may have.

Q. And that was a sworn organization?—A. I don't know nothing about that.

Q. You told us that in 1877, when the State of Louisiana went Democratic, you colored people gave up hope?—A. Yes, sir; we gave up all hope then.

Q. Now, Adams, I want to ask you if you know it to be a fact in all the States that you have any knowledge of, that after the government passed into the hands of the Democrats there was less of disturbance and more of peace between the blacks and the whites—that everybody got along better than they did while it was under the control of the Republicans?—A. No, sir; I don't know that.

Q. You don't know that?—A. No, sir; I don't know that; because just as soon as the election came it was raging the same, where I was, as it did before, only worse.

Q. New Orleans went into the hands of the Democrats in 1877 when Nicholls was inaugurated governor. You had an election for another governor, legislature, &c., last December; was not that the most peaceful election you have had in the State since the war? Was there not less opposition and violence between the races?—A. That was in the first election we had under Governor Nicholls's administration.

Q. But you heard my question?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, answer it, if you can. I will repeat it. Was not the election in last December the most peaceful election you have had in Louisiana since the war?—A. In regards to that I was not any where during that election but at New Orleans, and I didn't participate because I was not at my home to vote.

Q. Well, from what you heard of the election in different parts of the State, was it not a peaceful election, and was not there less violence and opposition?—A. I heard from several parts of the State that nobody was hurt at their elections; that I heard; but I heard from some other parts of the State that they was hurt; so I don't know anything but what I seed with my own eyes in New Orleans. In New Orleans it was peaceable—what I saw of it.

Q. Well, in New Orleans, on the day of the election, was it not as quiet as any election you ever saw?—A. Yes, I think it was quiet there.

Q. And were not the reports from parishes, as to people being hung, contradicted; that the men who had been so reported were alive and had not been touched?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, don't you know that in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, since the State governments there have been under the control of the Democrats, there has been peace between the blacks and whites?—A. I have heard so; and it ought to be that way.

Q. Certainly.—A. It ought to be so, because at that time when the Republicans had it—I will say this much as my own judgment of it:—When the Republicans had it and had their ticket running, and the Democrats knewed that the colored people was in the majority, they knewed that if they let them vote just as they pleased, the colored men or the Republicans was going to be elected. Now, the Democrats in Louisiana has the count of the ballot, and it don't matter who is elected, they will count him in if he is a Democrat.

Q. Just as the Republicans counted Mr. Hayes in?—A. I know the Democrats counted them in.

Q. Well, that returning board down there in Louisiana started with your folks, didn't it? The Democrats never had any returning board there before that, had they?—A. I say I don't know what they did do there before the Republicans got in, for I was in the Army and didn't know. I never seen a ballot-box till 1870.

Q. But you have heard all about that, haven't you?—A. Yes; I have heard the Democrats didn't have none.

Q. Now, tell me, Adams, as an honest man, which I believe you to be, didn't the Republicans, when they had the control of Louisiana and Mississippi, and these carpet-bag fellows were down there, didn't they have a pretty bad government, and didn't they plunder the State and oppress the people by taxation most outrageously?—A. Well, I will say this: that in many cases the white people had to pay a great many taxes, a great deal of taxes, but I will tell you this much, I will tell you the truth and nothing but the truth, that the colored people didn't have to pay as much taxes as they do now.

Q. No?—A. No; it was better on our side, I know, than it is now under the Democrats.

Q. They don't have much property to pay taxes on, do they?—A. O, yes; they have a good deal of property that they has to pay taxes on.

Q. How did they get it?—A. They worked hard for it and earned it all.

Q. Yes, but your people were just out of slavery, and you have been accumulating more and more since the war, haven't you?—A. Up to '77 we did, but we have not bought so much property after that time as before, you know.

Q. I don't know that.—A. Well, we have not bought so much since that time as up to that time.

Q. I thought the property of your people in that State had been increasing slowly; that you had been acquiring horses, mules, land, &c. &c. ?—A. Up to 1877, to my knowledge, in many cases it was so; but not after that.

Q. Well, what is your explanation in regard to that?—A. You know that many of the colored people that had lands at that time they got it before; that is, they have not got it now. If you get the last census, you will see that they have not got as much land now as before, because they have been expecting that they would have either to leave, or something would happen, so that the land would be no use to them.

Q. You say that the black people did not pay as much taxes under the Republican rule as they have paid since?—A. Yes, sir; not so much as they pay now under the Democrats.

Q. How does that happen? The taxes are laid the same upon the black man and the white man, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How does it happen, then, that you paid less under the one administration than you do under the other?—A. In that part of the country there is a man goes round collecting taxes on colored men, and the

colored man don't know the difference. He brings a paper, and the colored people thinks he comes from the right place, and they respond to it; and they have collected down there a tax for his horse, and made him pay fifteen dollars for one old horse. A man showed me a receipt that he gave of his tax for an old gray horse of fifteen dollars; and then sometimes they tax him for his wagon; some of them had to pay four bits for a wheel and two dollars for the wagon. Then some pays a poll tax for the head. When the Republicans had it, we know we didn't pay that.

Q. You did not pay a poll tax under the Republican administration?
—A. No, sir.

Q. This fifteen-dollar tax on an old horse was not levied by the law, was it?
—A. No, sir; but that is what they do now.

Q. Some fellow has imposed upon you in that matter. Who did that?
—A. Some of them white folks about there; I don't know who.

Q. He wasn't a carpet-bagger, was he?
—A. I don't think he was; he was a man that lives there, somewhere in that part of the country. They said he was a collector.

Q. Was it Reuben White?
—A. No, sir; it was not Reuben White; it wasn't him.

Q. Where was this case that you speak of?
—A. This case I speak of was down right in De Soto Parish, near my own relations. I have ten people, relations of mine, that live in De Soto Parish, and some of them in Bossier, and some in Texas.

Q. And that is what they told you in reference to these taxes?
—A. I saw the receipt.

Q. You saw the receipt?
—A. Yes, I saw several receipts where they had to pay taxes, and I know I wasn't taxed for any such foolishness myself.

Q. Well, Mr. Adams, you mentioned, as one of the kinds of oppression, that your people were subjected to the fact that your churches had to be shut up at nine o'clock?
—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where was that done in any case?
—A. That was done at Shreveport.

Q. When?
—A. In 1874.

Q. In the city, or was it in the district around?
—A. In the town.

Q. What was the reason assigned for it; did they give any excuse for such action?
—A. They didn't give no excuse at all for it. They just said that the nigger shouldn't have no meetings after nine o'clock. These men, that called themselves police, walked about with guns at night, and would go around to the churches, and tell 'em they must all close up at nine o'clock; and if they didn't, their pastor would be arrested.

Q. Was not the excuse given that the colored people in these churches disturbed the citizens in the neighborhood by singing and shouting at night?
—A. Yes, that's the excuse they give; they said the churches was disturbing the peace at night.

Q. There was no such order as that given in reference to any churches in the country, where they were off by themselves, was there?
—A. Well, they followed the same movement if there was no orders issued; they would follow the same movement in the country places.

Q. But no orders of this kind were issued to country churches, were they?
—A. Not as I know of.

Q. Now, in reference to these people getting away from your country, how did they mostly go, on the railroad or on the steamboat?
—A. By steamboat, more or less, in the river parishes; but up in my part of the country more by cars and land.

Q. You say that you went over the country a good deal, for the purpose of getting the names of colored people enrolled who were about moving off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you get any pay for that service?—A. No, sir; not a nickel.

Q. Not a nickel?—A. No, sir. It was the duty of every member of the organization to do this work, and he would do it if he was fulfilling his duty.

Q. Who made the rates with the railroads and steamboats for them?—A. We could not make special rates in hardly any cases for the colored people who was going away.

Q. Did they not get special rates?—A. No, sir.

Q. They were required to pay full fare?—A. They made them pay full fare.

Q. Have you attended to the transportation of any these emigrants?—A. At New Orleans, last year, I have been appointed on the committee of arrangements and transportation. The reason why I was appointed was this: we heard there was a parcel of our people on the river bank—the Mississippi—that was not allowed to take the boats; they was prevented from getting on 'em, and in some places the boats wouldn't carry 'em. Then we appointed a committee of arrangements and transportation to seek into these matters, with the captains of the steamboats. I went to the captains of the steamboats as they come to the city of New Orleans, in June, July, August, and September, along there, and then they told me—the captains of two of the boats that was running to Saint Louis, told me—"Look here," they would say, "I don't refuse to take colored people at all that wants to go. I am running my boat for the money; and any of 'em that wants to go can make their way to my boat and I will take them on if they have got the money to pay their fare. But," they would say, "there is two places on the river"—on the Mississippi river, it is—"which I refuse to land my boat at." I asked, "which was them?" and they said "Vidalia on the Louisiana side, and at Natchez on the Mississippi side;" and another place above that he said he wouldn't land his boat for all the money in Louisiana. I asked him why; and he said "why, by God! they have armed every white man there to mob the first captain that lands a boat there with colored people on board; and he would not land there for anything, or take any colored people there; but they should go on his boat to Saint Louis, if they wanted to go to Kansas or anywhere else." "Well, captain, if they come to your boat here or at any other landing on the river but those you mention, will you take them on board?" "Yes," he said, "I will take them on board if they have got the money to pay their fare with." "Well, what will you charge?" "Our rates we have been taking them for generally is \$2.50 and up to \$4; but now they has got to be such a terrible rage by the people about carrying the labor off the river, that we won't take them at that now; our charge is five dollars a head." Said I, 'supposing I was to say I could have a hundred here to take the boat this evening, would you take them then for three hundred dollars?' And he says "No, I would not do that. They must pay me, all over five years old and up to fifteen must pay me half price, two dollars and a half; and all that is over that age must pay me five dollars; and all under five years may go free; that is all I can do about that."

Q. What is that captain's name?—A. I can't give his name, because if I was to give his name or the name of the boat, he might lose heaps of freight; so he said he didn't want it exposed; and I won't do it under them circumstances.

Q. Suppose we were to admit what you have said; how are we to dis-

prove it, if you won't give the man's name?—A. I could give his name or the name of the boat he run, but I would rather not be doing it; but if you insist upon my doing it I will do it and let the blame fall upon him.

Q. Well, it don't matter.—A. No, sir.

Q. Did the railroads or steamboats pay you any commission for selling tickets for them?—A. I never sold a ticket on the railroad or steamboat in my life. I tried to get the fare as low as I could. I got two or three men to go on the boat and the men to pay the captain a dollar apiece to go and then they would agree to help scrub on the way up for their rations.

Q. You say you never got a commission from the railroads or steamboats for bringing these people to them?—A. I never did.

Q. You never got any money at all, for doing this work, from the railroads or from any one else?—A. Not five cents.

Q. By the way, do you know what the price of labor is on those steamboats—for deck-hands and working hands on those boats?—A. The price awhile back was thirty dollars a month. I think they have struck and raised now to sixty dollars—forty cents an hour, and sixty dollars a month. I am not quite certain; but I know it was forty cents an hour on the levee.

Q. Well, ain't it seventy dollars a month now?—A. It did get up to seventy one month.

Q. It was seventy dollars a month in December, when I was in New Orleans.—A. I know it was; but I think when they struck last, the steamboat association gave them forty cents an hour and sixty dollars a month on the levee; I am not quite sure.

Q. That is pretty good wages, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About four dollars a day?—A: Yes, sir; but he ought to have it, because rent is so high in New Orleans.

Q. Of course he ought to have it; I am not finding any fault with that.—A. No, sir.

Q. You have considerable property yourself about Shreveport, have you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. May I ask how you acquired it?—A. When I first went out of the service I went up there, in December, 1869. Me and my cousin up there, Moses Bartlett, we bought some property from a man named Pith there, in Shreveport.

Q. Real estate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did you pay for it?—A. We gave him fourteen hundred and twenty dollars for it; I think that was what we paid him; with the interest it amounted to fifteen hundred and twenty-five dollars.

Q. Do you own that now?—A. I don't own it all myself, I said me and my cousin bought it.

Q. You and your cousin own it together, now, do you?—A. Part of it we do.

Q. Your cousin is farming it?—A. It is town property, in the city of Shreveport.

Q. Do you rent it?—A. No; it ain't rented.

Q. Why not?—A. When I left home I locked it up and gave a gentleman the keys, as I didn't expect to be gone more than a few weeks; but when I got to the city and heard the decision of them men that I had testified against, and seen they was determined to do something to me when I got back, I haven't gone back yet.

Q. Is your cousin there?—A. My cousin lives on George Simpson's place, twelve miles from town; and I understand that George Simpson

has closed a mortgage on him for about one hundred and twenty-five dollars—so my cousin said, about a month before I left.

Q. Could you not raise that one hundred and twenty-five dollars?—A. He might have raised it if he had tried hard to do it.

Q. Could not you have raised it?—A. Not at that time I could not.

Q. Did you try to raise it?—A. He did not notify me of it at that time.

Q. You say you have been an election supervisor?—A. At election time, you mean?

Q. Yes; I mean one of those fellows who stand at the polls at election time and challenge other people.—A. It means to stand at the polls and protect the interests of candidates for Congress, &c.?

Q. Yes.—A. I have been one of them.

Q. How often?—A. Once.

Q. When?—A. In 1874.

Q. Did you say you had been a marshal?—A. Yes, sir; a deputy United States marshal.

Q. Yes; and you served writs?—A. No, sir; I never served no writs.

Q. What did you do when you were deputy United States marshal at Shreveport?—A. I never served as a deputy marshal at Shreveport.

Q. Where did you serve?—A. In Bienville Parish.

Q. That is near Caddo?—A. No, sir; you have to go through Bossier and Webster, and then comes Bienville.

Q. Did you live in Bienville Parish then?—A. No, sir.

Q. What were you doing as deputy marshal there?—A. I was in one of the districts of Louisiana.

Q. You were deputized while at Shreveport, were you?—A. No; I was deputized in Bossier; I was working in Bossier at the time.

Q. Deputized as United States marshal there?—A. Yes, sir; deputized as marshal there.

Q. What did they deputize you to do?—A. To go down and be around the polls on election day, and see that everything went on fair.

Q. Down at Bienville, where you did not live?—A. I lived in that district.

Q. You lived in that district?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you acquainted in Bienville?—A. A great deal; I had relations there.

Q. You say you were deputized as United States marshal to go down to Bienville?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had been election supervisor in Caddo Parish, had you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When?—A. In 1874.

Q. And deputy United States marshal in Bienville in what year?—A. In 1876.

Q. In 1876; and you were in the custom-house what year?—A. In 1879 that was.

Q. For how long?—A. I staid about six weeks one time and five weeks another time.

Q. Well, how was it that you could get such a prominent place on this committee you speak of, if no politicians were allowed in it?—A. That was not being a politician, necessarily.

Q. Well, aren't you looked upon as a politician by your people?—A. I will tell you how that came about. The committee always say they could not control a great many people of the laboring class without I spoke to them and told them how they ought to vote, or something of that sort in behalf of their own interests, to better their own condition,

and so I would speak to them and tell them how I thought it would be best for them to vote. And I would have to tell a great many of them whether they ought to take part in politics, and in regards to their voting.

Q. You have said that you were a "faith doctor." Did the fact that you were a faith doctor help you with your people?—A. Yes, sir; they have more confidence in me in every way on that account.

Q. In this practice of faith doctoring you put on hands and go through certain forms, do you not?—A. Yes, sir; I rub the patient.

Q. Do you make these little hair balls?—A. No, sir; nothing like that.

Q. You do not believe in voodoo?—A. No, sir; I never use anything of that kind

Q. You never did?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't you now just a little, doctor, before you joined the Methodist church?—A. No, sir; I never did use anything of that kind in my life, never!

Q. Were you present in Shreveport when Mr. Allston, the Republican candidate for sheriff killed Mr. Flanagan, one of the Democratic candidates for commissioner last fall?—A. Yes, sir; but it was not last fall.

Q. Was it in 1878?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that did happen, did it?—A. Yes, sir; that did take place there.

Q. He shot him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And killed him?—A. He shot him and he died.

Q. Yes; that is generally the way.

Well, doctor, that is all.

Redirect examination of witness :

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Doctor, you seem to have acquired a professional title in the course of your examination here, and your professional method seems to have interested the committee considerably; I want you to explain what you mean by being a faith doctor, and your method of treatment—something of what you have done in your practice, the class of patients you have had, what your success has been, and so on. I do not wish you to make a very long story of it, but make it as intelligible as you can to the committee.—A. You mean the sort of diseases I have cured?

Q. Yes; and the method of your practice, the class of patients you have had, &c.—A. Well, any kind of risings and swellings coming on people, I rub them with my hands and blow my breath on them and take 'em away. And you find these wens on people, I take that away; and these old sores on the legs of people that are hard to cure, I make a kind of salve myself and cure it. I have studied it myself; it came to me naturally; it always was with me. And then other diseases, a great many kinds of diseases I could name, backache, toothache, jawache, earache, rheumatism, white swellings, and such things as that I cure.

Q. The gout?—A. And phthisic, dyspepsia, fits, spasms, and so forth, I cure naturally.

Q. How do you treat them?—A. In some cases I make a medicine to give them, and in a great many cases to rub with, but I don't propose to give any of the instruments.

Q. O, no; I don't want any of the secrets of the profession.—A. I could not give them.

Q. What class of patients have you had—some white and some col-

ored?—A. Yes; and all classes I have had, from the lowest to the highest.

Q. You may mention some of the more reputable among the "highest" as you call them?—A. Well, I could mention a lady in Texas by the name of Mrs. Ashton.

Q. Is she a whitelady?—A. Yes, sir; and her husband is a lieutenant, and had the rank of captain in the rebel army.

Q. Any others?—A. She is one of the highest I have had; and then her husband's mother—I worked on her; and her husband's brother-in-law, Mr. Ashton, too; I worked on him; and from that to the lowest.

Q. You have never taken any fees for your services, I believe you said, except such as patients chose to give you and offered to give you?—A. No, sir; I would not make a price on nobody under no circumstances, because I didn't pay for my practice.

Q. You mean you didn't pay for acquiring the skill you have?—A. My learning—I didn't pay for it; it come to me naturally, so I wouldn't make no price for curing them. Them that says they are not able to pay, I says to 'em, "all right, may be you will some day"; but if they pays me and gives me a thousand dollars, I would take it—that is, rich people—but if a poor person was going to pay me more than he ought, I would say, "Don't do it; that is too much; you are not able to spare it"; but if a rich person was to give me a thousand dollars I would take it, in pay for curing him.

Q. You never did receive so large a fee as that, did you?—A. O, no, sir.

Q. What is the largest fee you ever received?—A. The largest was two hundred dollars.

Q. You say you didn't pay for your medical knowledge—how did you come by it?—A. I came by it naturally.

Q. You spoke of having cured the toothache when you were nine years old?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. How did you cure the toothache?—A. I just blew my breath in the mouth and rubbed my hands over the jaws.

Q. Was the pain relieved at once?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you were how old, did you effect such cures?—A. When I was nine years old.

Q. Now, as I understand you, the chief purpose of your life during the last ten years or so, has been to ascertain if possible, and to make better, the condition of your race in the South?—A. Yes, sir; that has been my purpose.

Q. And you have given your time and efforts principally to this organization?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And to carrying out the purposes I have indicated?—A. Yes, sir; to better the condition of my people in the Southern States in every way I could.

Q. You say you were in the Army at one time?—A. Yes, sir; I was in the United States Army.

Q. When did you enter the Army?—A. I entered the Army on the 10th day of September, 1866. I have got my papers here with me, and you can read them if you wish.

Q. No; nobody questions that. How long were you in the service?—A. Three years.

Q. In the regular service?—A. Yes.

Q. What regiment was it?—A. The 39th.

Q. The 39th what?—A. 39th Infantry. When I first enlisted I was attached on to the 80th Volunteers. Then from that I was sent on to

New Orleans to be attached on to the 39th Infantry. Then I served in the 39th Infantry till April, 1869. Then the 40th and 39th was consolidated together and made the 25th. Then I remained in the 25th till my time expired in September.

Q. September of that year?—A. September of 1869.

Q. That was three years and a little over?—A. About three years; yes, sir.

Q. What was your position in the regiment?—A. When I first enlisted I was a private, of course. I remained a private until March, 1867. I do not suppose I would have remained a private that long, but I was taken sick and was sick for sixty-five days, and a promotion was ready for me, but I was not ready to receive it. Then I was promoted.

Q. To what?—A. I was promoted to quartermaster-sergeant from the ranks.

Q. And you remained a quartermaster-sergeant during the rest of the time you were in the service?—A. Yes.

Q. Could you read and write when you entered the Army?—A. I could not read a bit. I knowed the letters and figures when I seed them, but I could not put them together under no circumstances.

Q. How did you learn to read and write?—A. We had a teacher when we were stationed at Fort Jackson, in Louisiana. She was a white lady, Mrs. Bentine, and we had a school for the soldiers, and we had three hours a day to go to the school. I never went all that time, but only part of the time; and I learned to read and write a little in one month's time; and after I quit her I never went only two weeks more.

Q. The rest you acquired yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I acquired all the rest myself.

Q. That is all the schooling you ever had, was it?—A. Yes; I never had no more schooling but that.

Q. Well, I think that is a pretty good showing even for a white man. Now, I will read a few pages from this statement of yours which you have submitted in writing and offer here as evidence. (Reading:) "Statement of affairs and outrages in the South, 1866. Compiled by Henry Adams," is the heading you have given it. You then say—

In the year 1866, in the parish of Caddo, State of Louisiana, I seen hanging to a limb of an oak tree, about six miles south from Shreveport, the body of a colored man. He was dead when I seen him. About six miles north from Keachie I saw a wagon belonging to a colored man burning, with all his things; even his mules were burned to death. While on my way to Sunny Grove I seen the head of a colored man lying on the side of the road. Whilst traveling on my way to De Soto Parish a large body of armed white men met me and asked me who I belonged to. I answered them and told them that I belonged to God, but not to any man. They then asked me where was my master, and I told them the one I used to have was dead, and I have not had none since 1858, but worked for those who would hire me and pay the largest price.

Mr. VANCE. What year is that (addressing Mr. Blair)?

Mr. BLAIR. 1866. This is an account of things that came under the witness's personal observation.

Mr. VANCE. Well, I have no objection to going back in the account to the discovery of America.

Mr. BLAIR. I suppose it is necessary to go back to these occurrences, for the purposes of the witness's statement and this investigation.

Mr. VANCE. Perhaps it is; if Columbus had not discovered this country there would have been no exodus.

Mr. BLAIR (continuing to read a few moments longer.)

Q. (To the witness.) Are these statements contained here true, to the best of your knowledge and belief?—A. Yes, sir; they are.

Q. Are the parts I have read substantially the same in character with what is here given in the statement throughout?—A. That statement is just like I received it, the facts just like I seen it.

Q. Now, here is another document, in continuation of you statement, headed "Statements of individuals" (colored), and beginning with De Soto Parish, and going on to detail the specific cases of outrage to the number of 683, each case occupying a line or two—the last one being as follows: "683d. James Metimes (colored), beaten by Billy Willfort, a white man on Dr. Shempa's place, because he did not get out to work as soon as he wanted him to go. Done in 1868;" and these instances occurring as I see in the different years from 1866 to 1876. You say that these statements of colored people are statements as made to you and you jotted them down as they were given?—A. Yes, they are as they were told to me, and I would set it down as they say.

Q. These statements, then, are given here as they were given to you in this course of your travels—these 683 cases, and noted down by you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Here are also eleven affidavits of colored men, with their signatures where they have signed them, and "marks" of those who could not write their names. Are these true copies of those affidavits?—A. Yes, sir; they are.

Mr. BLAIR. Well, we will receive them without taking the time to read them.

Mr. VANCE. But we ought to have the opportunity to cross-examine the witness on these statements. You wish these statements to go in as testimony (addressing Mr. Blair)?

Mr. BLAIR. Yes, sir; they are statements such as we have been receiving and admitting into the testimony. We have had any amount of such testimony in the examination.

The CHAIRMAN. I would suggest that they be allowed to go in the record.

Mr. VANCE. I see the statement says a colored man's head was seen lying by the roadside. For all we know to the contrary, the body might have been lying there attached to the head. And it says a wagon belonging to a colored man was burning, and the mules were burned to death. How do we know but the mules set the wagon on fire!

Mr. BLAIR. The witness testifies to the event; it is a simple and brief record of the occurrence, that is all.

Mr. VANCE. I know that; but if the thing is filed in bulk, we can have no opportunity of cross-examination.

Mr. BLAIR. I have no objection to the cross-examination whatever, if required.

Mr. VANCE. But it would take six months to go over it in any kind of cross-examination.

Mr. BLAIR. I know that, but that is no reason for excluding testimony that is pertinent, and it is such as we have been receiving.

Mr. VANCE. Very well.

[These statements, with the affidavits, are printed at the close of the witness's examination.]

Mr. BLAIR (to the witness). And here is a copy of your petition or appeal to the President—the one you addressed to President Hayes, dated Shreveport, Caddo Parish, Louisiana, September 15, 1877. Is this a true copy of one of the petitions or memorials that you sent to President Hayes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the occasion of your sending it?—A. It was at the time of the large meeting we held there, of over five thousand persons.

Mr. BLAIR (Reading):

SHREVEPORT, CADDO PARISH, LA.,

September 15, 1877.

To his Excellency R. B. HAYES,
President of the United States:

At a meeting of the National Colored Colonization Society, held in Shreveport, Caddo Parish, State of Louisiana, held on September 15, 1877, there being at said meeting representatives representing 29,000 colored people of the South, the following preambles and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas the Constitution of the United States guarantees to us equal civil and political rights and protection in the exercise of those rights, and as we the colored people of the South have been debarred from exercising those rights, the right to vote, hold office, and the privilege of education without molestation, and it being a well-established fact that we have been oppressed, murdered, and disfranchised on account of our race and color, and have not received that protection in the exercise of our rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution; and

Whereas we feel that the blood of the martyrs of freedom—John Brown and Abraham Lincoln—and the thousands that fell upon the battle-field have been shed in vain, having failed to awaken that interest as to demand in numistaken language the enforcement of the Constitution relative to the amendments that guarantees protection to our race and color in the exercise of our rights, and after twelve years we find the colored race of the South in a worse condition than they were before those constitutional guarantees were extended, and we find our race in a worse state of slavery than before, being denied those rights that belong to us, and we feel that that passage in Lamentations, chapter 5th, of the Holy Scriptures, fully cover our grievances, and we cry out with a full heart that we have suffered all that and even more in the maintenance of our rights, and we feel and know that unless some protection is guaranteed to our race that we will cease to be a race or people and that we cannot live in the South in peace, harmony, and happiness, and we feel that our only hope and preservation of our race is the exodus of our people to some country where they can make themselves a name and nation and be happy and prosperous; and

Whereas we, the down-trodden race of Ham residing in the South, feeling that we can no longer dwell in the South in peace, harmony, and happiness, call on you as the President, and Congress of the United States, to assist us in our exodus by using your power and influence to aid us either by appropriating some Territory in which we may colonize our race, or, if that cannot be done, appropriate means whereby we can colonize in Liberia or some other country, as we feel that for us to remain in the South will be the destruction of our race. We therefore ask the Government of the United States, with full confidence that the same will be granted, an appropriation to enable us to colonize, knowing full well that we are more worthy than the Indians who return the favors of the government by murder, war, and rapine, while we return neglect by cotton and sugar. We as a race can point back to the robberies perpetrated on us by the Freedman's Bank, whereby thousands of our race were plucked from affluence to poverty; we also look back to the battle-field where thousands of our race shed their blood in defense of that government who guaranteed rights to us and have failed to perform them. We look at our soldiers faithfully fighting in defense of that government who neglects them. We look back to those lost victories gained at the ballot-box, lost lives in vain. We look to the future where in case of war we would feel compelled to fight for that government that looks coolly on our sufferings and see our rights one by one taken away from us, and we cry out with a full heart, the cup is full and running over, and with a loud voice cry to God, O, how long!

Therefore be it resolved, That we, the colored race of the South, do call upon the President and Congress of the United States to look back upon the blood shed on the battle-field by our race in defense of the government; to look back on the cotton and sugar raised by our labor; and we, in view of those facts that the rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution be restored to us, and ample protection be given to us in the maintenance of those rights. If that protection cannot be given and our lost rights restored, we would respectfully ask that some Territory be assigned to us in which we can colonize our race; and if that cannot be done, to appropriate means so that we can colonize in Liberia or some other country, for we feel and know that unless full and ample protection is guaranteed to us we cannot live in the South, and will and must colonize under some other government, and we put our full trust in God that our prayers and petition will be speedily answered.

Be it further resolved, That we respectfully and earnestly call upon Congress to restore back to us the savings of years that our race was robbed of by the failure of the Freedman's Bank, feeling that it is only an act of justice due us.

Be it further resolved, That we as a race will abstain from voting on all national questions and at the elections for national officers unless we have full protection and our own officers to guard our interests and rights.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. This, you say, you adopted at the convention and forwarded to the President?—A. Yes, sir; forwarded a copy to the President, and a copy to both Houses of Congress.

Q. Have you ever had any response whatever to this appeal?—A. None whatever.

Q. Well, Republican or Democrat, whichever may be responsible, I coincide with you in saying it is an infernal outrage.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. What is the date of the appeal?—A. It is dated September 15, 1877.

Mr. BLAIR. Here is the document introduced by witness in his direct examination, in relation to the White League organization in Louisiana, that he came in contact with. It appears to be extracted from the reports of the Congressional committee consisting of Messrs. Hoar, Wheeler, and Frye, and gives the history of the organization mainly in extracts from the Democratic press of Louisiana.

Mr. VANCE. I submit that we ought not to republish anything that we have published before in a Congressional report.

Mr. BLAIR. No, that would be unnecessary; but a good deal is here that has never been in testimony. We will go over it and mark for insertion such extracts as may be pertinent.

(Inserted at close of witness' examination.)

Mr. BLAIR. Here is a document in pencil. (Reading.) It appears to be another appeal to President Hayes, from witnesses who were summoned before the United States court, in New Orleans, last winter, to testify against the murderers of colored men.

Q. (To witness.) Is that the occasion and purport of this document in lead-pencil writing?—A. Yes, sir. It is a petition that we men who was summoned to testify in the court at New Orleans appealed to the President for. We was in the city, and after we had testified was afraid to go to our homes, and we appealed to the President of the United States to give us either protection at home, or employment under the United States Government.

Q. Was this ever acted upon?—A. We never heard that nobody acted on it.

Q. You never received any response to it from the President or anybody else?—A. None whatever.

Mr. BLAIR. (Reading portions of the appeal.) We will have it go in the record.

The petition follows :

NEW ORLEANS, *March 10, 1879.*

To His Excellency R. B. HAYES,
President of the United States of America :

SIR : We, the undersigned citizens of the State of Louisiana, from the several bulldozing parishes of this State, do now appeal to you as the Chief Executive of the nation who now presides over the millions who have placed you at their head.

We are a few of the four million who were made free by the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the Constitution of the United States has granted to us equal, civil, and political rights, and protection in the exercise of those inalienable rights given by God. And as we, the several witnesses who have been summoned from the bulldozing regions of this State to appear before the United States court in this city to testify against the murderers of men whose blood now cries from the ground in the language of Zachariah, "Oh, Lord, how long!" dare we not return to our homes and families for fear of being murdered by the very men against whom we were summoned by the United States court to testify.

Time after time we have received letters and threats against our lives even here in

this city, the metropolis of the South. Threats on our lives have been made without fear even in the custom-house, and within the vicinity of the United States court now sitting to try the murderers of men of color on account of politics, and yet the proud banner, the stars and stripes, waves over us here, which, as it floats upon the breeze above the United States custom-house, seems as a hollow mockery; yet, as an emblem of freedom, here it waves, while we are driven from home, and are now out of employment, pressed hard to procure the necessities of life, and dare not go home; yet this free America, and colored men are free according to the Proclamation and constitutional amendments. And inasmuch as you have in charge, as the Chief Executive of the nation, not only the States, but the Territories, and can, by request or demand made on any of the government officials at this or any other port, cause men, especially men in our condition, to be employed even at levee work, laboring for the government in any capacity, hence we appeal to you in good faith, and hope, as President of the United States, believing that you will lend a listening ear to the cries of and the appeal of a portion of the citizens of the United States whose wrongs would make angels weep and almost shake man's belief in the existence of a just God. We ask you to give us employment of some kind, or cause those under your command to aid us in that direction, for we cannot go home; yet, our families are there in want in North Louisiana; yet we cannot ever hope to return to them, for to return is but to be murdered for daring to be free, and to exercise that right, yet this freedom was given us by a nation's council, and we have dared to persist in its enjoyment; yet we are a part of the millions of voters; yet we dare not stay at home; still we are here in God's free country, and have been led to believe that we were free. Your petitioners pray, in the name of the God of liberty and justice, that you will hear the cry of the following distressed colored citizens.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. I understand that in addition to the statements of outrages in 1866, and the specific cases covering the period from 1866 to 1876 you had prepared a statement in pencil covering the time from 1876 up to the present?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where is that statement?—A. I thought I had it with me, but I have not got it.

Q. We want it in your testimony if you have it, or can furnish it. Have you any other matter you wish to put in the record as your evidence?—A. Yes, sir. Handing a newspaper extract.)

Mr. BLAIR. This appears to be an extract from "the New York Herald of the 19th," containing "a dispatch from Washington dated the 18th," and it says, "The President to-day received a petition signed by one thousand colored citizens of Caddo Parish, Louisiana, asking to be removed to a Territory where they could live by themselves" &c. What is the date of this?

The WITNESS. That was in 1874.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not see anything on it to indicate the date. You say it is offered as proof that a petition was sent to President Grant?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not see the date.

The WITNESS. It is on the back somewhere. It was September 9, 1874, when the petition was preferred. That was September 18th, 1874, when the President received it. You will see on the back that the slip is taken from the Shreveport Times, a Democratic paper, of some time in September, 1874.

Mr. BLAIR. Very well.

It is as follows:

A NEW DEVELOPMENT IN THE RADICAL PROGRAMME; THE NEGROES TO BE COLONIZED IN AFRICA.

The New York Herald of the 19th instant contains the following dispatch from Washington, dated the 18th:

"The President to-day received a petition signed by one thousand colored citizens of Caddo Parish, La., asking to be removed to a territory where they could live by

themselves, as it was utterly impossible to live with the whites of Louisiana. They were willing to be sent to Liberia, if no better place could be given them."

That such a petition has been laid before the President we have not the least doubt; but we emphatically and unequivocally declare that it is a base forgery. Neither one thousand nor any other number of the colored citizens of Caddo Parish signed or know anything of it. The petition was undoubtedly concocted in New Orleans, and the names of negroes in this parish signed to it by George L. Smith, C. W. Keeting, and other carpet-baggers who had access, for that purpose, to the old registration-lists of the parish.

The WITNESS. Here is something with regard to our people that was published in a Texas paper, that caused us to leave.

Mr. BLAIR. (Reading.) It is an extract republished in the New Orleans Louisianian of the date of May 26, 1877, under the heading of "sound sentiments," and taken from the Comanche Chief, a Democratic journal published in Texas.

It is as follows:

SOUND SENTIMENTS.

The Comanche Chief, a Democratic journal published in Texas, has the following:

"It is now, as it has been for ten years past. The entire people of Texas have to bear all the slander and abuse for the crimes of the desperadoes and villains who have cursed the State by making her soil the scene of their crimes. Just at a time when the national administration is offering us peace and liberty, and protection in the exercise of self-government by the States, comes the news of the destruction of a negro colony in Lee County, by a band of drunken villains. The negroes had purchased the property upon which they were living, and were, as the letter detailing the outrage informs us, honest and industrious citizens. They had constructed their rude cabins far from the neighborhood of the white people, and were laboring to make themselves comfortable homes, that they need not become thieving vagrants, and thus receive, as such characters deserve, death or confinement. But their prospects were too fair. They were too fortunate. A blood-thirsty mob came and undertook to lynch one of their number, but the friends of the victim interfered to rescue and save him from the horrible doom. But not to be baffled thus, the brutes waited but a few nights before returning to consummate what they had undertaken. This time they were more successful; and after burning the house of a prominent member of the colony, notified the balance to leave the country, which command was promptly obeyed. When asked why they did not appeal to the civil authorities, one of the negroes replied that it would do no good, because it would be dangerous for any of their number to appear as witnesses against men who did it.

"There is sufficient power in the government of Texas to protect every citizen of the State. If such be not true let the people call upon the national government for such protection as it can afford."

That a Democratic journal condemns such outrages in such emphatic terms, and proposes even to call in Federal bayonets if necessary to put an end to them, is evidence of a revulsion of public sentiment that must eventually produce beneficial results. We believe that the traditional opinion which prevailed in the days of slavery, that the negro must be kept in ignorance and poverty in order to fulfill the design of his creation, has long since been discarded by the progressive white men of the South, and that such persecutions as are narrated above are, as stated, the work of "desperadoes and villains" who care nothing for the fair fame of the State, and whose idea of "self-government" is immunity for the crimes which their ignorance and malicious nature prompts them to commit. It may be an unfortunate thing for "the entire people of Texas" that they have to bear the responsibility for the evil deeds of such characters, but it is one which they share in common with all who are free to manage their own affairs in their own way. In other words, it is one of the responsibilities which must accompany such freedom, and it becomes at once the duty and the interest of "the entire people of Texas" to show their capacity for self-government by ridding their State of desperadoes and villains, or at least securing protection for "honest and industrious citizens," whether they are white or black. Many politicians of our day have adopted the theory that a government which is unable to sustain itself and perform its proper functions has no right to exist, and if the theory is applicable in any one instance it must be true in all cases. It is not at all likely that an appeal for Federal interference, even coming from a Democratic journal, would procure a single bayonet from President Hayes; and, in any case, such a way of meeting the difficulty would be extremely objectionable to the public sentiment of the nation. Hence Texas must rely solely upon her own citizens for the preservation of peace within her borders. If

she cannot protect "honest and industrious citizens in making for themselves" comfortable homes, they must flee from her borders or become "thieving vagrants," and Texas must bear the loss. Every honest, industrious citizen is a gain, every "band of drunken villains" a loss, and the State has her own election to enjoy the one or suffer the other. One plan of reconstruction of which the Republican party was the author, and for which it was held accountable, has failed; it remains to be seen whether the party now in power will achieve greater success in dealing with our great national problem: How to secure for the South the blessings of good government and the protection of the law for every citizen who deserves such protection. The carpet-baggers of the South have been hurled from power, loaded with the maledictions of all parties, but those who have succeeded them in power have to pass through the same ordeal to which they were subjected, without, however, having the same difficulties with which they had to contend. Every true friend of the South, of whatever party he may be or whatever color, has become wearied out with the repetition of such outrages as occurred in Lee County, and they are highly detrimental to the interests of all classes. No political party can afford to accept the responsibility for them. Hence it becomes the duty of all good citizens to give a hearty support to a State administration that will vigorously repress them and to condemn one that will not.

Mr. BLAIR. Here is something in relation to a difficulty at Shreveport.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; that happened in Shreveport, and caused our people to raise up with excitement. It is from a Democratic paper there.

Mr. BLAIR. What is the paper?

The WITNESS. It is from the Shreveport Times or Standard, I don't know which.

Mr. BLAIR (examining). It is from the Shreveport Times, and is headed, "Nearly a difficulty." Is that the extract you wish to put in? It appears to be published some time in October, 1878.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; that was in the last campaign. I knowed the man that kept the ferry-boat, and I saw the thing myself.

Mr. BLAIR. That was in the campaign of 1878?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; in October, 1878.

The extract is as follows:

NEARLY A DIFFICULTY.

Quite a sensation was created yesterday morning on board the ferry-boat, which came near terminating in a serious difficulty between the whites and blacks. The circumstances, as we have them from those present, are, that early yesterday morning a negro man by the name of Ben Smith came aboard the ferry-boat in a beastly state of intoxication, and fell asleep before the departure of the boat for this side of the river. He was put on the dock and a stick of wood placed under his head, where he slept two hours, when he came aboard the boat and asserted that he had lost fifty cents, and believed some one on the boat had robbed him, at the same time using very insolent and abusive language, and continued to be abusive until the boat had nearly reached this side of the river, when he was approached by Mr. William King, special police officer, and told to keep quiet. He became more violent and demonstrative than ever, threatening to knock King down with the whip-stalk which he held in his hand, and went so far as to execute his threat, when the officer dealt him two heavy blows on the head, knocking him down. This action on King's part excited the indignation of a large number of negroes who had gathered at the landing, attracted by the blowing of the whistle of the Stirling White signaling assistance, and they were loud and bitter in their threats against King and the white people generally, but, fortunately for them, they made no effort to carry out their threats.

Policeman Henry Weinstein arrived, and took charge of the prisoner, and marched him to the lock-up, followed by a large crowd of negroes, where he is now, and where he is likely to remain for several days.

The conduct of this turbulent negro, and the sympathy he received, is the effect of the teachings of a few bad white men, and shows to what excess their unbridled passions would lead them to if not restrained by fear.

It was a most fortunate thing for the blacks that they did not provoke a difficulty, for just as certain as cause follows effect, if one drop of white man's blood had been shed the lives of nearly every negro present would have paid the penalty of their folly.

Mr. BLAIR: And here is a call for a convention to be held at Shreveport.

The WITNESS. Yes, an address to the freedmen of Louisiana, calling a convention on Thursday, December 5, 1878, with the names of the officers signing it, and called by the president of the Negro Union Co-operative Aid Association, and signed by me as president of the Colonization Council.

Mr. BLAIR. Very well, we will receive it.

Following is the call :

CONVENTION.

To the Freedmen of Louisiana :

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In order that we may unite in a common band of brotherly love and union, I, as president of the Negro Union Co-operative Aid Association, appeal to the freedmen without regard to sex, religion, or politics, to immediately assemble in their respective religious bodies, and all other societies as may choose to send delegates to a convention which will meet in Shreveport, at 12 m. on Thursday, December 5, 1878. To the discouraged we have but one remark to make. Join with us and try by one mighty effort to elevate ourselves morally and socially, and to aid each other in getting lands and homes, that we may not give all we make every year to stay on somebody's plantation. The foregoing is presented to you as a plan for coming together in council to devise a general plan whereby we may become united as a race.

APPORTIONMENT FOR DELEGATES.

Any organized religious body, one delegate ; any benevolent society, one delegate ; any secret organization, one delegate ; any plantation with fifty persons, one delegate ; any organization composed exclusively of negro people, one delegate. Each delegate is requested to come prepared to pay the sum of two dollars towards paying the expenses of the convention.

Officers and directors.—R. J. Cromwell, president ; E. Allen, vice-president ; C. Morris, secretary ; J. Cleaveland, treasurer ; P. James, ass't treasurer ; H. Human, ag't ; J. Alexander, E. Johnson, Aaron Williams, J. M. Mitchell, R. L. Cook, Chas. Wilson, L. High. H. Adams, president of the council.

Mr. BLAIR. Have you any other matters you wish to present as evidence ?

The WITNESS. Only these two or three. One is a list of the steamers and prices they charged for passage of our people up the river, and the letter I wrote about it to the committee on relief and immigration. The letter is on the back.

The following are the letter and list :

NEW ORLEANS, LA., June 27, 1879.

To the Chairman and Members of Committee on Relief and Immigration :

GENTLEMEN: I went on board of steamer James Howard this morning, bound from this port to St. Louis, Mo., to ascertain the lowest figure that they would carry immigrants from this city to St. Louis, Mo. The clerk informed me that he would carry them as follows, viz: Grown people, deck passage and feed themselves, \$4; grown people, cabin passage and feed you, \$20; children from three years up to ten, half price, and all over ten years full fare. On deck they will charge nothing for bedstead, trunk, and mattress, and your grub or provision. But when an over excess of plunder, they will charge for it, but very cheap; making through trips to St. Louis in six days and a half.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY ADAMS,

Member Committee on Arrangements and Transportation.

11 N E

Steamer.	No.	Date.	Charges per head.
James Howard.....	121	June 7, 1879	\$4 (and four delegates).
John A. Scudder.....	146	June 14, 1879	\$4
City of Alton.....	154	June 21, 1879	5
Centennial.....	12	June 25, 1879	5
E. O. Stanard.....	3	June 26, 1879	3
James Howard.....	97	June 28, 1879	4
W. P. Halliday.....	13	July 2, 1879	5
Jno. A. Scudder.....	175	July 5, 1879	4
Belle of Shreveport.....	14	July 9, 1879	5
City of Alton.....	126	July 12, 1879	5
Centennial.....	18	July 16, 1879	5
James Howard.....	112	July 19, 1879	5
W. P. Halliday.....	25	July 23, 1879	5
John A. Scudder.....	28	July 26, 1879	\$5 deck, \$10 cabin.
City of Alton.....	20	Aug. 2, 1879	\$5
Belle of Shreveport.....	12	Aug. 6, 1879	\$5, \$15 cabin.
W. P. Halliday.....	15	Aug. 16, 1879	\$5
Golden City.....	5	Aug. 30, 1879	5
City of Alton.....	5	Aug. 23, 1879	5
E. O. Stanard.....	10	Sept. 6, 1879	5
City of Alton.....	29	Sept. 13, 1879	5
Commonwealth.....	20	Sept. 21, 1879	5
Centennial.....	6	Sept. 27, 1879	5
W. P. Halliday.....	9	Oct. 2, 1879	5
City of Alton.....	19	Oct. 4, 1879	5
Belle of Shreveport.....	8	Oct. 21, 1879	5
Centennial.....	5	Oct. 22, 1879	5
W. P. Halliday.....	9	Oct. 26, 1879	5
City of Alton.....	3	Nov. 1, 1879	5

Mr. BLAIR. Have you anything else ?

The WITNESS. This circular, addressed by the Migration Society to colored people desiring to emigrate.

It follows:

CIRCULAR.

ROOMS MIGRATION AND RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

To the Colored People desiring to migrate:

The Migration and Relief Association, at a meeting held April 28, 1879, decided that the wisest plan for our people to pursue is to remain quietly at home and at work until such time as this committee shall be able to assist you by such advice and means, if necessary, as will enable you to depart decently and in order.

This committee is doing all in its power to prepare for your departure with safety to yourselves and families.

Committee: Geo. H. Fayerweather (chairman), A. R. Blount, J. G. Lewis (secretary), who desire all information relative to this movement.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. That statement in lead pencil of occurrences from 1876 to 1879, what do you say as to that?—A. I have not got that with me.

Q. Where is it?—A. At home.

Q. What is the nature of it?—A. It is a statement of outrages that happened from 1876 to 1879. I have not got them written out yet with ink, just in lead pencil. But I can explain them to you by heart.

Q. Well, it explains the condition of your race, I suppose you mean to say, since the inauguration of President Hayes, and during the time of his administration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What has been the condition of your race in the South, so far as you know it, during the time of the present administration, and what is it at the present time?—A. It is just the same as it was before, only in regards of elections it is a little more bad than it was before in regards of the people casting their ballots.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. You say it is worse than it was before?—A. Yes, in regards to casting our ballots for whom we please.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Won't you explain wherein?—A. In 1878, at an election we held in Caddo Parish, at a place that was called Caledonia, on Red River, they raised a riot there.

Q. Who raised a riot?—A. The white men did.

Q. Well, tell us about it.—A. The white men raised a riot and shot several colored men, which was reported.

Q. Did you see the riot or participate in it?—A. No, I never saw these things with these eyes; but I knowed about it, and I seen whilst they were going down there with guns, a hundred guns in one wagon and sixty in another, going down there with guns, and I seen some who came from down there. And whilst they was going on down there I would see colored men that would run up from down there. It was about thirty miles from Shreveport, below Shreveport, on Red River.

Q. What was the occasion of the riot?—A. It all broke out on that election, and I suppose that the colored men said that they would vote the Republican ticket as they chose, and they already had a majority in the box at the time when it first broke out, for they was voting the Republican ticket pretty fast. And when it first broke out they all squandered right away, and some of them attacked a colored man's house by the name of Madison Reams and caused him to leave his house, and they captured every gun they had in the house. They had guns, so they say, for the purpose of guarding the cotton house, owned by Jere Bright, justice of the peace, and he had given Madison Reams, it is supposed, the privilege of having guns to protect his cotton-house, as some cotton-houses was fired before that time and they thought they might set his on fire. And I suppose he had nine or ten guns there, 'least so the man told me that run from there, that he had nine or ten guns there and they were there with him. He told me that the white men came and surrounded the house and took every gun that he had in the house. And after these colored men got shot by the white men about a hundred yards from the polls, near that distance, then when they shot these colored men, every one that they knowed had guns in his house they took them away from them, and then commenced shooting the colored men that had the guns, and commenced hunting for those that knowed anything about the guns being there. They went to running, and run into the fields, and they shot some men that didn't live in Caddo, but lived in Bossier Parish, and was over there picking cotton. They shot them down in the fields, in the cotton fields, and caused some of them to leave, and some went back.

There is Jesse Williams, he ran from there and he went to New Orleans and was there a short time ago. And there was George Clark; he ran from there, and he is at New Orleans now, or was a week or two ago. And Vernal Moore, he ran from there; and Monroe Brown, he ran from there; he is on Red River there. And there was Isaac Reams and Madison Reams, they both ran from there on account of that, and they are all scattered off somewhere now at other parts of the State. And there is Henry Glasgow; he is away from there on account of this very thing.

And there was several men that was witnesses before the United States court in some of these same events that happened down there, and they went down to testify as such, and they now are away from their homes. Henry Williams is one, he is away from there; and Fred Thaw, he didn't testify in that very case, but in another case that happened in Caddo; and Richard Pickett and Andrew Doty and Ben. Williams—they two is in Kansas, they escaped and went home, and

they could not stay, but left and went to Kansas. And several more are just in that fix, from the election of 1878; that being under President Hayes's administration.

Q. You don't find any increasing hope there for your race in that section of the country?—A. Not a bit.

Q. And the longer you wait the worse it seems to be for you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you have concluded to get up and go out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You speak of outrages from your own observation and of those you had learned by inquiry from various sources?—A. Yes, sir; what I seen myself and what I heard from those that had seen 'em.

Q. Have you ever known any of these outrages you speak of to be committed by Republicans? If so, state the circumstances.—A. I will, if I can think of any. (Pondering).

Q. Just state all about them?—A. Well, I have known some of the men who now pretend to be Republicans that have did some of these things in the past.

Q. I mean any who were Republicans at the time they committed the outrages?—A. (Reflecting.)

Q. I want to know if you have ever known of any Republicans who at the time these outrages were committed were engaged in them and approving them, and who were at the time Republicans and acting with the Republican party?—A. Well, I don't know of none myself; not one that was a Republican who was having anything to do with these outrages.

Q. Then the parties that have done these things have all been Democrats, have they?—A. Yes, sir.

Recross-examination of witness :

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Did you ever hear in all this time of any outrages committed by black people on whites?—A. O, I have heard some whites say that the colored people had raised arms and was raging against the white people, but when they came to investigate the matter they found it was false.

Q. When you heard the other side of the story, then, you did not think that the colored people really had committed any outrages at all upon the white people in that country?—A. Well, as a mass they have not, to my judgment.

Q. What do you mean by "as a mass"?—A. I mean that nine or ten or twenty colored men should get together and go to hunting and threatening and killing the white people—I don't believe they ever did.

Q. I am afraid you will have to take back some things you said a moment ago, as an honest man.

Mr. BLAIR. It is not exactly fair for the Senator to say that. I have never myself heard any such instance.

Mr. VANCE. The newspapers have been full of accounts of outrages on both sides.

Mr. BLAIR. It is very seldom such charges even are made. I do not recollect of seeing an instance in a Northern paper, Republican or Democratic, where a body of colored men, or "a mass," as witness calls it, were charged even with perpetrating political outrages; not one.

Mr. VANCE. There have been great numbers of them in the newspapers—the newspapers are full of them—if you will only read on the other side.

Mr. BLAIR. I have read very diligently the papers of both sides, and

the Democratic press of the North has been tolerably ready to publish anything of that kind that comes to their knowledge, but I never saw in a Democratic paper that a body of negroes in the Southern country had committed political outrages anywhere—not one, to my knowledge. And I do not think the witness has exhibited any disposition to falsify or suppress the real truth, and he ought not to be indirectly charged with dishonesty.

Q. I will ask the witness whether any colored people, to his knowledge, have ever voted the Democratic ticket?—A. They have; some of them, in some places, but not freely. If they voted the Democratic ticket they have sometimes got whipped by the colored people, but not in my part, they didn't do that.

Q. Did you hear of its being done?—A. Yes; I have heard of them being whipped for voting the Democratic ticket, but when they came to investigate, it was more what that one that was whipped told on some Republican colored man, some false thing he had told about him, or something of that kind, and not for casting his vote—it was for something else besides that.

Q. Still some colored men have been whipped by their own people, for being Democrats and voting the Democratic ticket?—A. Of course I have heard that was so in certain cases, but in most cases it was not for voting the Democratic ticket, but for something else.

Q. The man that did the whipping told you that it was not for that?—A. Yes; and when I got to questioning him pretty close he told me so, too.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. That is a new phase of the matter. Do the negroes whip each other down there?—A. Not often.

Q. Once in a while?—A. Yes, once in a while; when it is necessary.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. If they vote the Democratic ticket?—A. No; only so that they let others alone. Plenty of the penitentiary convicts vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Do all the penitentiary men vote the Democratic ticket?—A. All of them don't, but a great many of them do. Many of them are in the penitentiary down there; they put them in every time they hold court, 'most; they send my race to the penitentiary.

Q. What for?—A. For 'most any little things they charge 'em with doing.

Q. What charges do they make?—A. Stealing a hog, or sheep, or such thing.

Q. You mean for stealing, and not for fighting?—A. Some for fighting and cutting.

Q. Well, it is all persecution, is it; they don't steal?—A. Some of them steal sometimes.

Q. Yes, they do! Well, the balance that don't steal are improperly convicted, are they?—A. We think they are sometimes; a great many of them are.

Q. Have they no colored men on the juries?—A. Yes; sometimes they have.

Q. And they convict men of their own race improperly and unjustly?—A. Well, it is a kind of fixing up the matter in such a way the men on the jury every time can't control the jury.

Q. Until quite recently the prosecuting officer in your place was a Republican, was he not?—A. Yes.

Q. And the judges were Republicans?—A. I didn't consider that—

Q. Well, I want you to consider it, then.—A. I didn't consider of their being Republicans in all cases.

Q. Well, were they Republicans, or not?—A. I said in many cases they were said to be Republicans, but when they came to proving their Republicanism they was not there.

Q. They were not good Republicans, then?—A. If they had been thorough Republicans they would not have signed bills of indictment against Republican people as they do.

Q. But against all white bad men, and not against others?—A. Well, they could have told beforehand whether they were guilty or no, and would not have signed bills of indictment against colored men who were not guilty of the charges against them.

Q. Well, an honest man, whether Democrat or Republican, is not going to indict anybody without he knows it is right to do it, is he?—A. No; but he knows who is guilty beforehand—a right honest man does, before he hears the evidence.

Mr. VANCE. An honest man can judge after he hears the testimony. That is all.

Re-direct examination of witness :

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You have known, you say, of instances of hardship and improper convictions and sentences; I want you to explain about that, and state instances that you have known.—A. About men being convicted?

Q. Yes; men whom you have thought innocent, and were improperly convicted, and their sentences in some cases excessive even when they were guilty. Tell us about that.—A. Well, there have been some men really accused of things, and I judge from this: I have been on the grand jury there, and I have heard the testimony that came before the grand jury state that certain men did certain things—stealing hogs, horses, a cowhide, a bale of cotton or something of that sort, and when the man came before the grand jury to make his statement, and when it is proved up whether it is true or not, there ain't a word of truth in the statement he makes before the grand jury against the colored man, because we find in many instances cases come before us in the grand-jury room that on the very day this man was accused of doing this crime he was that day twenty or thirty miles away from there, and had been for two or three days. Therefore I believe a great many of these cases are false, and to get him to leave his crop so that his crop could be grasped by the man that made the charges against him. I have found cases of that kind before the courts.

Q. Such men have not been convicted and sent to the penitentiary, have they?—A. O, yes, sir; they have been convicted often and sent to the penitentiary in this way.

Q. And nothing done to remedy the wrong?—A. No; but we would investigate thoroughly and find the fact to be true, and besides those same men that were on the jury with me, knowing the fact, may be on other juries that would indict and convict.

Q. Have you known any instances where the punishment was very severe for the crime charged?—A. Against a prisoner who goes to prison you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, when they put them in prison there they generally punishes them enough, by making them work hard and driving them.

Q. For how long a time have you known men to be sentenced there?—A. To the penitentiary?

Q. Yes.—A. From one year, I have known, up to as high as ten years—as long as that.

Q. For what offenses?—A. Well, some for stealing, some for cutting, and some for shooting and other things, but mostly for crimes like that.

Q. Stealing what?—A. Horses, cows, hogs, cotton, corn, and other things they steal.

Q. Were these persons kept in close confinement, or within the prison, or were they allowed to come out?—A. They allow them to come out to work when they want them to work, because they works them down in our State.

Q. They are not kept in the penitentiary necessarily, then, but may be worked out?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do they work at?—A. They work on the railroads and on the farms too, down in Baton Rouge Parish; I have a place in Baton Rouge Parish.

Q. How are these convicts treated when they are taken out to work?—A. Very rough.

Q. In what way?—A. I have seen them whipped, and one day I seen one of them shot down by the man in charge of them; he said that the man tried to get away from him.

Q. Do they work for the railroads, or for corporations on the railroads?—A. I don't know, because I don't know if there is any corporation railroads in Baton Rouge.

Mr. BLAIR That will do.

Recross-examination of witness :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You say you never heard of negroes killing the white men down there?—A. I have heard of colored men killing white men down there.

Q. Do you remember hearing of Billy Browulee and Beverly Ogden being taken out and shot to death by a gang of fifty colored men?—A. In Bossier Parish?

Q. Yes, you have got it right; that is the parish.—A. I have heard of that.

Q. Well, what have you to say about that?—A. I have only heard of that; I was in the Army when they said that was done; it was in 1868.

Q. Have you heard of this gang of forty or fifty men taking them out and shooting them at a hitching-post?—A. I heard of that—yes, sir.

Q. Did you believe it?—A. Well, I did believe it when I first heard it.

Q. Well, do you believe it now?—A. No, sir, not exactly; I don't since then.

Q. What is the reason you do not?—A. Because I heard the colored people state something in regard to that that makes me doubt it since.

Q. They said these men were not killed by the negroes, did they?—A. Yes, sir; they said they was not.

Q. They said that these men were not killed by negroes?—A. Yes; that is what they say.

Q. Whom do they say they were killed by?—A. Some of them says they was, some says not.

Q. Did you hear any deny it?—A. Yes; two said they were not, and I heard two say they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all.

The following description of the White League organization in Louisiana, its object, and design of its leaders, as submitted by witness, was ordered to be printed as part of the evidence:

THE WHITE LEAGUE IN LOUISIANA.

The existence of an organization in Louisiana known as the "White League" is a fact so well known that nobody can feign ignorance of it or question it, except, perhaps, Louisiana correspondents of the Northern press, who are accustomed to represent it as a mere myth, a malicious Republican falsehood, intended to furnish the President a plausible pretext for sending troops to Louisiana to control elections, &c. We shall not stop here to controvert these groundless but often repeated assertions, which constitute only a part of a stupendous effort of the white leaguers and their friends at home and abroad to conceal from the world the nature and designs of this organization; but will proceed at once to make a brief exhibit of the organization as shown by the sworn testimony of White League witnesses before the Congressional committee, together with utterances of the Democratic press throughout the State.

What the press says.

The following extracts from the White League papers of Louisiana will serve to elucidate more fully the real design of the originators of the league, and their modes of accomplishing that design.

[From the Shreveport Times.]

The Radical or negro party has not yet, so far as we know, nominated a parish ticket. The movements of that party are usually conducted in the manner of those of a thief, stealthily, and while honest people are asleep; therefore their nominations may be agreed upon, though not yet known to the honest portion of the community. We think not, however. We are of the opinion that the plan of the carpet-baggers, scalawags, and negroes has been to wait until the white man's ticket was in the field, and then to move. It has been surmised from expressions which have fallen from some of the chiefs who have leaky mouths, that the negro party would nominate on their ticket white men of average character and seek by that means to break our ranks and divide our strength.

If such is the design it certainly will fail, for we cannot conceive that any man who has any honesty or pride or decency or self-respect would, in this crisis, accept a nomination from the negro party against the white people's ticket. Should any white man outside of the carpet-baggers and well known scalawags have the temerity to accept such a nomination he would be banished from decent society and universally condemned by the community. No white man could at this juncture accept such a nomination without perpetrating a crime against his fellow man. Should the radicals or negroes tender their nomination to white men in any measure identified with or possessing the respect of this community, it will be not for the purpose of putting good men in office but with the view of dividing our strength and perpetuating the reign of ignorance and rascality.

We have no appeal to make to our fellow-citizens of New Orleans. We know that the men of the 14th of September will do their whole duty as freemen and Louisianians zealous of their liberties. But throughout the country parishes there should be concert of action, and that action should be prompt and emphatic. In every parish where the officers elected by the people may be counted out by the returning board, the people should use hemp or ball on the defeated candidates counted in. To localize the proposition—if Geo. L. Smith is counted in over Wm. M. Levy, or if Twitchell is counted in over Elam, let Smith and Twitchell be killed; if Johnson and Tyler, in De Soto, are counted in over Scales and Schuler, or if Keating, Levisse, and Johnson, in Caddo, are counted in over Vanghan, Horan and Land, then let Johnson, Tyler, Keating, Levisse, and Johnson be killed; and so let every officer from Congressman down to constable in every district and parish of the State be served, whom the people have defeated and whom the returning board may count in.

[From the Shreveport Times of May 20.]

1

We are going to redeem this State from the rule of villainy and ignorance, or we will force the Federal Government to establish a military government.

[From the issue of July 29, 1874.]

There has been some redhanded work done in this parish that was necessary, but it

was evidently done by cool, determined, and just men, who knew just how far to go, and we doubt not if the same kind of work is necessary it will be done again.

We again say that we fully, cordially approve what the white men of Grant and Rapides did at Colfax. The white man who does not is a creature so base that he shames the worst class of his species. We say again we are going to carry the election in this State next fall.

Then let the negroes of Louisiana beware. Whenever the Anglo-Saxon and African have met in arms the result has not been a battle but a butchery, as it has been in Bossier in 1868 and at Colfax in 1873.

[From the issue of August 5, 1874.]

It has been charged that the white man's party expects to achieve success by intimidation. This is strictly true. We intend to succeed by intimidation, and we place little confidence in our numerical strength as shown in the figures above given from the ninth census.

Perhaps the fusion legislature was one of the ablest and most conservative bodies assembled in Louisiana in many years, and yet its vacillation lost the cause; its timidity betrayed the trust the people reposed in it. There were some bold and resolute men in that body and they sought to rally their fellow-members to action, but in vain.

There were too many men in it afraid of trouble, afraid of a little blood-letting, afraid of making things worse.

The people of Louisiana are fast making up their minds that this state of things shall exist no longer. Either the next government will be composed of the tax-payers of the State, or else a strong military government brought about by their action.

There are two other classes who do not seem to comprehend these things—a small class of white men who refuse to register and aid their people in carrying the election and avoiding this crisis, and the negroes who are again rallying to the support of the thieves they have put in power, and are thus invoking upon their heads a terrible and bloody retribution.

[From the Natchitoches Vindicator of July 18, 1874.]

The white men intend to carry the State election this fall. This intention is deliberate and unalterable from the fact that their very existence depends upon it; and that you (the colored race) may enjoy the blessings which will naturally follow such an event, blessings made doubly sweet when you know that you are partly instrumental in bringing them about, we desire your co-operation and we simply ask you, Will you assist us in redeeming your State from the degradation and ruin she now is in, or will you follow still the advice of those who have placed her thus? Take time to answer it, and let your mind, should you decide affirmatively, be at rest for your future welfare and happiness. We propose to do for you more than any party has yet done for you. On the other hand, should you imagine that the teaching of your former rulers is correct, and you elect to attempt—for it will only be an attempt—to continue their rule, then you must take the consequences, for we tell you now, and let it be distinctly remembered, that you have fair warning that we intend to carry the State of Louisiana in November next, or she will be a military Territory.

[From the Mansfield Reporter of July 4, 1874.]

"There is nothing to be gained by pleadings or concessions, but everything is within our reach, if we will move forward and grasp it. Let our action be such that everybody will know what we want, and let them see that we are in earnest and we are determined to carry out the programme regardless of consequences."

The following from the same paper, of July, affords some idea of what this "programme" was:

"The lines must be drawn at once before our opponents are thoroughly organized, for by this means we will prevent many milk and cider fellows from falling into the enemy's rank.

"While the white man's party guarantees the negro all his present rights, they do not intend that carpet-baggers and renegades shall be permitted to organize and prepare the negroes for the coming campaign. Without the assistance of these villains the negroes are totally incapable of effectually organizing themselves, and unless they are previously excited and drilled, one-half of them will not come to the polls, and a large per cent. of the remainder will vote the white man's ticket."

[From the Minden Democrat.]

The remedy for all the evils that afflict our State and every Southern State under

negro and carpet-bag rule is very simple. The incendiaries who flood our country at the approach of every election must be looked after. The proceedings of midnight gatherings in dark and gloomy places must be known. Incendiary teachings of the carpet-baggers and scalawags, to inflame the minds of the negroes, must not be tolerated again.

[From the Sugar Bowl.]

Yes. Let us kneel on the grave of the "lost cause" and swear to Heaven to defend our rights.

[From the Caucasian.]

The question presents itself here that we have heard on the lips of every one for some time—what are we to do? To that question there can be but one answer, and that answer is comprised in a single word, fight. When, where, and how must be determined by future developments. For the present we can do nothing but make sure we are well prepared to go anywhere on short notice, and that we are ready to obey any call.

[From the Franklin Enterprise of August 6, 1874.]

We ask for no assistance; we protest against any intervention. We own this soil of Louisiana by virtue of our endeavor, as a heritage from our ancestors, and it is ours and ours alone. Science, literature, history, art, civilization, and law belong to us, and not to the negroes. They have no record but barbarism, and idolatry; nothing since the war, but that of error, incapacity, beastliness, voodooism and crime. Their right to vote is but the result of the war; their exercise of it a monstrous imposition, and a vindictive punishment upon us for that ill-advised rebellion.

Therefore are we banding together in a White League army, drawn up only on the defensive, exasperated by continued wrong, it is true, but acting under Christian and high principled leaders, and determined to defeat these negroes in their infamous design of depriving us of all we hold sacred and precious in the soil of our nativity or adoption, or perish in the attempt.

[From the Shreveport Comet.]

While we are willing, and always have been, to give to the negro everything he needs and should have to make him happy, free, and contented, we are not and never will be in favor of his ruling the State of Louisiana any longer; and we swear by the Eternal Spirit that rules the universe, we will battle against it to the day of our death, if it costs us a prison or a gallows!

Let each white man make it his special duty to watch pot-house scalawags, as they have spotted skins, and damned black hearts. Of course these scoundrels have misrepresented everything they took occasion to describe in their infamous letters and dispatches.

Somebody ought to make these black-hearted villains angels at once, for from the present temper of the State the quicker such monumental liars take unto themselves wings and fly away, the better.

Let the negro be made to know his place; treat him as he should be treated; but never, no never, will we submit more to his laws, as we were born free and will die free in spite of all the powers this side of hell.

[From the Baton Rouge Advocate.]

We have struck the key-note of redemption, and let us not close the glorious work until East Baton Rouge and the whole State has slipped from the grasp of thieving scoundrels, who are morally, intellectually, and totally unfit to be our allies. We hope the great work commenced by the White League throughout this parish will be continued from this time on until there is not a single corrupt or ignorant scamp left in office. The Rads need not congratulate themselves upon the probability of the White League dissolving if they are defeated this year. Such will not be the case. Their work has just commenced and defeat will only redouble their energies to overcome the Radical horde in the future. The White Leaguers are not regular politicians to retreat when they are defeated. They are not that class of men. Should they be repulsed this time, they will be up and at the enemy again with redoubled vim and energy that will strike terror to the hearts of those who think they have an easy foe to overcome.

The White League is a fixture in the political history of this State, and many a car-

pot-bagger will wish he had never been born, ere the Leaguers let them alone. The time has come when Louisianians have determined to get rid of the rule of this class of vampires. We hope there is nothing in this bit of information that will cause them to rub their hands with glee or to feel that they are bully boys, with or without a glass eye. Such they may rest assured is the policy of this people, and let them defeat the object if they can.

Extent of the league.

[From the Minden Democrat of August 29, 1874.]

The New Orleans Bulletin says that "in the White League of Louisiana are now organized and armed fourteen thousand men, one-half of whom are inured to battle and privation." The Bulletin has certainly made a mistake in its figures. Why, there are ten thousand in North Louisiana alone who are ready and willing to march at the first clarion note of the bugle that calls them in the defense of their rights; and the deep sense of the wrongs they have been compelled to submit to in the bayonet government will make them no ordinary force in the event a conflict is precipitated upon us.

Ostracism.

[From the Franklin Enterprise.]

"At Alto on the 11th of July the following was adopted: 'That we regard it the sacred and political duty of every member of this club to discountenance and socially proscriber all white men who unite themselves with the Radical party, and to supplant every political opponent in all his vocations by the employment and support of those who ally themselves with the white man's party; and we pledge ourselves to exert our energies and use our means to the consummating of this end.'

"There should be kept and carefully preserved for future reference a *black list* or book of remembrance in every parish, wherein should be inscribed the names of those white men who in *this emergency* prove recreant to the duties and instincts of race and cast their lot with the African. The infamous record should be as conspicuous for all time to come as the pictures of notorious criminals in the rogues' galleries of large cities. These men must not be forgotten. Let their names be written in the black list with a pen of adamant, that they and all who descend from their loins to the fourth generation may be pariahs, forever cast out from all association with the Caucasian race. Let all who adhere to the negro party in this political contest be reckoned as negroes and treated as such. Let the black list for St. Mary be opened. Let the names of those who pant for immortal infamy be enrolled. Whose names shall head the list? We know two, father and son, who have equal claims to the distinction."

The above passage is reproduced in the New Orleans Picayune of August 1, 1874, with tacit commendation.

[From the Natchitoches Vindicator.]

We advise our native white fellow-citizens of Louisiana who have arrayed themselves against their white brothers to retrace their steps while there is still time left to do so. When a war of races is imminent—and we tell them it is imminent—they should be found but on one side, battling with the Caucasian race; words of sympathy will not do. The people will be satisfied with nothing short of acts, plain and unmistakable. They have yet time to redeem themselves. They know full well that the white men of this State are no mere beginners in the arts of peace or war, and that in going through such an ordeal all those who are not with us must certainly be against us, and none such will be allowed to remain in our midst, to take us in flank or rear at the opportune moment. When the conflict will have commenced it will be too late then. The contest will be quick, sharp, and decisive. Let them take warning in due time, for the die is surely cast.

Words cannot express our abhorrence of the man or men who would thus aid our foe. Every man who votes a split ticket, who gives his support to an independent candidate, is not only an enemy to our citizens, but a traitorous foe to his own race and to civilization."

Let us never cease to make war upon them, both in their official and private capacities; discountenance any person who meets them as gentlemen on the street. Shut your doors and your hearts to them; let them be outcasts to every feeling of mercy you have, so that living they may only encumber the earth, and dying descend to hell covered with the curses of every virtuous man in Louisiana.

[From the Baton Rouge Advocate.]

The White League Club of Sandy Creek puts it thus :

"Resolved, That we consider it beneath our moral and social dignity to associate with any white man who refuses to enroll his name among those who have openly declared themselves to be white men with principles favoring a white man's government."

The Baton Rouge White League No. 1, on the 5th of September, 1874, delivers itself as follows :

"Resolved, That all the members of this organization compose a committee, with the secretary as its chairman, and that it be the duty of every member of said committee to report to the chairman the names of all white men who, through indifference to the future welfare of the white race of Louisiana, have failed to register; and that a list of those names be kept for publication after the election, together with all white men who voted the Radical ticket."

[From the Shreveport Times.]

If any white man accepts a Radical negro nomination, place upon him the ban of public scorn and contempt; and if any man seeks to divide our strength by attempting the independent dodge, treat him as a public enemy.

Threats to discharge negro laborers from employment.

The New Orleans Bulletin of 2d July, 1874, says this :

"We intend to tell the merchants, lawyers, doctors, and all others of our people who employ black men as porters, that they are supporting the best and most intelligent of the Republican party; and because they are the best and most intelligent, therefore the most dangerous."

The Catholic Messenger, in its abounding love and good-will to all men everywhere, having also an eye on politics, makes the following deliverance :

"That (the blacks) are and have been carrying on a relentless war upon the whites is unfortunately too true. It is not, indeed, a war of arms, for in that they would not have the shadow of a chance, and they know it well, but it is a legislative war—a war of ruin and extermination through the army of sheriffs and their deputies.

"And how has the white race met this war? We must answer, weakly, very weakly. They have shown no courage, no spirit of sacrifice, no public spirit whatever, in meeting the emergency. On the contrary, they have met this open, insolent defiance of these unscrupulous partisans with the most accommodating submissiveness. So far from breaking off relations with them as a public enemy, which they are in every true sense of the word, every planter, every employer has run a race with his compeers as to which of them could employ the greatest number of negroes. They are kept fully occupied everywhere. By this means they are furnished with the ability to carry on that very war which they wage so relentlessly against their employers. The white man supplies them with food, clothing, and money. They grow fat and insolent. They go to the polls and defiantly vote to ruin the very man who weakly and stupidly warms into life and strength the reptile which he knows is stinging him. There is but one way to manage the negro. He is, as a class, amenable to neither reason or gratitude. He must be starved into the common perception of decency."

Intimidation and violence.—The law and the duty of self-protection.

Under the above caption, the Shreveport Times of October 17 says :

"Without delay every man in Shreveport, whatever his business may be, should give every negro voter in his employ to understand that if he votes the Radical ticket he will be instantly discharged. The planters should pursue a like policy. They should warn the negroes on their plantation that if they vote the Radical ticket, they must leave their plantations."

Action of the merchants.

Under the above head, the Shreveport Times instant has the following editorial remarks, approving the proscription of Republicans now going on in Northern Louisiana :

"We call attention to the two cards signed by the merchants of Shreveport, published in this morning's Times. The merchants have acted promptly, and it is to be hoped the example they have so nobly and fearlessly given will be everywhere followed. Let the negroes be made to fully and clearly understand that their insolence and misrule has gone as far as it can go, and that they must either co-operate with us to re-establish good government and the prosperity of the State, or depend upon their Radical

friends for employment and support. We would suggest, now that our merchants and business men are in earnest in this important matter, that they immediately correspond with their friends in Saint Louis and Cincinnati, and make arrangements to have a brigade of draymen and porters sent here when needed. Draymen and porters in Saint Louis and Cincinnati are working for one-third less than the negro draymen and porters are getting in Shreveport, and will be glad to come if they are assured of regular work. The planters of Summer Grove and the merchants of Shreveport have spoken. Let us hear the next voice."

The cards referred to are found in the same paper, signed by about sixty names of persons and firms calling themselves merchants of Shreveport. The first reads:

"SHREVEPORT, October 14th, 1874.

"We, the undersigned, merchants of the city of Shreveport, in obedience to a request of the Shreveport Campaign Club, agree to use every endeavor to get our employes to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election, and in the event of their refusing to do so, or in case they vote the Radical ticket, to refuse to employ them at the expiration of their present contracts."

The above is signed by sixty nine merchants and commercial firms.

The second card says:

"SHREVEPORT, October 14, 1874.

"We the undersigned, merchants of the city of Shreveport, alive to the great importance of securing good and honest government to the State, do agree and pledge ourselves not to advance any supplies or money to any planter the coming year who will give employment or rent lands to laborers who vote the Radical ticket in the coming election.

"We are constrained to this course from a principle of self-defense. Knowing that the negroes are being banded together for the purpose of foisting upon the country incompetent and dishonest men for office, and if they persist in their determination to support a ticket which plunders the white people of their subsistence, they must look to others than the white people for the means of subsistence."

Above is signed by sixty merchants and commercial firms.

NOTE.—It appears that steps were taken to arrest some of the signers of the above cards under the enforcement act, pending which the following editorial comments appear in the Shreveport Times:

"The position assumed by our merchants and property-holders has had its effect upon the negro dupes of the thieves who lead the Radical party. It has opened their eyes, and many of them have determined to vote with their best friends, the white people. The object of this movement of the Kelloggists and Federal authorities is simply to counteract the influence of this movement upon the negroes; it is to intimidate the gentlemen who entered into the agreement, and force them to withdraw from it; to make them slink out of a *brave and proper action* by threatening them with the terrors of arrest and confinement in stockades and of Federal courts as they exist in Louisiana. If this is accomplished and our people back down, the negroes will become insulting, arrogant, and intolerable. Led by their chiefs, they will literally ride rough-shod over the community; and this section of the State will be carried by them in the election. This is what this proceeding means—nothing more nor less.

"If these men, fellow-citizens, make this issue, force them to develop the dastardly outrage in its full proportions, that the whole country may see it in all its hideousness.

"Our word for it, no one will remain in General Merrill's stockade or guard-house many hours after the news of the outrage is telegraphed North and East.

"Citizens, stand firm! Dispatches have already been sent over the United States in relation to the threatened outrage upon your rights and liberty, and the eyes of the American people are upon you. Your action in this matter now will excite the sympathy or derision of the country, according as it is courageous and manly, or weak and contemptible.

"You are not alone; the whole community supports you. Lists are now circulating throughout the city, pledging the signers to the same line of action you agreed upon. One hundred additional names have been signed and every man in Shreveport will share your responsibilities. The planters of Summer Grove, Spring Ridge, Greenwood, and Mooringsport neighborhoods have unaniously signed similar pledges. Even the ladies of our city are signing cards that will make them as guilty as you are."

The following is the heading of the list referred to above: "We, the undersigned, agree to use every endeavor to get our employes to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election. And in the event of their refusal so to do, or in case they vote the Radical ticket, to refuse to employ them at the expiration of their present contracts."

"The signers of the obligation will, every one of them, stand squarely up to what they have done. Indeed, so far from scaring anybody into backing down, the citizens are now more absolutely than ever determined to stand firm, and yesterday 180 additional names were signed to the pledge, representing nearly every business house in this city. The same obligation has been signed by the planters in the different neighborhoods throughout the parish, while a large number of ladies signed an obligation to hire no servants whose husbands affiliated with the Radical party. Thus, if General Merrill and Commissioner Leveisee carry out their programme, they will have by to-night under arrest about three-fourths of the white population of the parish.

"The temper of the people is splendid, and their resolution is to test this question, and learn whether they are free men or the minions of a brutal military despotism.

"The people of this city are much excited over the outrage which General Merrill and the United States Commissioner Leveisee have threatened to perpetrate upon them this morning, and unless caution is observed by the deputy marshal in executing the warrants of these worthies some desperate act may be perpetrated. We doubt if any deputy marshal's life will be safe if he attempts alone to arrest citizens here upon these scandalous processes. We admonish any civil officer, therefore, in perpetrating the outrages, to be accompanied by Federal troops."

[From the Baton Rouge Advocate.]

"We understand that the leading merchants are seriously considering the propriety of entering into a solemn compact to supply no man next year who either votes against the interests of the property-holders in the coming election, or gives employment to those who do. We would suggest also that they adopt a method to do away with both the renting and share system. Both of these systems are ruinous to both planter and merchant. By concert of action the merchants and planters can and will put down the disastrous rule of political thieves in this parish and State, and we know they do not lack the courage and the will to do it. They hold their fate in their own hands; therefore let them wield their influence for the future good of all.

"That we, the white people, do solemnly promise and bind ourselves not to employ or aid in any manner any person, whether white or black, who votes against our interest, as well as their own, at the coming election in November."

A similar resolution was passed by the meeting of the people's party of ward No. 1, parish of East Baton Rouge.

[From the Shreveport Times of October 17.]

"Whereas there has been a preconcerted plan carried into effect by the Radical party, since the enfranchisement of the colored race, to unite them in leagues, bound by the most solemn oaths, to support none but Radicals for office, which has brought our country to the verge of destruction:

"Be it resolved by the white people's party of ward No. 2 (parish of Caddo), that we pledge ourselves and our sacred honor, that we will, under no circumstances whatever, employ as laborers, rent to, or in any other manner give employment to, any man, white or black, who votes the Radical ticket at the coming election.

"We hereby pledge ourselves to discountenance any one who refuses to sign or who fails to comply with this agreement, by refusing to associate with him in any manner whatever."

[From the Shreveport Times of September 19.]

"With the Federal Army and Navy at his command, the President may reseal Mr. Kellogg; he may replace in some of the parishes the local officials, but if he would keep them there, he must keep troops in every parish in the State, and it will require an army of 20,000 men to hold in place the rotten and contemptible usurpation. Nor will this quiet the State. The people of Louisiana cannot fight the Federal Government, but they will not bear tamely or patiently the outrage, and it will be as much as a man's life is worth to accept office from Kellogg. We doubt if Kellogg himself will live twenty days after his reinstatement, even surrounded by an army. Lawlessness will break out everywhere; the worst elements of society, under no fear of public opinion or law, will follow their evil instincts. Carpet-baggers and scalawags and negroes too we fear will be killed."

The following editorial comment on the Coushatta massacre is from the Shreveport Times of September 3: "If the civil commotion of the last few days in Red River Parish had no counterpart in other parishes of the State, it might be surmised that lawless men there had outraged the law and outraged humanity, but the simple fact that similar occurrences are transpiring in other and distant sections of the State, and that the white people in every section of it sympathize in these occurrences, is evidence that a general and powerful cause has provoked them.

"And now looking at the killing of the creatures that were caught in Red River Parish, engaged there in organizing a war of the blacks against the whites, from this stand-point, we believe that justice has been done.

"It may have been, in the language of some of our friends, bad policy to kill the men who were engaged in organizing ruin and death in Red River Parish, but we differ with them.

"The ringleaders of the war in Red River are dead. As for our part, while we do not exult over their death, we have no tears with which to bedew their graves, and no censure to bestow upon the men whose homes, whose lives, whose wives and children were threatened.

"The eagles have struck down the foe and swept away. Now let the buzzards of radicalism squat upon the carcasses, and scream and chatter and flutter; their noise strikes terror to not a single heart in Louisiana."

The foregoing extracts are only samples of the torrent of a like nature that poured forth daily from the White League press all over the State. The careful reader, however, of all the foregoing testimony, will readily see that the White League in Louisiana was a military organization extending through the whole State; that its formation in the several parishes was nearly contemporaneous, thereby indicating a general unity of purpose all over the State; that the organization of the league was effected generally throughout the State, about the month of June and the 1st of July, 1874. That this organization was probably not less than twenty-five thousand strong, of well armed men in the State. That these men, having more or less of military experience, were regularly formed into companies and regiments, and were armed, officered and drilled, ready for military action; and that they could all be massed if the exigency required it.

The intelligent reader will also perceive that this organization was formed for a political purpose. That the direct object of the formation of the League was to wrest the government of the State from the hands of the Republican party, and to place it in the control of the White League party. That to accomplish this, they adopted the dangerous policy of uniting the white population as a race, against the colored population as a race, thus making a strictly race issue of the matter. And to reach the desired end (of possessing the government) it was necessary to pursue two lines of action at once, viz: "To drive incompetent and corrupt men from office," that is "to get rid of the Kellogg officials" and "to carry the election."

How the election was to be carried, the reader can have no trouble in determining from the foregoing extracts; intimidation, violence, threats, and prescription in its most aggravated forms were freely used.

STATEMENT OF AFFAIRS AND OUTRAGES IN THE SOUTH, 1866.

[Compiled by HENRY ADAMS.]

In the year 1866, in the parish of Caddo, State of Louisiana, I seen hanging to a limb of an oak tree about six miles south from Shreveport, the body of a colored man—he was dead when I seen him. About six miles north from Keachie I saw a wagon belonging to a colored man burning with all his things; even his mules were burned to death. While on my way to Sunny Grove, I seen the head of a colored man lying side the road. Whilst traveling on my way to De Soto Parish a large body of armed white men met me and asked me who I belonged to. I answered them and told them that I belonged to God, but not to any man. They then asked me where was my master? I told them the one I used to have was dead, and I have not had none since 1858; worked for those who would hire me and pay the largest price, as I was still a slave, and during the time I was passing through this parish a black man was not allowed to preach the Gospel anywheres, any more than he was before, in 1865. As he was, he daren't to preach such doctrines as was suitable to the congregation, and a truth from the Holy Bible, but he had to preach just what they (the white men) wanted, and what they told him to preach. My father was a preacher, and he is even until this day, and they all, or least the most of them says they cannot preach the gospel as they wish, for the white people did not nor do not allow them to do it. For the white men says the preachers make meaner niggers, and that they cannot rule the nigger. I have heard them tell the colored men to not preach such doctrines as that to the nigger, because the nigger will get above himself and above their business; and if you do, you are in danger of losing your own life. Such is the language they used to the colored preacher, for they said they will not stand such to be preached. They told me that I must give up all that I got to them, because they had the law in their hands to take all of what a nigger had. So they said to me give us your money and your whusky, your horse, and then you can live; but if you don't, you have got to die right

here; so I had to give it up to them to save my life, and I then reported to the courts, but the law would not do anything about it.

So the next incident what I saw was when I was passing a place—I saw white men whipping colored men just the same as they did before the war, or before freedom in this State. I saw white men take a colored man because he had been a United States soldier; they beat him all but to death; that was between Shreveport and Logansport, in the parish of De Soto. I did not know his name, but I heard him cry, saying that I will not ever soldier again no more if you will not kill me, and they made him swear and curse all of the soldiers in the United States Army, and the officers of the Army also.

Manuel Adams, my cousin, and myself was on our way to Logansport, De Soto Parish, and about one mile from that place we were surrounded by six armed white men, who taken us and then demanded us to give up our watches. Manuel having his watch in sight, they took the watch from him, but they did not see any watch on me. They turned our pockets and searched us for money, but we did not have any, so they told us if we ever told any one about it that they would kill us on the first sight, and asked us if we had rather die than to keep that to ourselves? We told them that we had rather give them all we had in the world than to die and go to hell. They said that we were right to keep it to ourselves.

The next incident of importance that came beneath my observation was the finding of ten or fifteen colored men floating in Red River; this was in the year 1866; some of them was tied by the sides of logs, some with ropes round their necks; some of them was shot, and some had their throat cut; this was between a plantation called Gold Point and Shreveport, on the parish line of Caddo and Bossier.

On the steamboats plying in Red River I have seen colored men knocked off the stage planks and guards of the boat by the mates and other white men; and they were whipped and knocked and beat by them at all times; this I saw with my own eyes, and heard white men say to colored preachers in that part of the State that there was certain parts of the Scriptures that they must not preach to the colored people; so I asked the preachers what parts of the Scriptures was it they did not want preached. They said the colored preachers must not preach about Joshua and the children of Israel, nor about Jeremiah and the children of Benjamin, and told them that if they preached such doctrines as that, they would be killed, for they, the white people, would not stand it; also the colored ministers in the State say they never have preached the gospel as they wished; they say they are afraid to do so. Again, in the year 1866, I was traveling between Shreveport and Alexandria; I saw white men riding in their field with their bull whip in their hand over colored people just the same as they did in 1858. On some plantations, in the year 1867, I seen white men knock and beat colored men; also, I seen them knock colored people off stage-planks on steamboats on the river, and I have seen them compel colored men jump out into the river waist deep in water with a rope in their hand, and sometimes the water was over their head, and they would bank them anywhere on the river without a cent of money in their pocket, and not pay them a cent for their work, and would threaten to kill them if they reported them or had them arrested. Colored passengers on the steamboats would pay second-class fare, and the officers of the boats would compel them to take third-class fare; and some would pay first-class fare and they would have to eat at the third-class table, and would not even give them a place to sleep. I saw all this occur between New Orleans and Fort Jackson, La. And in parish prisons in this State any colored persons found in such places who having been a United States soldier or is a soldier, is starved half to death while in prison, and is treated worse than a dog. And in 1863 the same thing was still going on between New Orleans and Fort Jackson. I landed at a plantation below New Orleans called the Magnolia plantation; the boat laid up there all night; I heard a gun fire twice and then saw two colored men running. I hailed them and asked them what was the matter. They said they had been working there two or three months, and they had not been paid in full since they had been there and they had asked the boss for their pay as he had threatened to whip them that day; so again that night they asked him to pay them what he owed them, and he told them all right, then he took his gun and shot at them, and did not pay them a cent. I saw on two other plantations white men whipping colored men; this was going on between Fort Jackson and New Orleans. In 1863, at that time I was traveling and paying first class fare on board of steamboats and receiving third-class fare; these boats were the D. G. Brown, Alice, and the St. Nicholas; the colored passengers was treated outrageous, and in the plantation quarters I was told to leave by a white man, who asked me what I wanted and what I was doing there. I told him that I came up there to see some of my race that I knew; he told me that he did not want any negro soldiers around him and he did not want them on his place. I told him to not call me a negro, that my principle was just as good as his'n, and if anything better; he submitted to that, but still told me to leave, and I left and did not get to see any person that I wanted to see, and any one that wanted to see me had to leave the place to do so. In March, 1869, I saw three colored men knocked off the

stage-plank with a billet of wood by the mate on the steamboat and then made get ashore, and never paid them a cent of money. And colored passengers who had paid first-class fare was made to eat at the third-class table, and nowhere to sleep. In April five colored ladies paid first-class fare on the steamboat Ella May, and they would not give them any place to sleep and nothing to eat. I saw again on a steamboat two colored men pay first-class fare from Baton Rouge to New Orleans and they had to eat at the third-class table, and sleep on boiler deck. I saw two colored men (boat-hands) put ashore and left them on the river side, and did not pay them a cent, and their homes was in New Orleans. On four or five different plantations white men whipped colored people, and I heard the colored people hollering O, pray master: this was at night. I then had a prisoner, carrying him from Fort Jackson to Baton Rouge penitentiary on the Lotus No. 3. I walked about on the boiler deck, and stopped and stood awhile, when I was ordered down stairs by the captain of the boat; he told me that no d—m negro soldier could stand on the boiler deck of his boat. I told him I meant no harm, that I just walked up there to look about; but he told me to get down stairs, and if I did not go he would have me put down, and if that did not do he would land the boat and put me ashore. I had charge of a prisoner and one guard, and I was quartermaster-sergeant at the time of Company B, Twenty-fifth United States Infantry, stationed at Fort Jackson, La., in June, 1869. So I went down stairs, and when we landed at Baton Rouge I reported to the commanding officer there, and then went on to the penitentiary, and there I saw a white man knock down and stampon a colored man; it was some of the officers of the penitentiary; they told me there they were whipping them constantly every day. When I started back from Baton Rouge to Fort Jackson I went on board the steamboat Governor Allen and asked the clerk to take us down to the city, and he told me he could not take no d—m negro soldiers on government transportation, but if we paid our fare they would take us down. So I reported back to the commanding officer, and he told me to wait for another boat, and I did so in about two days afterwards. On that boat I saw two colored men struck and kicked about by a white man called the mate. On or about the latter part of September, 1869, I left New Orleans for Shreveport on the steamboat Jefferson. I was then just discharged from the United States Army; so I paid first-class cabin fare. There were about sixteen colored passengers on board the boat, all being discharged Union soldiers, and six others—citizens. Yet they said they only charged us second-class fare, though we paid \$20.00 each—same as they charged the whites—and yet we eat every meal at the fourth table. They promised to give us beds in the hall, and promised to feed us at the second table; but they made part of us sleep on the boiler deck, and part of us on the lower deck, and told us when we complained that we either had to abide with that or take worse. I sat up all night for four nights to keep from sleeping on such places as was given us. I also had some freight on board, and they charged me the sum of ten dollars and some cents for my freight; yet a white man who had the same amount of freight was only charged seven dollars. I landed in Shreveport, Caddo Parish, La., September the 25th, 1869, and went about trying to rent a house, but it was rumored all over town that a boat load of discharged Union soldiers had come, and the whites would not rent us their houses. Finally we came up with a Baptist preacher, and he let us have his house. After we had been there a few months the white people began saying they were going to kill us; to kill all the discharged negro soldiers; that these discharged men were going to spoil all the other negroes, so that the whites could do nothing with them; for the colored people would get these discharged soldiers to look over their contracts and agreements they had made with the white people who they were working for. I would tell them to go and have a settlement of accounts, and get what was due them, and pay what they owed. I figured up accounts for them, and often seen where the whites had cheated the colored people who had made contracts with them out of more than two-thirds of their just rights, according to their contracts. I told a great many of them to take their contracts to lawyers and get them to force the parties to a settlement; but they told me they were afraid they would be killed. Some few reported to the court, but told me afterwards that it did not do. Some even were whipped when they went home. These white men told them if they would take a whipping they might go, but if they did not take the whipping they would have them put in jail, as it was a general rule they had of going to the colored people and telling them they had a warrant for their arrest, or, an order to seize what they had, and they would seize all the colored people had. I went to many of the colored churches throughout the country, and conversed with the preachers, and they told me they were afraid to preach their opinion. One day I was riding with a young colored lady along the public road between Shreveport and Greenwood, and a crowd of white men rode between me and her and ordered me to leave, and for her to stand still, and told her she was too pretty a girl for such damn black negro as me to be riding alongside of her. I told them if they wanted to kill me they could do so, for I was not going to leave her. They asked me then who I was; I told them I was a Texian; I did it to save my life. They said, "So long as you are a Texian we won't kill you; but if you was a Louisianian we would kill you right here." I seen the

same crowd of men get after a colored man, and made him run off and leave the girl he was with, and they then done to the girl what they wanted, and then put her upon her horse and told her to go. In Shreveport, in a merchant's store, I had taken a colored man's cotton receipt to see what it brought, but the merchant ordered me out and talked about putting me in jail, and I had to get out of there. I seen colored men put in jail many a time in this State because he could not count his money; the white men would pay colored men their money in large bills, and when they would ask them to change them a five or twenty dollar bill, whichever it might be, they would not give them back in change half of their amount. I have seen at auction sales colored men bidding on things to the amount of the money they knew they had to pay for them, and when they would give it to the white man to count they would not find enough to pay for them, as they had knocked them off to these colored men. They would then put them in jail, and some white man would bail him out and make him work for him three or four months; yet his fine was not more than seven or eight dollars. From December, 1869, up till July, 1875, my mother and father lived in De Soto Parish, and I was informed by some of my best friends, both white and colored, that I had better not go down there to see them; if I did I would never get back to Shreveport alive. My life was threatened; the white people of that parish said no d—n negro that soldiered against his master should come in that parish. They said if I came down there I would ruin the other negroes, and put devilmint in their head, so they (the white men) could not rule them at that time. Half of what I was worth was in De Soto Parish. In 1870, I seen a white man buy a bale of cotton from a colored man, weighing five hundred pounds, and paid him only twenty-five dollars for it, and cotton was then worth 25 cents per pound. I saw two colored men come out of the woods, and they told me that they had not been out of the woods for seven years. They came out in 1869; one was named John Dunlow and the other Billy Scrapp. They said they had seen crowds of white men kill more than two hundred colored men while they were in the woods. That is why they thought they were not free. From the latter part of 1867 till 1869 I done much traveling along the roads west of Shreveport—on the road called Jefferson Road. I saw stuck on an old stump the head of a colored man; I inquired of some colored people why and who put it there? They said that some white men brought from Shreveport a colored man who they killed and put his head on the stump. Thousands of colored persons told me they were driven from home and their crops and all they possessed taken away from them, and that exists even now. I was at an election in 1870, in November, in the city of Shreveport, and I heard white men tell colored men that if they voted the Republican tickets that they would not let them have any more credit, nor would they bond them out of the jail; that they would have to go to the d—n Yaukees or carpet-baggers to take them out, and the colored men told them that they were afraid to vote the Democratic ticket because they might make them slaves again. Many of them asked me what did I think was best? I told them I was nothing but a rail-splitter and wood-chopper, and did not know anything about politics; had never seen a poll for an election before, but thought if we voted the Democratic ticket we would have to carry passes from one parish to another and from one State to the other. I told them as to our freedom, our rights, and our votes that no Southern man was our friend; only the Northern men, Army officers, and United States troops were our friends; that the Southern people would always be arrayed against us as long as we lived because we were free. In Shreveport large bodies of armed white men would go to break up our churches, during the same year, and on Sunday night before the election, and Monday also, a large body of armed men (white) went out and about to scare colored men from coming to the polls to vote the next day. So the colored people met them and told them to go back, for if they interfered with the churches that we, the colored men, would burn the city; but they did not go back, and it frustrated the colored people so they got scared and the churches were broken up. Tuesday, the day of the election, one colored man named Squire Norman, was killed by a Jew for distributing tickets (Republican) to the colored people. I was told by several white persons on that day that they had me spotted; said I was spoiling the other negroes so they could not do anything with them, just because I told them to let my race vote the Republican ticket; let us Republicans advise Republicans, and the Democrats advise Democrats. They told me all such negroes as me had to be killed; I told them if they did kill me only give me my rights while I am living. About three miles from Shreveport I saw four white men (wagoners) throw a colored man flat on his belly and whip him until he digested all over himself and had him as bloody as a hog. I asked them what made them whip him; they told me he had told them a lot of damn lies, and they wanted to learn him to tell the truth; they said that is the way they do negroes in Texas; we make them do what we want them to do. During the year about twenty-five colored persons showed me their contracts and their account sales of their cotton; and their accounts due their employes and merchants, after balancing all, I found they had been swindled out of about seventeen hundred and ninety dollars. Some went to law to recover it, but it did no good; the courts were against the colored man; those that did not go to law were better off, for those that went to law some of

them were killed, some whipped, and some ran away. Many that did not even go to law were whipped also; I seen three white men go into a colored man's grocery in Shreveport and run him out, his mother, wife, and all his family, and took charge of the grocery themselves, and invited other white men to come in and drink. The colored man who owned the grocery was named A. Leroy. While the white men were in possession of the store a colored man went in there to buy something; so they captured him, took a five shooter from him, a pocket knife, and all the money he had. His name was Hyam Coleman. They told him, after they had robbed him, to march on before them; that they were going to kill him. Seven or eight colored men and myself made them turn him loose, and made them leave the grocery; so the colored man got his store back again. In February, 1871, a crowd of white men approached the house where I lived and sent me word by one of their number to leave home; they had made threats the day before that they intended to kill me and also all the discharged colored soldiers in and around Shreveport, Louisiana. But I did not leave my house; I staid there; I had made up my mind to face the battle. They told me their reason for wanting to kill me and all discharged colored soldiers was because they were ruining the other negroes. They had already jumped on several of the discharged colored soldiers, but they got as good as they sent. These colored men were then arrested and put in jail, and charges made against them; but the case was so plain they came out clear. While those men were in jail, then they approached my house; they were about fifty strong, yet they did not attack us. Then crossing Red River on my way to Homer I saw a white man on the ferry beat a colored man badly, giving him about twenty lashes as hard as he could put them on, and the man was afraid to raise up his head. Whilst in Claiborne Parish I saw two white men with double-barrel guns after a colored man. I asked him what he done; he said he had asked a white lady to let him enjoy himself with her; they said if they caught him they would kill him. I saw one of the same white men go to bed with a colored woman two or three successive nights. During the time I was in Claiborne Parish in that same year I saw more than twenty-five colored persons who told me they had been whipped, their crops taken from them, and then they were run away whenever they would ask for a fair settlement. There was several white men in that parish to my knowing who had colored women as sweethearts, nor would allow a colored man to talk with them. In every part of the State where I have been I have seen the colored children barefooted, half naked, and bareheaded, and even half starved on their way to school, and in parishes there was no public schools. The colored people in these parishes works for shares of the crops, one-third they make, and their employers find them something to eat and farming utensils, giving them rations for man and wife per month the following: Two bushels of meal and twenty pounds of pork, nothing else. I have seen white men go in colored men's houses and drive their wives out to work, and call them dam bitches, and tell them if they don't go to work they must leave their places or pay rent for the houses they live in, and their husband's crops will be taken to pay the rent. In 1872 I was on my way from Shreveport to New Orleans, and I seen four colored men badly whipped by white men on two plantations on Red River. Two of them lives on a plantation on Mississippi River and in the State of Mississippi, and I heard white men curse and abuse colored ladies on the plantations at different landings on the river where the boat would land. I heard two white men ask a colored man to let them see his revolver, and he did so, and they kept it and did not let him have it any more; he asked for it; they told him he had no right to one; none but white men should have them. In New Orleans on the levee I saw six white men club a colored man near to death, and then threw him on his dray and carried to jail, because he called one a d—m s—n of a b—tch, made a charge against him and made him pay fifteen dollars. Between New Orleans and Baton Rouge two colored men was knocked overboard, and one put ashore without giving them a cent for their work. At Baton Rouge one of the penitentiary men knocked down a colored prisoner with the butt of his gun, and beat another with a billet of wood. The prisoners told me that not a day passed but that half of them was beaten in this manner; they were treated outrageous. Between Live Oak Grove and Fort Vincent I saw three white men whip a colored man, his wife, and three children. I asked the man why they had whipped him, and he told me that was a common thing in this country. They did not have clothes enough to hide their nakedness. In Saint Helena Parish I saw a colored man buy a horse from a white man for \$150; he paid him \$25 cash, and was to pay the balance when he gathered and sold his crop; so the colored man was not able to pay at the time, and the white man took the horse back and did not give him a cent of his money back. And there thousands of such cases in this State like that, but I cannot at present mention any more of them. In 1872 me and my cousin owned a house and two lots in Shreveport, and had a good well on it. It was worth \$1,000, and about one thousand dollars' worth of improvements. The lot measured 80 by 121½ feet. The white people in Shreveport took a notion to run a street through my place, and done so during my absence. They took all of my improvements off, filled up my well, and had taken the best part of my furniture, and I have never seen it since; and only gave

me \$1,200 for it. I did not agree for the place to be taken in no such way, unless they paid me \$3,000, as I had been offered that for it. And they took \$130 out of the \$1,200 for a lawsuit, and they put it in law themselves. So I just considers that they robbed me out of \$1,930; and they would not allow either one of us to have a word to say in court, nor allow us to pick a jury, nor let a colored man serve on our case. They said their reason for doing us as they did was because they did not want no discharged colored soldier to live there. So when I arrived home I went to the court for redress, but soon found there was no justice for a colored man against a southern white in the courts. About twelve miles from Shreveport, in the parish of Caddo, on the plantation of a man named Douglass, I saw six colored men's entire crops taken away from them by a white man, and he still swore they were still in his debt. In November, 1872, at an election held in Shreveport, La., I saw colored men shoved back from the ballot-box. At Sumner Grove—I went there to try and vote and was prevented from voting by a white man by the name of Andrew Pickens—about fifteen or twenty of them surrounded me and swore I had voted, and was going to put me in jail; and so they would not let me vote there. So I did not vote at all for President nor anybody else. And the colored people was generally kept back from the ballot-box by the whites of the parish of Caddo. The city of Shreveport was so crowded that nearly all the colored men could not vote; yet there was many who had a chance to vote but was afraid to vote for fear of losing his life or his crop; they told me themselves they were afraid. I counted six hundred and twenty that did not vote but tried hard to get a chance to do so. I saw a colored man who was killed at Shady Grove by another colored man that voted a Democratic ticket. The man he killed was a true Republican. But the Democratic colored man was cleared by the Democratic court. In the year 1873 I served on the grand jury in Shreveport in the parish of Caddo; and there were ten colored men on the jury and six white. The colored prisoners told me that they did not get half enough to eat; some of them told me they were beat and whipped in jail by the jailer, a white man; and the white men on the grand jury tried to find a true bill against every colored man that was indicted by a white man. I saw little colored boys in there for stealing one can of oysters. I seen little girls in there for stealing such things as thimbles, scissors, &c.; and was several colored men in prison, and only two white men were put in jail for crimes they had committed; and most all the colored people whose cases came before us were indicted by white men. There was several colored ladies. There was no affidavit made against any white lady. The judge, lawyers, district attorney, and foreman of the grand jury and clerk all favored the rich man (white). That is my opinion, however preposterous it may seem. All the cases that were fixed and came up during that sitting of the court there was but one white man tried, and it was for killing a colored man in cold blood, and he was cleared; but his trial was, add had been, standing for more than a year. The prisoners had not near enough blankets to keep them from catching severe cold and suffering untold misery. During the year 1873 I saw many colored people swindled out of their crops. I led them into the light how it was done, but they were afraid to make affidavits against them. It is generally in this way that the white people rob the colored people out of two-thirds of what they make; for instance, the contract for one-third or one-quarter of the crop that is made as the case may be. They take it in every bale, and will not divide it at the gin, but ship it to the city; then when the cotton is sold they figure and figure until there is but little left to the colored man; then they do not settle, but wait until the next crop is pitched, say in February, and sometimes even in June, before they will say the cotton is sold. Generally about March they commence settling with the colored people. Some divides the cotton at the gin, but very few of them does, and it is in this way in which they plunder the poor colored men in this State. In the year 1874 in the month of January, I was in the parish of East Baton Rouge and St. Helena; also during the month of February and also in the parish of Lexington I seen colored men cheated out of their crops. I saw a white man from the town of Baton Rouge go to Strong Point, or North of Strong Point, La., and take a poor colored woman's bale of cotton and had it taken to Baton Rouge and sold it for a debt that a colored man owed him. A woman named Rachel Hopkins and her children made the cotton; I seen a colored man that lived in the same parish shot. His name was Shoemaker. He said that the white man shot him because he could not make him stop hunting with his own gun in the woods. I also saw many colored people in that part of the State who told me that the white people would not pay them for their work, and would take all their crops every year, and had been doing so ever since the surrender. They, the colored people, told me they had tried to live upon government land but it all had been taken away from them, and they could not live on any land but what they would buy from white people. They told me all the colored people that were or are living on government lands was every two or three months put in jail, and the land taken away from them and the whites claimed the land themselves. Those colored people who still lived on government land had no stock, and had to hire horses or mules at five and ten dollars per month; yet the whites would pay them only fifty or seventy-five cents per day for their work

and they had to feed themselves and seventy-five cents per hundred for splitting rails. In Baton Rouge on the 17th of February, I seen white men ride on horseback into colored people's groceries and houses. On the 3d of March I saw the mate on a steamboat at New Orleans knock a colored man off the boat in the river and nearly break his head. In going from Shreveport to New Orleans I seen along the banks of Red River colored people who were afraid to talk with me at landings; some would ask me if the times would never get any better. I asked several of them, do you not live well? do you not get all you make? They told me no, that the whites take all we make along on the river, and if we say anything to them about our rights they beat us, shoot us, and shoot at us to scare us; so we are afraid to tell everybody how they do us, for we are afraid they will shoot us; we wish to God that Gen. Grant would do something for us. I told them if the men you all live with this year do not give you all what belongs to you just like he has promised, you all must leave that place and go to another, and if he does not fulfill his part of the contract leave that place also. They told me if we do that we will have to be all the time going from plantation to plantation, for all the white men here are alike on this Red River, for what one of them says to us they all say, and what one of them do to us they all do; so none of them is any better than the other. We have been working hard ever since the surrender, and have not got anything that we can carry off the places if we attempt to go. Such is the case all along the Red River. A few of us can run away at night, but a very few. In some instances old missus tells old massa we have or he has seen a good nigger and worked so hard, let him have that old horse and wagon, that cow and hog, and some of that corn, and one bale of cotton. Only a very few even gets this much, although they have worked on that place for three or four years since the surrender. He says to me, look at aunt Nancy, she has to wait on old missus for four or five years for nothing; that is the way nearly all the whites do us on Red River, and when we go to vote they ask us what sort of a ticket we are going to vote. We tell them a Radical ticket; they tell us to vote their ticket (Democratic). We tell him we cannot vote that ticket; then he tell us if we do not vote their (Democratic) ticket we have to get off that place and leave just as you came, and carry nothing away; you all brought nothing, and you shall carry nothing off; and that is the way the whites do us about voting; and if we don't do like they say they will kill some of us; run some of us off, and make us leave our crops; beat some of us nearly to death. In Shreveport, Caddo Parish, La., in April and May, I could see every day colored people (women & men) and they told me they were coming from the country because the whites were running them away from their place, shooting some, killing some, and beating others, on account of their crops and the contracts; when they would ask them to pay to them their part of the crop according to the contracts the whites would then bring in old bills and say to the colored people, you owe me this, and I want it paid; the whites would then take all the colored people had, horses, mules, hogs, cows, chickens, beds and bedding, and then run them off the place or kill or shoot them. The white men killed during them two months eight men and boys (colored.) The bad men (white) in this part of the State have organized themselves into bands, called White League, and white man's party, and they ride through all the parishes of the State, and threaten any white man or black man that gets the nomination on the Republican ticket shall be killed. The parish of Caddo was infested with such men and talk, and even the Democratic newspapers spoke it plainly. And if any colored man voted the Republican ticket he should not have any work. All this was done and said before the election came off. In the parishes of Caddo, De Soto, Webster, Claiborne, and Bossier, the Democrats broke up all the Republican clubs but the one in the city of Shreveport, called the Mother Club; but they sent a large crowd of armed men to break it up; but a white man named J. M. Wilson had rented this house to a colored man named J. J. Williams, for a business house, and promised him to protect his house as he did his own; and he did so at the peril of his life, and was arrested and carried before the mayor's court, and a large number of colored men appeared before the mayor's court in defense of Mr. Wilson, which saved him. Then the club was arraigned before the mayor's court, and the right to hold club meetings was discussed. The chief of police, who was white, George J. J. Horem and J. C. Moncure of the city forces, asked who was the president of that club? So I says to them, I am the president; my name is Henry Adams; why do you ask me that question. Because says he, "if anything is done in that club, we will hold you responsible for it." I says to him, you can do any thing to me or my race because we are all black and were born slaves; but if we cannot hold our club-meeting, we will petition President Grant the right to hold our club-meetings. They said you can go on and hold your club-meetings, but do not make any fuss, and if any body of armed men interfere with you all we will stop them. The next week after that they issued an order to all the ministers of religious churches in the county and city that they must hold no meetings of religious character in their churches after half-past nine o'clock at night. I was at a friend's house, where there was a corpse, and about twenty armed white men came to the door and told us colored people not to sing or pray over the dead;

if we did they would put us all in jail. About this several colored churches, school-houses, and arbors was burned. During the campaign in the parish of Caddo I seen armed white men go to the places where Republicans held their meetings, and would try to make them take back what they would say against the Democrat party. At a place called Spring Ridge the Republicans were not allowed to speak what they wished. At Carry Stay, Greenwood, and Camp Blow on Red River, the same thing was done; a large crowd of white men went to all the places and threatened to shoot and kill any Republican that spoke what he wished. At Mourning Port the whites sent word that if any Republican went there to hold a meeting, he would and must be killed. Judge Levisse and Col. C. W. Keeting both were nominees on the Republican ticket for the House of Representatives, and they could not make a speech for fear of being killed by the armed white men who were at every place where a meeting was held, or to be held. And on the day of the election, in November 1874, I was United States supervisor at the box-poll there, at Tom Bayou, in the parish of Caddo, about fifteen miles southeast of Shreveport; there were ninety-nine votes cast—fifty-nine were colored men. The whites told all the colored men that voted at that box, if they did not vote the white man's ticket, or peoples' ticket, and voted the Republican ticket, they would kill them before they could get home; and that their wives and children should not have anything on their places. Some told them if you do not vote at all you are damn rascals, and you have forty B. C. at the gin; twenty B. C. are yours, and you will owe me nothing if you will vote the white man's ticket. But the colored men told them they would vote nothing, neither for one party or the other. The Democrats told them they knew the reason. You want to vote the damn radical ticket, says the white man; and if you don't vote our way you had not better start, or go home, for we are going to kill every damn nigger that votes the radical ticket to-day. This is a Democratic hole, and it shall go Democratic or we will kill every nigger that we see; so a great many colored men left the polls. J. J. Ward, Joe Carrows, James Bointon, Charley Jones, Wm. Robinson, and several others (white men) had large revolvers all around the polls, and told the colored men that they had to vote their way or die. So all that voted at that poll, voted the Democratic ticket; but seventeen colored men, who voted the straight Republican ticket. But of them who had any crops it was taken away from them; so they told me. The colored people all over Caddo Parish told me that they who had voted the radical ticket, and had any crop, it was taken away from them, and a great many of them was run away from the places. I made a protest before the United States commissioner against the box at poll 3, and made a statement as to what I knew and had seen; so I afterward saw my name published in the Shreveport Times, saying I should be killed for making that protest; also several other colored men who had made a similar protest. They all ran away but myself. So in 1875 large crowds of colored people were moving every day from Caddo, Sabine, De Soto, Red River, and other parishes trying to get homes, as the white men had taken everything they had away from them, and had then run them off; and they had to call on the United States military officers to help them to move away from the South and slaveholders, for they will not let them have anything, not even their wearing clothes, corn, cotton, nor anything. I travelled through Grant, Bossier, Claiborne, Webster, Natchitoches, De Soto, Caddo, Red River, and Jackson Parishes, also through some counties in Arkansas and Texas, and saw many colored people destitute. I seen on some plantations on Red River where the white men would drive colored women out in the fields to work, when the husbands would be absent from their home, and would tell colored men that their wives and children could not live on their places unless they work in the fields. The colored men would tell them they wanted their children to attend school; and whenever they wanted their wives to work they would tell them themselves; and if he could not rule his own domestic affairs on that place he would leave it and go somewhere else. So the white people would tell them if he expected for his wife and children to live on their places without working in the field they would have to pay house rents or leave it; and if the colored people would go to leave, they would take everything they had, chickens, hogs, horses, cows, mules, crops, and everything, and tell them it was for what his damn family had eat, doing nothing but sitting up acting the grand lady and their daughters acting the same, for I will be damn if niggers aint got to work on my place or leave it. I seen in my travels through many of the above named parishes, whilst I was acting United States scout, a large number of colored people killed at different times and places by bad white men or slaveholders; also some white northerners who would attempt in showing the colored men their rights, and protecting them in the same; many of such men have been killed. Even some white men has killed other white men for killing colored men on their places. I received several written statements from colored people, which I will embody in this statement at the proper time and place. I seen several whipped, shot, and badly beaten by white men. I seen white men riding with the bullwhip on their shoulders in the field and driving the colored people just as they did in 1849 and 1855. I passed places where the bones of the colored men were laying where these poor men were burnt, hung, shot, and most unjustly murdered; and hundreds driven away from their places and families, and their crops taken away, and even ordered to leave the State

or they would be killed by the slaveholders of the South. I have seen several colored men who were shot and wounded, and they told me that they were shot by white men because they protested against them taking their crops, stock, &c.; they even went so far as to take the colored men's daughters and make them sleep with them, taking many of their children to wait on them, and would pay them nothing. Many colored men who lived upon government land was killed, some shot, some hung, but not dead, and made to leave the land they were homesteading upon. They would sometimes be shot for refusing to lend a white man their horse or wagon. On Black Bayou, in Caddo Parish, I found about forty colored children who were taken away without their father or mother's consent, and without even any pay. I might say made them slaves to wait on them. In De Soto Parish I found five in a similar condition. In Sabine Parish I found three. In Bossier I found six; in Webster four; and several other parishes in this State the same thing is practiced. In several counties in Arkansas and Texas the same thing is practiced to my own knowledge. In fact in Louisiana it is almost universal. Some are even taken away from their parents for debt. I seen a colored man who was appointed to take the census refused the names of white persons. I have a knowledge of white men who would sell cotton for colored persons in the city of Shreveport, and the bale of cotton bringing \$65, and they would pay them \$49 and tell them that was money enough for a nigger to have. That was in the year 1875. They would buy cotton from colored people when the cotton was selling at 12 and 12½ cents and pay them from six to seven cents. And a bale of cotton weighing from 450 to 500 pounds would pay them from 35 to 40 dollars per bale. I was present some time myself, and saw with mine own eyes. Sometimes I would sell some of the same cotton and show them the difference. They tell the colored people they sell them meat at 7 cents per pound, or 10 or 12½ cents, and when the white men make out the accounts he makes 75 pounds 100, if 150 he makes it 200, and charges five cents more on every pound. I picked cotton of Forster plantation, and I seen the white men that weighed the cotton when the draught would weigh 75 pounds they would check 50 pounds; or if it weighed 100 or 150 pounds, they would check it 150 or 200, and so on; yet they were charging colored people 15 and 21 cents per pound for meat, and beef from five to 10 cents per pound; ten or fourteen pounds of flour for \$1; tobacco 25 and 60 cents per plug; meal 25 to 45 cents per peck; sugar 15 to 20 cents per pound, and coffee in proportion. Many of the hands on the place bought much of such articles from the boats or the managers of the places; yet a very few of the colored people on the places were allowed to dispose of any of his cotton that he makes or has made on the place without the permission of the white managers of the places. I worked on James Hollingsworth's plantation, and the same thing was practiced on that place. Those places are called the Gold Point place, Cash Point place, and the Douglas plantation, all on the Red River in Caddo, Bossier, and Red River Parishes. The same work and treatment was extended to all the colored people throughout North Louisiana in general. On Dr. Vance's plantation, where I have often worked, I have seen the same; even from the mouth of Red River to Jefferson, Texas, no difference can be seen; even in the bordering counties of Arkansas and Texas where I have traveled I see the same, as it was my business to look around and ascertain as far as possible into the treatment of colored people by the whites. In December, 1875, I went with a large delegation of colored ministers to attend their annual conference in the city of New Orleans. We came down on board of the steamboat Texas, and in conversation with them regarding the treatment of colored people by the whites in their respective districts, they told me that the colored people seen hard times, and underwent the same treatment as I had told them the colored people suffered in the various parishes I had been traveling through; and in some parts even worse. One of them told me the white people made him get off his horse and get on his knees and pray for them, and then afterward threatened his life, and when he got up he had to get up running. Elder Albert, from his district which includes Bossier, Caddo, De Soto, and Red River Parishes, told me that he had taken passage on the steamboat Kouns for Coushatta, in Red River Parish, but she brought me to Grandcore, 100 miles below my destination, and put me off under a bluff bank about a hundred or more feet high; and I had to remain there until I could get passage on some other boat. I landed at East Baton Rouge on the 2d day of January, and found great excitement prevailing throughout the parish, as well as in the city, caused by a colored woman being killed the day before. She was taken away from the officers of the law by an armed body of white men, about sixty or sixty-five, and brutally murdered, having a suckling child at the time. On the 5th day of January, about 8 or 10 miles from the city, I met a colored man coming to Baton Rouge; I asked him where he was going; he told me he was running away from where he was living to save his life; that the Regulator Coal Oil men (all white) had just killed his son and burnt him up with coal oil, and he feared the same fate would befall himself. And whilst I traveled through the parishes of East Baton Rouge, Saint Helena, and Livingston, and East Feliciana, I found colored people running helter-skelter throughout their parishes seeking refuge and safety. I met a colored man named Jake Kintling, and he showed me an order given him by the whites, which read as follows:

EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH,
State of Louisiana, January, 1876.

Jake Kintry, we give you five days to leave your place, and move all you possess away. Unless you do, your things, your wife, children, house, and all will be burnt; your horses, corn, and all.

COAL OIL COMPANY.

I also seen three colored men together going to the town of East Baton Rouge, and they told me that they came from Saint Tammany Parish, and that they were going over on the other side of the Mississippi River, for the time was very hot where they came from; so I asked them how, and they told me that about three or four colored men had been killed in that parish in less time than three weeks; and told me that if I go far in that parish, I would believe what they told me. I had a gun, also another colored man with me, named Major Edwards, had a gun. So, when we had gone about three miles, after leaving those three colored men, we met five white men, who asked us where we were going. We told them we were traveling. They said "we thought you all were going hunting; and if you were, we were going to take you both up and turn you all over to the captain of our company." I asked them for what. They then said, "we have orders that all colored men caught hunting in the woods with guns, to take them up and turn them over to Captain Montgomery, and if they cannot give a good account of themselves, to hang them to a limb or burn them up, and we will do both of you in that manner. We are called 'Regulators' and 'Coal Oil Company,' and we will have you niggers to know that you shall not hunt in this country." They then left us; and we went on about eight miles further east, when we met about fifteen or twenty, all armed with revolvers. They asked us where we were going. We told them that we were going to see our people. They said "all right; we thought you were negroes from some other part of the country, and coming here to put the devil in our negroes' heads, and we was just going to kill you both, as we did when we burnt that negro, Joe Johnson's, houses down, and him in it, about a month ago. We thought you two was like him, could not be taken; but we took the black scoundrel and killed him. We will not allow any more negroes to hold office in this parish, nor anywhere in this section of the country, for this is a white man's country, and we whites will rule it over you negroes." They told us we could go on, but better not let them hear a word from us; if they did, they would kill us in time to come. Next day I was traveling through East Feliciana, and met several colored men going out of that parish. I asked them what they meant by running out of their parish and going to other parishes. They told me the Regulators and Coal Oil men would kill them, for the white men said they were going to kill every colored man who had voted the Republican ticket, or make all of them vote Democratic, as they had killed John Gair, and had got him out of the way, and intended to get every leading colored man out of the way, and they (the whites) would have everything their way, and that we all had better leave the parish. East of Clinton I seen a large crowd of white men and four colored men coming towards me; so, when I met them, I asked them what those armed white men was going to do. They were hunting some colored men they wanted to kill, but the colored men had done run off, and they would not catch him. So the next day I had got out of that parish and went in other parishes, where I found the same terror reigning; in fact that part of Louisiana is in a horrible state. I went to a house where a colored man who I was acquainted with lived named Joe Johnson, but I found his home was burnt down, and as his house was near mine, I went on to see what had been done to it. When I came to Madison Jurille's house I met Joe Johnson's wife, and she related to me the following sad story, alas but too true: She said to me that she had lost her husband; that he was burned to death in his own house; that him and I had worked together, but he was gone now to return no more forever; but, thank God, he is gone to rest. He asked me not to grieve for him. They made me and my children wrap our heads up in bed-quilts and come out of the house, and they then set it on fire, burning it up, and my husband in it, and all we had. They then took all my husband's papers from me. There were about fifty or sixty of them. They killed him because he refused to resign his office as constable, to which he was elected on the Republican ticket. They sent him several notices, warning him to leave his place and resign his office, but he said he would not until his time was out. So they warned him the last time, but he did not leave, so they burnt him near to death; at least they thought he was dead, but he was not quite dead; he got out and fell into a hole of water and lay there; but all the skin was burnt off of him. So the white men saw him and shot him, and he lived four days and died, and leaves me, a poor widow with a housefull of children, and no one to help me. She then asked me if I thought those white men would be punished for it. I told her I did not know, perhaps some day, but not soon, as I knew that white men had been killing our race so long, and they had not been stopped yet; as all whites who had owned slaves believed they could kill as many as they wanted in the States that existed before the war, and the poor woman shed tears and cried aloud, "O, Lord God of Host, help us to get out of this country and get

somewhere where we can live." I then left and went on the east side of the Amite River, and went through that country, and I was told that several colored persons had been badly whipped and murdered by white men; and also a large crowd of whites rushed upon a colored church masked and frightened the colored people very much, and caused them to run off from their church and nearly killed themselves, and many of them was afraid to go back to the church; and in various parts of Livingstone and Saint Helena Parish I seen colored people badly abused by white armed men. I saw an old colored man named Stephen Morgan, living in the parish of Saint Helena, and he told me that he stored cotton with a white man named Mr. Greagers, a merchant at Baton Rouge City, and said merchant sold his cotton. Two or three years after the sale of his cotton, he came to the said merchant for a settlement, as he owed the merchant one hundred dollars, but had given him two bales of cotton extra to settle that account. The merchant then entered suit against him, and got judgment, and he, Morgan, had to pay the debt the second time. He also said to me that the most of the white men throughout the country, that is, in these lower parishes, act that way whenever they can get the least hold upon the black man. Morgan has a good place of his own, yet he told me if he could get away he would leave the white people of the South, and go where he would be in peace. I went over then to East Baton Rouge Parish and I seen four or five colored men crossed the road ahead of me, and I went up to them and I asked them where they came from, and where they were going, and they were leaving Mr. Alexander's plantation, because the armed white men went on that place last night and killed a colored man about killing his own hogs, and they knew if our race had to be killed about anything that was their own, that it was best for them to leave. I then asked them where they intended going, and they said they were going out of the State, or at least out of this part of it, until General Grant would send soldiers over to this country. I also seen several colored men on the same day going toward Baton Rouge, carrying bundles, carpet-sacks, and saddle-bags upon their backs, and they also told me they were going to leave this part of the State, as it was no place for colored people to live in; I told them I agreed with them, for I just had left my place back of Stony Point, where I found my place destroyed—houses and fences—and in fact all improvements thereon burned, and those who lived near around told me it was burned by the coal-oil men and regulators, and other styled white men; so then I told them they were right to leave; I myself was going to leave in a few days; and then one of the colored men said, "Yes, I have been justice of peace here in this parish, and a crowd of white men came to my house and took me out and whipped me nearly to death to make me resign my office; so now they may have it." So then Wesley Williams, colored, said he had been a justice of peace in Stony Point, but I give it up because Bige Fairchild, a white man, and a large crowd of other white men came to my house and told me that I had to resign my office or be killed; so I told them to take the office and let me live, and I would leave the country; so I am leaving that part of the country now. In the city of Baton Rouge I seen a number of penitentiary convicts was working on the side of the road, and near them was a white woman and some colored men, and they told me that the guards do not mind shooting the prisoners no more than they would of shooting hogs, for, said they, we have seen them shoot and kill a good many of the convicts while they were working outside of the prison yards; that they keep dogs to run them, in other words to train them; for should the convicts run a little too fast they will put chains on him, and often they would say he attempted to run away, and then they would shoot him and place his name on the dead roll. I seen the convicts that had just been leased, and I asked them was this facts; some of them had been in there six and some of them ten years, and they told me it was true, and even much worse, so much so that they did not want it known outside the penitentiary. A colored man told me that about two or three weeks ago, that the white men had taken a young girl, colored, and tied her to a horse's tail, and run with her three miles as fast as the horse could go, and killed her; and they nor has any of the white men been punished yet for any of the crimes done in East Baton Rouge. They also told me that at the election in 1874 the whites beat, shot, and killed a great many colored people in that parish. A colored man named Job Harris told me that he had to run away from Stony Point to save his life. He had been helping Joe Johnson, the man the white men had killed by burning and shooting him; they got after him, and he had to leave his home to save his life, and of all his labor he got nothing. Bige Fairchild was with that crowd that run me away. The same crowd of white men shot at Mr. Stillman, the postmaster there in 1874, but, by his bravery, he backed them out. He was a Republican, and the white men says no Republican shall live there, much less run for or hold office, or aid the damn radicals to elect any one. One night, whilst I was in the city of Baton Rouge, I seen about fifty or a hundred men, all white, and armed, come in that city and went to the jail, and took a colored man out and carry him off; and he never been seen or heard of since. Two days later I left for other parts of the State. On the 2d day of January, I was in New Orleans, and conversed with colored men from several parishes in this

State. So I asked them concerning affairs in their respective parishes, and they told me that in their parishes murder, whipping, and other crimes were predominant. Also the colored people were robbed and plundered of their crops and other possessions, and in many instances run away because they had voted the Republican ticket. Some colored men were afraid to tell me the exact state of affairs in the parishes from whence they came, and where they had lived; that many of them worked on sugar and cotton plantations, and made large crops, often varying from fifteen to forty bales of cotton per family. Yet they had not had as much as twenty-five to fifty dollars cash money at the end of any one year. That they always, at the owner's mode of settling, was in his debt. Yet they did not even have half enough to eat or scarcely anything to wear, and their indebtedness never exceeded one hundred and fifty dollars per year on an average per family. Along the Mississippi and Red River valley or basin the colored people have to pay from five to twenty dollars per acre for land, and they could not make anything at such prices, and the few that makes anything at all has to aid the white people in cheating the others of his own race and color out of his money and crops. That is when the colored man gets what he makes; they have to do that or not make anything. No year since the war but this has been and is still the case. The white people do not allow us to sell our own crops; and when we do, we do it at the risk of our lives, getting whipped, shot at, and often some get killed. I have conversed with colored men here from Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia, and after telling them of the cruelties, abuses, murderings, and other treatments too heinous to mention, they have told me that in the States where they live it is just the same; and you may say we have told you so, for we live in there and must know, and we wish to God we could get out of the ex-slave States and ex-slaveholders and go to where we can live in peace and quietness, without continual fear of our lives. Says one of them who was from one of these States, "Do you think we will do better if we were to ourselves and out of the South?" One colored man from Georgia spoke and said, "Yes; for we will get our rights at law, our lives will be protected; we will get what we make, our crops or their value; if we get in jail, we will have a chance to get bond and a chance to prove our innocence, and not be taken out by a mob and hung or shot before they know whether we are guilty or not; and may not have to work on the railroad or levees in chain-gangs when we are not guilty of any crime, and not to be whipped as if we were dumb brutes; nor hated because we are black." So one colored man from Mississippi asked me what I thought we the colored people should best do. I told him we had better petition Congress and the President of the United States to set apart a territory for the colored people (our race) in the western part of the United States or appropriate money and send us to Liberia, where our forefathers came from; for then we will be living with our own race and people, and under a government with our race as presiding officers. A man (colored) from Texas asked me did I think we all could live in Liberia. I told him yes, for there were thousands of our race there already who had left this country; and another colored man said yes, for I am going to Liberia some time this year myself, and you all had better go too, and take heed to what Mr. Adams tells you, for he is a man that loves your race. So one of them asked me where I lived when I am at home; I told him Shreveport, La., but was working for my race to get them to leave the Southern States; and I want to know if you intend still to live with these ex-slaveholders; and that I hope that all of my race will leave the South; for, said I, the God of high heaven will put a curse should we continue to live with our former masters and ex-slaveholders, who are not enjoying the same rights as he has ordained that we shall enjoy in our own native soil; for God says in His Holy Word that he has a place and land for all his people, and our race had better go to it; and I hope that all of you who are here, when you go home to your States, will tell our race that myself and all others who loves our race has petitioned the President and Congress of the United States for a territory for ourselves, or to appropriate money to carry us to Liberia. We went back to Caddo in September, 1874, and organized an organization called the Colonization Council, for the purpose of bringing our race together to aid by unity the moving of our race from the Southern States; as we all could testify to the same brutal treatment done us by the whites in the South. I said to all, let us go home and prepare to vote and try to carry this election, and then, if we find the country no better for us, we must then go to work and try and get our race to leave the Southern States where we have been slaves, working the land for our masters. So a unanimous voice was the answer, and yes was echoed by all; and we agreed to it, both women and men that were assembled at that conference. I then left the city of New Orleans for Shreveport, and on my way up the river at different landings where we touched I got several statements from the colored people; how they were treated, and how their crops were taken from them, and their wives also, and run them off the place. Eight colored men stated to me what I now reiterate; they also told me the whites had taken their horses, mules, wagons, and all they had pertaining to them; that they were in their debt; even corn, hogs, and all their cotton, yet they owed them nothing. Sold all they had for taxes when they owned neither real or personal estate; even took bed

and bedding for taxes. The same is done in Harrison County, Texas. The parties who made the statement were men living in different counties in Texas and different parishes in Louisiana; and thus it has been ever since the war. Even the elected officers of the Republican party undergo the same treatment. During this campaign I was often attracted by crowds of armed white men, who told me if I was canvassing for the damn Radical, I had better not come in their place. If I did, I would not get off. I was then canvassing for the Radicals, as they called us, organizing clubs of my race for the canvass, and on some plantations I was not allowed to organize clubs either on or about their plantations. On the river plantations, where the boss did not want office, or the colored vote to support him, he would not let me canvass on that plantation, as he would say he did not want no negro politician on or about his place. But if he wanted office and wanted the colored vote then he would let me organize a club on that place so long as I was fighting some Republican candidates, and favoring some of the white men of the place. I often had to leave my race ignorant of what politician to vote for. In June, about the 21st, a delegation left Shreveport, including myself, to attend the State convention to be held at New Orleans on the 28th of the same month in 1876. So then when we took passage the chief officer of the boat told us if we would vote for a white man for governor of the State in the convention he would carry us in the cabin (cabin fare) for ten dollars. We asked him who he wanted us to vote for. He said any white man, who was born in Louisiana. We said we would vote for Col. George Williamson. He said, all right, we could go the round trip for twenty dollars. On our way down I seen the mate knock the blood out of one colored man, who was working on the boat, and knocked him off the stage-plank; and at a wood-yard, he struck another colored man with a stick of wood, and hurt him very bad. The colored man who worked on that boat told me it was a common thing, for often the mate nearly killed some of them, and never anything done to them about it. And on our way back to Shreveport, we took passage on the steamer C. H. Durfee, and at or near Alexandria, on Red River, the boat got hung on a snag, and the mate struck a colored man on the boat, and made him jump into the river waist deep; and did the same several times between there and Shreveport. This was about the 30th of July. I went to Claiborne Parish and tried to organize clubs; I had together about ten or twelve colored men, when along came three white men, and said to us, "What are you damn niggers doing here? If we catch you damn niggers trying to organize here we will kill half of you; as that is our business." So we left there and went down to a little place called Argenars; and to another place called Forrester Grove, to a church, and was talking to some colored men about organizing a club there. The colored men told us we might organize it, but when the whites found it out they would break it up unless we vote, or say we vote, for some white man on the Democratic ticket. I then asked them, did the white men interfere with them about voting, or take their crops from them whenever they voted the Republican ticket? They told me, "Yes; unless we voted for some white man they told us to vote for, and some of us owns our own land and houses, and so we cannot vote at all; but when we can vote we vote Republican, out and out, or not vote at all; yet some of us only votes for members of Congress; sometimes district judges; but if we get a fair chance to vote, we vote the whole Republican ticket." I then asked them, did they believe we would be any better off to vote, or hold office; and all of them answered (but one) "No, and we think it useless to try any longer; for the white men of Claiborne Parish has killed every good black man in our parish that tried to lead us right." We know that a great many colored men has been killed in this parish, also in the parishes of Jackson, Union, Webster, Claiborne, Lincoln, and Bienville; also there has been some killed in Bossier; for I was there myself and another colored man went with me through these parishes, and heard these statements in conversation with them. Two men, said to us, "Look how the white men killed Bill Undrees, because he was a member of the legislature, and held an office, and we all could go to him for instructions. Look how they burnt to death those three colored men, because some white woman lied on them." Yet, said they, we could live here and get our rights in the Southern states, if the man we elected to office would do what General Grant tell them too; but these men, when we elect them, do what the ex-slaveholders ask them to do, or pay them to do. So it is best for us to stop voting until things are fixed and carried out better. But many of the 27th said, No; not stop voting; let us vote for President and Congressmen, for, as Mr. Adams says, if then things are not better, we will all leave the ex-slaveholding States." But, said they, Look how the white men shot Peter Williams, in Homer, in the year 1874, when we all was marching through that town. They shot him because he had charge of us. So, after they shot him, Joe Calvin took charge of us, and we went on to Homer, and these agreed to vote the straight Republican ticket in full. After voting we went southeast of Homer to a church called Saint John the Baptist. There was a large gathering of colored people and a few whites. I got together about twenty or twenty-five colored men, and we went out on the right side of the road and asked them would they go to Homer to-morrow to the meeting and hear the Republican governor and lieutenant-governor speak. Several of them asked me who

was the republican governor and lieutenant-governor. I told them it was S. B. Packard and C. C. Antoine was our candidate for governor and lieutenant-governor; so they told me that the white people around there had told them that every one of them that went to hear the Republicans speak, they, the white men, would take every bit of corn from them; and if they voted a Republican ticket and did not vote for Tilden and Nicholls, they would take all of their cotton too, and would not let them have no supplies nor anything to live on for the next year. They also told me that all the white people that had colored people on their place working their crops was Democrats, and they had already said that any colored man living on their places that voted a Republican ticket should receive nothing for their work for this year; and also any negro that was caught trying to get the negroes to vote the damn Radical ticket, he would be killed or run out of the country. I then asked them would they all join a club. They told me, no, sir; we would like to join a club, but if we did so, we would all, or nearly all, of us have to vote the Democratic ticket, or we would have nothing; for we would have our crops taken away from us by the whites if we did not vote for their nominees; and while we were talking two or three white men passing by us said to us, "What are you damn negroes doing there? You all are trying to do something against we white people, and we believe we will shoot every one of you." So all the colored men left; some went home, and some went to the church of Saint John, the Baptist. I also went in the church; and some who knew me by name, asked me to ask an educational speech; so I consented, and began to say something respecting us freedmen, and how long we had been free; how fast we had improved in citizenship, and that we would soon overtake some of the white people if we continued as we had started; and I further said we ought to elect men to office that would always give us free schools. At that part of my speech three white men came in and leaned upon the benches in the church, and some of the colored men who had been run by white men that night, jumped over the benches and ran out of church, and then a good many more followed them and left only eight or nine who remained with me while I was speaking; so the meeting was broke up, and I left there on the 30th of September. Many colored people told me they had an idea of going to the meeting and hear S. B. Packard speak at Homer, and a great many did go; but those who were working on shares of the crop raised did not, as they feared the white people would take away all they had and would make, as they had already threatened to do so. In my travels through Jackson Parish, in many parts of it, I found colored people who were afraid to even take a newspaper from me, especially if it was Republican. But if it was a Democratic organ, they could take it without fear; as they said the white men of the place did not allow them to read Republican newspapers; for the whites said it was for the purpose of making up Radical clubs, and they told me I had better get out of that parish, for all of Mr. Kidd's men would get after me. I then asked them who Mr. Kidd was, and they told me a white man, and all of his followers were white men. I asked them what Mr. Kidd had to do with me—talking to men of my own race—that I was not going to say anything to the white people; I came here to talk to you all, and I hope you all will hear me. They agreed to hear what I said, but, said they, this white man on this place will not allow us to vote or act as we wish. I then said to them, why don't you all leave him and go somewhere else; because, said they, these white people will not let us; and if we run away, they will take everything we possess; so you see we cannot leave all we have got. Then, say I, why do you not go to law and have the white men arrested for the manner in which you are treated by them? We have, says they. We have resorted to the courts, reported to the Federal officers when they were here, but it is no use to try and get anything done to those white people who treat us so, as the ex-slaveholders has the money, and with it they can buy the courts and officers of the law; for I believe if they were to kill ten thousand of us colored people and were arrested they could get clear. Whilst we were talking two white men came along and asked us what we called that, was it a council or a political meeting. The colored men said neither one. They then said to us, if you want to live happy you must have nothing to do with the damn Radical party this year, for we are going to elect Tilden and Nicholls, and we will have the damn Radicals afraid to hold up their heads in this State. So you negroes who do not want to die hard by our shot-guns had better not have anything to do with this damn Radical ticket. Now, says they, "Don't you understand?" and the colored men say yes, sir. Then I left and went through two other parishes and into the parish of Webster, but found a little better feeling existing there among the whites and blacks, yet many of them told me that the whites had taken away a great many of their crops, and some of the colored men had been badly beat, and whipped, because they sold their crops without the owner of the place's permit, and some were warned if they voted a Republican ticket they (the whites) would close their debts on them, and give them no more credit, or furnish them the next year. I left, and went over to Bossier Parish, where I found a very large crowd of colored men assembled at Belleview, and had a talk with the colored men from all parts of that parish. And nearly all of them told me the same story I heard in and through

the other parish. They told me they intended to vote the Republican ticket, even though they thought they would be killed by the Democrats. As the Democrats did not free us, and now they do not want us to vote the Republican ticket; but we intend to do everything the Democrats don't want us to do; because they had us slaves once, and they want us slaves again; and now we intend to vote the Republican ticket at the risk of our lives. Of course we know that the white people own all the plantations in this parish, and will take everything we have from us, and kill some of us, and beat some of us, and put some of us in jail, and make false charges against us, just as soon as we vote the Republican ticket. But let come what may we will vote the Republican ticket throughout, and for every man on it. And whilst I was talking to my race five or six white men came near, and says to me, "Old man, what office is you running for; and why are you trying to get these colored men to vote the Radical ticket?" I said to him, "to help elect our nominees." They asked me, "Who are your men?" Says I, "every man on our ticket, from Hayes and Wheeler down to the last man." They then asked me where I lived, whether in this parish or State, and where I was raised at. I told them I was born in the State of Georgia, and lived there awhile, and was then brought here to this State, on the line of Louisiana and Texas when a boy, and was first in Louisiana and then in Texas until the war in 1861. They then asked me if I had been in the Army; I told them yes, I had been in the army three years since the war. So they said, "That is the reason why you tell your race to vote the Radical ticket; but we will carry this election for our State, or we will kill every negro and damn radical in the State; mark our words for that. Go ahead; you will see it if we will have to fight for it." I said, "All right; all I want is my race to vote the Republican ticket." I went then through the parish of Caddo, and at or near Mowning Port I met a large crowd of white men, and they said to me, "Is you a Radical politician?" I told them "No," I was a laboring man. They then asked me if I was not trying to get negroes to vote the Republican ticket? I told them "Yes;" so they said to me, "You had better leave this part of the country, as you might get your head shot off." And then they asked me how me and Bill Harper stood? I then told them how it was. They asked me what was my name; I told them Adams. They said to me, "Is your name Henry Adams?" I told them "Yes." "Then you are fighting Bill Harper and George L. Smith?" I told them "Yes." Then says they to me, "Go ahead; just so we defeat them two damn rascals, we don't care if all the other men are elected on the Republican ticket in this parish." Two days afterwards I went to Bossier Parish, down to Bossier Point, and a white man halted me and asked me where I was going, and if I was canvassing for the Republicans. I told him "Yes; but I am canvassing among my race, and not the white race." He says, "We white men have sworn to kill every negro we catch teaching other negroes to vote the damn Radical ticket; so I had better kill you." I told him I thought it very hard that we colored people lived with the white people, and made you all rich, and now must not tell our own race how to vote; and yet you white men go every where and tell your race how to vote, and who to vote for, and we colored people says nothing to you at all. We do not tell you all to vote our ticket; so for God sake let me alone, for I will teach my race until I die. So he says to me, "Give me your hand, for you are an honest and good man; go anywhere you please." So I passed on through that parish, and when I got to Doctor Vance's plantation, on Red River, about ten miles north of Shreveport, I stopped, and was telling the colored people about voting, and who was the best to vote for: and Dr. Wyatte Vance said to me that he did not allow any colored man to say anything about voting to any colored man on his plantation; "for," said he, "they all shall vote as I say vote; and if I catch any negro on my place trying to get negroes to vote the Radical ticket, I will shoot the top of his head off." I told him I would not go on any man's plantation that told me not; but I could call a meeting in the public road, and would then tell them all about how to vote and who to vote for. So he said to me if he caught any negro holding club meetings anywhere about his place, he would kill the last one of them, "and we intend to kill every negro in the State that votes a Republican ticket, but what we will carry this State and elect our governor and State ticket; so I want you to keep away from my place, unless you come on my place to work, as you did on Hamilton & Co.'s plantation; as I happen to know you, and that you are a good negro to work and carry on business, I will let you go." And all the colored people I had a talk with told me Dr. Vance had taken nearly all their crops every year that he would make contracts. Passing along the line of Arkansas and Louisiana, I seen many colored people on the roadsides, in the fields, and at their houses, and they told me that they could not vote anywhere, for the white people all through this country wants us to vote for them and their ticket; but we are all going to vote the Republican ticket this election, and if the Democrats kill us, beat us, or take our crops, as they have been doing here all the time, we will leave here and go and hunt us another land. I told them that was right. I met some white men on the road, who asked me where I was going. I told them I was going to see some of my people; and they asked me if I was going to tell them to vote the Republican ticket. I told them I could not do other-

wise. Says they to me you had better leave this part of the State; if I did not I would get killed. Says I, "All right, gentlemen, I will leave; but I will see my race at another time, and they will all vote as I vote." And they told me if we voted the Radical ticket they were going to carry the election, and elect their President and State ticket, or kill every negro in the State. I said nothing more, but left; and on my way to Cotton Galley, near the line of Bossier and Webster Parish, I seen many colored people, and they told me that the white people had told them that if they voted the Radical ticket they would not furnish them anything, but would not let them have a thing off of their plantations, and they should not have any club meeting about or in that part of the State. So I am advised by the colored people to not attempt to organize any clubs there. I left, and met white men all along the road I was traveling, asking me where I was going and what my business was, but I never would tell them nothing. At some places the colored people talked as though they did not care to vote, for fear of the white people taking away all they possessed and run them off the plantation. After the large meeting at Longview, in Bossier Parish, I left and went above Beuton, at or near Gum Springs; and I staid there all night, with a large crowd of men and women, colored. Some of them told me they had been working on the Widow Dickson plantation since 1866, and some since 1868, and some ever since the war, and before the war; and they told me that they never could get a settlement with the owners of the places, and that they had made from five to thirty-five bales of cotton per family, and they had never drawn as much as one hundred dollars during the entire year; and that Mrs. Dickson do not permit them to ever take off the plantation in one year two bales of cotton, charging them from ten to fifteen dollars per acre, and sometimes one hundred pounds lint cotton per acre, and allow them no credit, only what they got from her, and give to her her own price. I seen some of their bills, and found them charged from 35 cents per pound for meat, and even 40 cents per pound, when the same meat was selling for 12½ cents per pound. Meal \$3 per bushel, when it was selling for \$1 per bushel. I seen their accounts from 1866 to 1874 kept by them on their memorandum books. I also seen where they had receipts for horses, and mules, and made to pay for them again. Many were there from all parts of the parish that night, and the most of them told the same story about the treatment they received from the whites in that parish. The next day all up and down Red River on the plantations, I seen colored men and women, and talked with them about how they were getting along; and they would say to me, if we cannot do any better than we have been doing here since freedom, we had better leave the country and migrate to Africa. So I told them that if we cannot vote this election and elect our men, Republicans, without the whites taking it away from them and us, as they have done for some time, we will and can go to Liberia, if the United States Government will not give us a territory to ourselves somewhere in the United States, and I hope you will all vote this year.

STATEMENT OF OUTRAGES COMMITTED IN LOUISIANA DURING THE YEARS 1865 TO 1866.

[Compiled by HENRY ADAMS.]

In the parish of De Soto, La., near Logansport, on a plantation owned by a man named Ferguson, the white men read a paper to all of us colored people, telling us that we were all free, and that we colored people could go where we pleased and manage our own affairs, and could work for who we pleased. The man I belonged to, or who had me in charge, told me I could work there, or work wherever I wanted to; but it was best to stay there with him and his family on his plantation, because the poor white people did not like a rich negro no how. I had at that time three horses and a fine buggy, and a good deal of money, both gold and silver, and the most of them knew I had plenty of money, both blacks and whites; and they said to me it would be best for me not to go about then as I did before, for some poor white man robber or Klu-Klux might kill me. I told them I feared God but not man, for He knew what was good. He said the bad white men was mad with all the negroes, because they were free, and they would kill you all for fun; for, said he, I do not want them to meddle with you; if they do they will have me to kill. I told him if I was free, I have to be free, but if I was not, then I would be a slave as I had been ever since the 16th of March, 1843, the day I was born, and that if I could not be free here where the slaveholders are and with them, we had all better leave the slave-holding States and join some of the foreign States and nations. He said it was no use of that, but stay where we were living, and we could get protection from our old masters. I told him I thought that every man when he was free could have his rights and protections and protect himself. He said that was true, but the colored people could never protect themselves among the white people. There was too many bad white

men that would all the time be killing colored people, for no other reason than because they were free and may get well off, and some white girl might make much of you and such colored men and boys like you, smart and always with a plenty of money, horses, and other things, might want to marry you, and then they (the mean white men) would kill you; and that if one of you attempt to take up for one another, they would come fifty or more white men to help kill you, against one that you would find who would help fight for you and your colored race. So you all had better stay with the white people who raised you, and not leave them, but make contracts to work for them by the year for one-fifth you all make, and next year you can get one-third, and the next you may work for one-half you make, and by that we may be able to protect you from the bad white men, and keep them from killing you all so much. We have contracts for you all to sign, and to work on for (10) $\frac{1}{20}$ you make from now until the crop is ended, and then next year you all can make another crop and get more of it. I told him that I would not sign anything, for I am a slave, and belong to a white girl about fourteen years of age; her name is Nancy Emily Adams, and I expect to work for her until God frees me, and then I will go where I please, and will go to some free State where I can be free. The boss man was named W. M. C. Carrods. He then said to me, you are all as free as I am. Sign this paper and get yourselves another home if you want to, or keep the same. I said if I cannot do like a white man I am not free. I see how the poor white people do. I ought to do so too, or else I am a slave. You says we must carry a pass to keep the white men from killing us, or whipping us, so I think still we are all slaves, and I will sign no paper. I might sign to be killed, and I believe that the white people is trying to fool us to see if we are fools enough to go off to work for ourselves, and then everywhere they see one of us they will kill us and take all of our money away what we work for, and everything that we may have. But he said again, "You all are as free as I am, and as any white man, and sign this contract so I can take it to Mansfield to the Yankees and have it recorded." So all of our colored people signed it but myself and a boy named Samuel Jefferson, and Mauuel Adams, and John Jefferson; all who lived on the place was about sixty, young and old. My mother lived at one of my young master's place, and belonged to him. My father lived on the same place with me. Both of them were old people. They was not allowed to quit the places and live together during the entire year of 1865, and not until the next year. On the same day or the next after all had signed the papers or contracts, we went to cutting oats. I asked the boss could we get any of the oats? He said no; the oats were made before you were free. I said it is some of the crop we made, but we did not get any of it. We made about eight hundred bushels. After that he told us to get timber to build a sugar-mill to make molasses; we did so. On the 13th day of July, 1865, we started to pull fodder. I asked the boss would he make a bargain with me to give us half of all the fodder we would pull and save. He said we may pull two or three stacks and then we could have all the other. I told him we wanted to make a bargain for half, so if we only pulled two or three stacks we would get half of that. He said, "All right." We got that and part of the corn we made. We made five bales of cotton, but we did not get a pound of that. We made two or three hundred gallons of molasses and we only got what we could eat. We made about fifty or seventy-five bushels of pindar; we got none of them. We made about seven or eight hundred bushel of potatoes; we got a few to eat. We split rails three or four weeks, and got not a cent for that; so in September of same year I asked the boss to let me go to Shreveport. He said, "All right; when will you come back?" I told him "next week." He said "You had better carry a pass." I said, "I will see whether I am free by going without a pass." So the next day I left, and got about six or seven miles from home. I met four colored men, and they asked me where I was going. I told them to Shreveport. They told me that they had seen four or five large crowds of white men armed on the road, and they had taken everything they had away from them—a horse and other things, and beat them badly. I then thanked them, and went on my way and got to a white man's house, and asked him if he would keep my horse until I came back from Shreveport? and he said yes, and take good care of him. My horse was worth two hundred dollars in gold. I then went on towards Shreveport, and met four white men about six miles south of Keachie, De Soto Parish. One of them asked me who I belonged to. I told him no one; so him and two others struck me with a stick, and told me they was a going to kill me and every other negro who told them that they did not belong to any one; but one of them who knew me told the others to "Let Henry alone, for he is a hard-working nigger, and a good nigger, and I will fight for him." They left me, and I then went on to Shreveport. I seen over twelve colored men and women beat, shot, and hung between there and Shreveport. Every day while I was in Shreveport there were about fifty or sixty colored people running away from the slaveholders, and coming in the city daily; and staid there three days. So, late on Saturday evening I left the city and rambled about fifteen or sixteen miles south, and stopped for the night. During the night several white men came up to us and robbed us of thirty-eight dollars; me and my companion was on foot. Sunday I went back

home in De Soto Parish, got my horse from Mr. Franks, and he was all right. When I got home, the boss was not at home. I asked the madame where was the boss? She says, "Now, the boss; now, the boss; now, the boss! You should say master, and say mistress—and shall, or leave this place; we will not have no nigger here on our place who cannot say mistress and master; and you shall, for you all are not free yet, and will not be until Congress sits, for General Butler cannot free any one, and you shall call every white lady misses, and every white man boss, master." During the same week the madame, Mrs. Frances Carrods, taken a stick and beat one of the young colored girls, who was about fifteen years of age, and who is my sister, and split her back. The boss came next day, and take this same girl (my sister), whose name is Katie Carter, and whipped her nearly to death; but in the contracts he was to hit no one any more. So, after the whipping, a large number of the young colored people, all kin to her, taken a notion to leave, and the next day she left. Her father was then living there too, and also three brothers and a sister. On the 18th of September, I and eleven men and boys left that place and other places in the same settlement and started for Shreveport. We all got to Keachie, a little town. I had my two hundred dollar horse along; my brother was riding him, and all of our things was packed on him. Out come about forty or fifty armed men (white) into the public road and shot at us all, and taken my horse; said they were going to kill every nigger they found leaving their masters, and taking all of our clothes and bed-clothing and our money. I had my pocket-book in my saddle-bags on my horse with one hundred and fifty dollars in gold, and they got it all; so I had to work away to get a white man to my boss to get my horse. Then I took my horse and another horse and got a wagon and went to peddling, and had to get a pass, according to the laws of the parishes, to do so. In October and November and December I was searched for pistols and was robbed of \$250 in goods and money by a large crowd of white men with Henry Smith and George at their head, and the law would do nothing about it. This was at or near Thomas' place, near the line of Texas and De Soto Parish, and they shot at me twenty times during the same day. The same crowd of white men broke up five churches (colored) and from time to time broke up churches everywhere the colored people held them; and when any of us colored people would leave the white people, they would take everything we had, during the year of 1865; and when any of us left we had to run away. I ran away, as also did most of the rest, and the white people did not sympathize with us; they would take all the money that we made on their places when we went to leave; and they killed many hundreds of my race when they were running away to get freedom. After they told us we were free—even then they would not let us live as man and wife together. And when we would run away to be free from slavery, the white people would not let us come on their places to see our mothers, wives, sisters, or fathers. We was made to leave the place, or made to go back and live as slaves. To my own knowledge there was over two thousand colored people killed trying to get away, after the white people told us we were free, which was in 1865. Many of the colored people were killed, but the white people pretended to know little about it. I seen some shot dead because they left with a white woman. This was after they told us we were free, in the year 1865; this was between Shreveport and Logansport.

STATEMENT OF SPECIFIC CASES OF OUTRAGE FROM 1866 TO 1876.

[COMPILED BY HENRY ADAMS.]

Statements of individuals (colored).

DE SOTO PARISH.

1st. My name is Bebe Oldman; lived on Joe King place in (1875); was nearly beaten to death by a white man.

2d. My name is Pete Umfort. On a plantation about three or four miles from Mansfield, I was badly beaten, in the year 1874, by a white man.

3d. My name is ———; I lived on Bell's plantation, and was cropping. I asked him for some meat for rations. He told me to plant corn. I did so; then returned and asked him again for meat; he told me to go and plant cotton; which I did, and again asked him for meat, and told him I was going to work for a man that would give me some meat to eat. Then Bells, Lans, and other white men tried to kill me; they cut me nearly to death. This occurred on his place, in the year 1874.

4th. My name is Stoney Sugers. I and my brother were badly beaten on Henry Bell's plantation, by him and other white men, in the year 1875, near Mansfield.

5th. Marches Beenman was killed about six miles from Mansfield, on the high-road, by white men (names unknown), in the year 1874.

6th. Willey, a young man, was killed about six miles from Mansfield, while going home, on the high-road, by a body of white men (unknown), in the year 1874.

7th. Gains King, killed by (whites), on Coates' place, by a white man named James Farmer, because he said that a hog that James Farmer had was his hog. This occurred in the year 1873.

8th. Bill Jones was killed by a white man because he was laughing and talking with a white lady. This occurred in Davies' place, in the year 1870.

9th. Pete, was killed by white men on _____, in the year 1870. No cause assigned for the killing.

10th. Two colored men, names unknown, were killed on Barde David's place, by white men, in the year 1870.

11th. Charles Edward, shot by white men, on Bige David's plantation, in the year 1870.

12th. Henry, a colored man, was killed by white men on Bill Crowsby's place, at or near Mansfield, in 1867.

BOSSIER PARISH.

14th. Hunter, colored, was killed by white men, at or near Red Lands, about twelve or fifteen miles from the line of Arkansas, in the year 1867.

15th. Louis Eaton, colored, was killed by white men on Eaton place, about six or seven miles from Columbus, in 1866.

16th. Selern, colored, killed by James McCall, a white man, on Leek's plantation, in the year 1868.

17th. Cicero Simmons badly beaten by Johnny Naterson, a white man, on Captain Abenishbon's place, in the year 1870.

18th. Bill Meltou, colored, beat and severely whipped by white men at or near Cotton Valley because he quarreled with them about taking his crop. This occurred in 1869.

19th. Miss Matilda Johnson was beaten and badly whipped by white men at or near Cotton Valley, in the year 1871.

CADDO PARISH.

20th. Donahone, colored, was killed by a white man on Nick Marchu's place, in the year 1873.

21st. Miss Delia Young, beat and severely whipped by James Robinson (white) on Hayne's place, or, as called, Levee Bend, and also all her crop taken from her, in the year 1872.

22d. Margaret Bates, badly whipped by John Brown, a white man, on Levee Bend plantation, in the year 1873.

23d. Henry Hard (colored) killed by a white man, in the year 1874.

24th. Dick, a colored man, was killed by a white man, in the year 1874.

25th. Caesar Johnson (colored) killed by Milton, a colored man, in the year 1872.

26th. Harden, a white man, killed by a white man named Oakley Rust, in 1871 or 1872.

27th. Anderson, a colored man, killed by Starks Wells, a colored man, in the year 1874.

28th. John Williams, colored, badly whipped by a white man named Mack Marchards, in the year 1873.

29th. Fred, a colored man, killed by being burnt up at the stake, on Joe Bealey's place, in the year 1872.

DE SOTO PARISH.

30th. William Monroe, colored, was shot and badly wounded for voting a Republican ticket; was shot by armed white men, in the year 1874.

31st. Francis Pigion, colored, killed at or near Greenwood, by Bill Bateman, white, in the year 1865.

32d. Henry Foster, colored, killed by Halworthe, a white man, at or near Keachie, in the year 1866.

33d. Frank Weaver, colored, killed by Daniel Worker, a white man, in Caddo Parish, in the year 1873.

34th. John Beden, white, killed by Mr. Dryfnfe, white, in the year 1874.

35th. Mannel Oakart, colored, killed by Bateman, white, at Greenwood, La., in the year 1865.

36th. Annie Gray, colored, killed by a white man, in 1871.

37th. Frank Tucker, colored, killed by a white man, 1866.

38th. Aaron Williams, whipped badly by Albert Grester, at or near Greenwood, in 1874.

- 39th. Henry Parker, colored, shot by a white man, in 1868.
 40th. William Parker, colored, killed by a white man, in 1868.
 41st. O. Parker, colored, killed by a white man, in 1868.

BOSSIER PARISH.

- 42d. Aaron Nickerson, colored, killed by a white man, in 1868.
 43d. Miles Nickerson, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 44th. Henry Smith, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 45th. Lawrence Evans, colored, killed by James Sanders and other white men, in the year 1868.
 46th. Edward Starks, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 47th. Jesse Field, colored; formerly belonged to Milton Sanders; was killed by white men, in 1868.
 48th. A colored man named Williams was killed by white men, in 1868.
 49th. George Morris, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 50th. George Dillman, killed by white men, 1868.
 51st. Alex. Ariel, colored, killed and his tongue cut out by white men, in 1868.
 52d. Henry Picket, killed by white men, in 1868.
 53d. Ben. White, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 54th. Murrell Grial, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 55th. Watch Smith, colored, killed by colored men, in 1868.
 56th. Julius Davis, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 57th. Ishmon Babe, colored, hung by white men, in 1868.
 58th. Robert Jackson, colored, shot at by white men, in 1868.
 59th. Bob. Gilmore, killed by drunken white men, in 1868.
 60th. Dick Thomas, colored, shot by white men, in 1868.
 61st. Ben. Powell, colored, shot by white men, in 1868.
 62d. Amos Johnson, colored, killed by a white man by the name of Smith, in the year 1868.
 63d. Julius Johnson, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 64th. James Bungtree, colored, shot by white men, in 1873.
 65th. Harry Aurgan, colored, shot by white men, in 1868.
 66th. James Brown, colored, shot by white men, in 1868.
 67th. A colored man named Crossman was shot by white men, in 1868.
 68th. Nick Johnson, colored, killed by white men, in 1868.
 69th. David Jones, colored, shot at seven times by white men, in 1868.
 70th. Owen Pread, colored, shot by white men, in 1868.
 71st. Aaron Washington, colored, shot at by white men, in 1868.
 72d. Charley Starck, colored, killed by Bob Cummings, white, in 1868.
 73d. Richard Gee, colored, killed by Lige Soles and his company, all white men, in 1868.
 74th. A colored man named Judge was killed on the Red River place by John Vance, Dr. Kings, John Homer, Dr. Mitchell Fields, Jack Wolgers, all living at Cash Point place, and all white men. This occurred in 1868.
 75th. A colored man named Boles was killed at the same place (Cash Point) and by the same men, in 1868.
 76th. A colored man named Albert was killed at the same place (Cash Point) and by the same men, in 1868.
 77th. A colored man named Simon was killed on the same place and by the same band of men, in 1868.
 78th. Big Charley (colored), killed by James Picket and Budd Cockes, whites, in 1868.
 79th. Smith Gobley (colored), killed by Bud Blocpes on Buck Hall place, in 1868.
 80th. James Smith (colored), badly shot on Wells's place, near the line of Caddo, by a white man, in 1868.

DE SOTO PARISH.

- 81st. Oakley Carver (colored), badly whipped by W. C. Carrows (white) on Ferguson's place, September 5, 1865.
 82d. George Adams (colored), killed by a white man, in June or July, 1866.
 83d. Samuel Hunter (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 84th. Monday Jefferson (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.

CADDO PARISH.

- 85th. Samuel Lawson (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 86th. Harry Hawkins (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.

- 87th. Hector Hawkins (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 88th. Joe Louis, shot by white men, in 1868.
 89th. Bill Connelly (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 90th. George Brown (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 91st. Manuel Johnson (colored), killed by white men, in 1868.
 92d. Dick Long (colored), killed by white men in 1868; accused of raising armies against the white people.

BOSSIER PARISH.

- 93d. January Toll (colored), killed by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 94th. Gaunt Hunter (colored), shot by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 95th. Joe Squire (colored), shot by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 96th. Willey Hunter (colored), shot by white men on Joe Briant's place, in 1868.
 Dr. Hunter did the shooting.
 97th. Reuben William (colored), shot by Dr. Hunter (white) on his, Hunter's, place, in 1868.
 98th. Pink Jameson (colored), badly whipped and stripped by William Alborn and father (white men) on his, Alborn's, place, in 1868.
 99th. Benton Louis (colored), badly whipped by Milton and William Alborn, brothers, both white, in 1868.
 100th. Thomas Lee (colored), beaten badly by the same white men on the same place, in 1868.
 101st. Miss Caroline Lewis (colored), badly whipped by Capt. William Alborn, brothers, and white men, in 1868.
 102d. Miss Sarah Allen (colored), badly whipped by the captain and William Alborn, brothers (white men), on Alborn's place, in 1868.
 103d. Elie Lee (colored), beaten near unto death by William Alborn and brother, on old man Alborn's place, in 1868.
 104th. George Nash (colored), killed by James Acres, white, at or near Benton, on McCarley's place, in 1872.
 105th. Miller Gidston, killed by Butcher Gilmore, white, in 1868.
 106th. Aaron Gidston, killed by Butcher Gilmore, white, in 1868.
 107th. Edward Worley, killed by Bnd Chochus on Gilmore's place, in 1868.
 108th. Marshal Bodly, killed by white men on Gilmore's place, in 1874.
 109th. Flowers Worley, whipped by white men on Gilmore's place, in 1875.
 110th. Madison and Davidson, whipped by white men on Gilmore's place, in 1874.
 111th. Toney (colored), shot by old man Winn (white) on his place, in 1868.
 112th. Mack Smith (colored), killed by Sam Sawyer (colored) on Douglass's place, near Gilmore, in 1868.
 113th. Willis Richardson (colored), badly shot by a white man at or near Shreveport about his gin screaming, in November, 1875.
 114th. My name is Wash. Douglas. I was badly beaten over the head by Bloody John Gage with a six-shooter because I told him he could not come in my house, and before my face, and keep my daughter. Says he to me, "If you say any more to me about your child I will kill you;" and if I report him, he would kill me. This occurred on Dr. M. S. Vance's place, called the Buck Horn place, about eight or nine miles from Shreveport, in June, 1875.
 115th. Big Charley (colored), killed by John Aramel (white), on Be Been place, 1868.
 116th. Nick Johnson (colored), killed on Be Been place by armed white men, 1868.
 117th. Amos Lee (colored), killed on Be Been place by armed white men, 1868.
 118th. Rev. Meen (colored), was killed by old man Dillard, on Sandy Grove's place; was run from there and killed near Shreveport, 1868.
 119th. James Hickens (colored), was United States marshal; was taken out of Dr. Thomas's house at night in Benton, by armed white men, including Marion Brooks, colored, and shot dead.
 120th. Vorden (colored), lived in Grela Place; was killed by white men, in 1868.
 121st. Miss Nancy Carroway (colored), whipped by Captain Dority almost to death, and all of her clothes taken from her, in 1874.
 122d. Bladly Evan (colored), shot at by white men; Gibson and Hamilton gave them the guns and ammunition to shoot with.
 123d. Lee Jones (colored), killed by Charley Scott, colored, who got a white man to help him, in 1873; they went from Shreveport to kill him.
 124th. Wash. Douglass (colored), was badly beaten over the head with a gun and wounded by the stock; this occurred on the Buckhorn place in 1868.
 125th. Primus Jones (colored), was badly cut and wounded in the head by colored men on the Buckhorn place, in 1873.
 126th. Robert Brooks (colored), was badly beaten by a white man, named John Gay, on Buckhorn place, 1875, in March.
 127th. Cato Davis (colored), beat nearly to death by armed white men, in 1873.

- 128th. Caesar Johnson (colored), killed by white men, having his heart cut out, on Cornell place, in 1873.
- 129th. Charley Leo (colored), beaten over the head with a six-shooter and got his skull cracked, in the town of Fillmore, by white men, in 1873.
- 130th. Henry Margroves (colored), burnt to death between Bellowe and Fillmore, on the high road, in 1870, by white men.
- 131st. Anderson Bailley (colored), badly beaten by J. White, at Fillmore, 1874.
- 132d. Joe Douglass (colored), beaten near to death by Dick Sanders, a white man, at Fillmore, in 1872.
- 133d. Joe Crugals (colored), badly beaten by Aares, a white man, in Fillmore, in 1874.
- 134th. Margaret Tucker (colored), badly beaten, and in a delicate state, by Briston Plates, a white man, 1871.
- 135th. Rose Cooper (colored), beaten by a white man on Mr. ——— Bludsau place, near Fillmore, in 1878.
- 136th. Frank Jeffrew (colored), killed by white men on Seward Angrel's place, 1868.
- 137th. Isaac Lewis (colored), whipped badly by Brownlee, on Brownlee place, in 1868.
- 138th. Mrs. Martha Frances (colored), badly whipped by Simon Gilmore (white) on Gilmore's place, in 1874.
- 139th. Bill Louis (colored), badly whipped by Charley Milton (white) on Bore's place, 1-72; died from the wounds.
- 140th. William Whiteman (colored), badly beaten by Charley Milton (white) on Bore's place, in 1873.
- 141st. Alex. Tramel (colored), badly beaten by white men on Brown's place, in 1868.
- 142d. Old man Willey (colored), badly whipped by Brown's son (white) on Brown Lee place, 1868.
- 143d. Bill Thomas (colored), badly beaten by Martin Marshall (white); also cut through, but not killed; done on Bore's place 1868.
- 144th. George Murrell (colored), killed by white men on Sacery Groves's place, 1868.
- 145th. James Smith (colored), killed by Budcocks near Shreveport, in 1868.
- 146th. William Linchpin (colored), killed on Douglass place by white men, 1868.
- 147th. Bob Cane (colored), killed by Joe Biley and other white men on Mrs. Dickerson's place, in 1868.
- 148th. Willis Dunn (colored), killed by Alex. Bard and other white men on Mrs. Dickerson's place, in 1868.
- 149th. Richard Neal (colored), killed by white men on J. Oneal's place, in 1868.
- 150th. Willis Holmes (colored), killed by John Gunters, a white man, on Mrs. Dickerson's place, in 1866.
- 151st. Albert Ross (colored), killed by white men on East Point place, in 1868.
- 152d. Henry Calways (colored), killed by white men on John Oriall's place, in 1868.
- 153d. Alex. Nelson (colored), tongue cut out, skinned and beat, and then killed by Old Dority and other white men, on John Oriely's place, in 1868.
- 154th. Simon Cerows (colored), killed by white men on Mrs. Dickerson's place, in 1868.
- 155th. William Cawles (colored), killed by white men on La Groves's place, in 1868.
- 156th. Thomas Lacan (colored) killed by white men on Buck Horn place, in 1868.
- 157th. Burrell Howe (colored), shot by a colored man on East Point place, in 1870.
- 158th. Dick Dowells (colored), killed by white men. He was taken from Lagroues' place to Mrs. Dickerson's place and killed, 1868.
- 159th. Edmond Young (colored), badly whipped by Captain Thomas on the Dickerson place, in 1869.
- 160th. Charley Robinson (colored), shot by Thomas Watley (white), in the year 1872.
- 161st. Louis Booker (colored), killed by Charley Flanagan (white) and others; also Marlio Booker, in the year 1868; also two children from off the same place.
- 162d. John, a colored man, killed by Oharry and others (white men) on Mr. Carrow's place, in 1868.
- 163d. Thimble Anderson (colored), badly whipped by James Markes (white) on J. Marks's place, in 1874.
- 164th. Nathan Williams (colored), badly whipped and his cotton taken away without any cause by Bill Mark, a white man, on his place, in 1874, because he voted the Radical ticket.
- 165th. Carter Frances (colored), badly whipped and his cotton taken away from him because he voted the Radical ticket, by Bill Marks (white), on his place, in 1874.
- 166th. Alex Williams (colored), shot by Joe Blaly (white) because he wanted his cotton he made in 1874, on Marks's place.
- 167th. Cameron Hall (colored), badly beaten by Bill Marks (white) because he wanted his cotton and corn he made on Marks' place, in 1873.
- 168th. A colored woman shot by Mrs. Gilmore on her Tom's place about 3 miles from

Shreveport, because Mrs. Gilmore wanted to whip her and she would not take it. This occurred on the 25th of April, 1875, on Tom Gilmore's plantation.

169th. Charley Robinson (colored), shot by Bob Robinson, colored, on Bridan place, in 1873.

170th. Phil (colored), shot on James Heron's place in 1873, about his step-daughter, by a white man.

171st. Isaac Cooper, Elie Cooper, and Clarence Cooper, all colored, were badly beaten by Bill Stildon and other white men near Red Schute, about their cotton made in 1873.

172d. Maria Morris (colored), whipped by John Platt and other white men, on Hamilton place, in 1873.

DE SOTO PARISH.

173d. Bob Balos (colored), killed by James Taylor Meems (white) on Meems' place, about four miles from Clinton, in 1868.

174th. Stepton Great (colored), killed by James Meems (white) on J. Meems' place, four miles from Clinton, in 1868, about killing a mule accidentally.

175th. Rose (colored), killed by James Meems and James Lafayette (white men) on Meems' place, in 1868.

176th. Henry Lane (colored), a boy, killed by Ben Hogan (white) on his place, in 1868.

177th. Simus Richardson (colored), badly beaten by a white man named Dick Ridge on Captain Cores' place and broke his arm, which is not near as well and useful as it was before; this was in February, 1875.

178th. Jane Ladrouse, badly whipped by James Meems (white) on his place, in 1871.

179th. Ligeley Houston, beaten badly by James Meems (white) on his place, in 1867.

180th. Thomas Blaine, killed by Jiles Grooves (white) four miles from Keachie, in 1866.

181st. Burth, a colored man, was killed in Caddo Parish, at Greenwood, by white men, in 1867.

182d. John Morris, killed by white men in Shreveport, La., in 1872.

183d. Smith (colored), killed by a white man in 1872.

184th. Lily George, whipped by Paterwood in Shreveport, La., a white man, in 1879.

185th. Sally Groves, whipped by Dick Wright, white, in Shreveport, in 1869.

186th. Annie, a colored woman, was whipped by old man Washington, white, one and a half miles from Shreveport, in 1870.

187th. Charley Tolsom and wife, beat and hung by whites in 1868.

188th. Pacey Harris, badly whipped by a white man in Shreveport, La., in 1868.

189th. Harris Washington, whipped by Joe White, a white man, on White's place, in 1870.

190th. Henry Thomas, killed by white men on Mrs. Alexander's place, eight miles from Mansfield, in 1869.

CADDO PARISH.

191st. Phil. and Simus Cobro, were badly whipped by white men at or near Thomas Walter's place, about fifteen miles west of Shreveport, August 25, accusing them of stealing corn out of his field, in 1876.

DE SOTO PARISH.

192d. Frances Louis, shot badly by a white man named William Harrison on Bill Half's place, in the year 1870.

193d. George Barber, badly whipped by white men, at or near Grand Cane, Wiggin's place, in 1874.

194th. John Coleman, killed by a white man named James Paton, at or near Keachie, in April, 1875.

195th. George Freeman, killed by armed white men, at or near Clinton, and thrown in a creek, in 1871.

196th. Nathan Pratt, killed by armed white men, at or near Sam Edmond's place, in Caddo Parish, in 1870; reason, voting Radical ticket. Sixteen miles from Shreveport.

197th. William Smith, killed at or near Keachie, by white men, in 1874.

198th. Elias Flood, badly beaten by John Fish, white, at or near Keachie, in 1874.

199th. Thales Clarence, badly whipped by Charley Shaler, white, at or near Keachie, in 1872.

200th. Amos Smith, badly whipped by Silas Mason (white), on Mrs. Ward's place, in 1875.

201st. Antoine Williams, killed by armed white men, 1873.

202d. Houston Thomas, badly whipped by white men at or near John Holmes' place, in 1874.

203d. Brant Slone, killed by Samuel Marglaton (white), about seven miles from Mansfield, on his place, in 1868.

204th. William Jones, killed by white men, one mile from Mansfield, in 1868.

205th. Gabe White, killed by Lewis Tidwell (colored), about 1½ miles from Mansfield, and is not yet arrested—1874.

206th. Bill Wilson, killed by Owen Porter, at or near Mark ———, on Sabine River, in 1873.

207th. David Silas, killed by Joe Dickerson (white), on the river road, about two miles from Mansfield, in 1870.

208th. Henry Thomas, killed by white men on Mr. Alexander's place, in 1867.

209th. John Cotton, whipped badly by Albert Kidd (white), on his place, in 1866.

210th. Alexander Porter, beaten severely on John Sheldon's place, in 1874.

211th. Simon Hall, badly beaten by white men on J. Sheldon's place, because he was Radical, in 1874.

212th. George Barbery, beat badly by white men on John Wagoner's place, because he said he was a Radical from head to foot, in 1874.

213th. Miss Lily and Lidie Ford (colored), badly beaten, even the blood beat out of her, and two daughters badly beaten by the same white men because she would not let them sleep with her. One of them who whipped her was Bishops, on his place, about two and a half miles from Mansfield, in 1873.

214th. Frank Handy, shot by Bill Harris (white), on William Harris' place, in 1868.

215th. Climer Birdie, killed by a white man on Bob Acres' place, in 1867.

216th. Jack Davis, killed by white men on Leveny Hardee's place. Shot through the back of the house, July, 1873.

217th. Ned Casey, killed by John Moore (colored), on Remell place, in 1871.

218th. Lottie Samples, badly whipped by Wash. Samples, on his place, in 1868, '69, '70, '71, '72, and 1873.

219th. Miss Louise was badly whipped by Wash. Samples, on his place, in 1868, '69, '70, '71, '72, and 1873; also whipped my brother. We have lived with Mr. Samples for 13 or 14 years. I was whipped severely in 1872. This is my own statement.

LOUISA SAMPLES, Colored.

220th. Sam Maybury, whipped near to death by Lord Hill and Henry Smith, white men. He afterward died from the effects of the beating. This was in Mansfield, in December, 1865. Several other white men helped to beat him.

221st. A young colored man was killed on John McMillen's place by a colored man, in 1873.

222d. Henry West, badly whipped by Butler Williams, in or near Mansfield, November 2d, 1874, and since beat him near to death.

223d. An old man (colored) was killed by Hersel ———, a white man, about cotton, while on their way to Shreveport, in the road, 1866.

224th. George, a colored man, killed on John McMillen's place by a white man, in 1873.

225th. Nancy Brooks, badly whipped by Davis, a white man, on Hammond Scott's place, in 1873.

226th. Henry Alexander, badly whipped by Justers, a white man, now at or near Shreveport, in 1871.

CADDO PARISH.

227th. Hiram Coleman, whipped and beat on the head with a six-shooter by two white men, at or near Shreveport, in 1870.

229th. Old man Jack Horse and son was badly beat and shot at by white men—they were as bloody as hogs—at or near Jack Horse's place, going to the election November 7, 1870.

229th. Old man Mack Sambola, killed by a colored man.

230th. Louis Page, killed by Bill Anderson (colored), between Black's place, Holingworth, in 1873.

231st. Mary Allen (colored), whipped by Williams Henrick, on his place, in 1874.

232d. Ned Elis, badly whipped by Borne McMillan, white, on his place, in 1868.

233d. William Smith, badly beaten by David Adams, white, at or near Spring Ridge, in 1874.

234th. John Williams, badly beat by James Fullove, white, on his place, in 1873.

235th. Feary White, badly beat by Taton Fullove on his place, in 1874.

236th. John Dragge, killed by white men because he was holding colored meeting at or near Cotton Seed Point, in 1868.

237th. Pine Hill George, badly whipped by white men on Rance Cole's place, in 1868.

238th. Daniel Berry, shot badly by Bill Boatman, and died since from the effect of his wound, at or near Lick Kittles, in 1868.

- 239th. Reeves Lake, shot by John Lake on his place, and has since died from his wound, in the year 1867.
- 240th. Dick Lakes, killed by white men at or near Lickskillet, in 1867.
- 241st. Edmond Adams, shot by armed white men on Mr. Robinson's place, in 1867.
- 242d. Rufe Hunter, shot by Luke Marks, white, on Marks's place, at or near Summer Grove, in 1868.
- 243d. Bob Owen Hinges, killed by white men on J. W. Pickens' place, in 1867.
- 244th. Gustaves Guse, badly whipped by Mack Marion, white, at or near his place, at Sunny Groves, in 1873.
- 245th. Willis Rogers, badly whipped and throat cut and nearly killed by Capt. Wm. Cotts, on Andrew Pickens' place, at or near Sunny Grove, in 1871.
- 246th. Friday Ward had his arm broke by Mack Moring, white, at or near Sunny Grove, in 1872.
- 247th. Walton Goss, badly whipped by Dr. Harris, white, on his place; also David Goss, whipped badly by Dr. Harris on his place, in 1874.
- 248th. Delia Goss, badly whipped by Dr. Harris; also, he whipped my children whenever he wanted to, and I could not help myself. All was done by Dr. Harris, and on his place, in 1874.
- 249th. Peter McCrary was badly beaten by Cicen Steven and Davis Lee. He was staked out by his feet and hands in front of a grocery store on Widow Pickens' place, at or near Krachie, because he said they were drabs, 1874.
- 250th. Jones, colored, killed by a white man, in 1872.
- 251st. Able Johnson, killed at or near Shreveport, by a colored man, in 1871.
- 252d. John Lebaun, killed by a white man, in 1874.
- 253d. Albert Gifford, killed by a white boy, in 1872.
- 254th. Members, a colored man, taken from John Johnson's brick-yard, and killed by John Johnson and other white men, in 1868.
- 256th. Jim Jinkins, killed about six miles from Shreveport, by Joe Bowls, David Simpson, and Sandy Jones, white men, in 1874.
- 257th. Old man Mead (colored), killed by Thomas Coots, in De Soto Parish, in 1868.
- 258th. Lamm, a colored man, wounded by Jules Pounner and Thomas Coots, white men, 1866.
- 259th. Frances Moses, whipped nearly to death by John Gambles (white), September, 1865.
- 260th. Alsee, a colored boy about 14 years of age, was beaten nearly to death on James M. Wilson's place, about or near Shreveport, Louisiana, by Neal Wilson (white), October 15 or 16, 1875.
- 261st. George Campbell, badly shot by W. M. Blackwell, a white man, and Markus Johnson, a colored man, accused of disturbing the peace of the city of Shreveport, in or near Shreveport, on or about the 16th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1875.
- 262d. Hartman Jones, killed by white men on Dr. Corres' plantation, in 1868.

CADDO PARISH.

- 263d. Henry Clay, killed by John Harris (white), on the lake, about three or four miles from Morning Port, ner Mr. Jackson's plantation, in 1873.
- 264th. Manuel Watley, killed by Dick Harrison and brother, on John Hamilton's plantation, 1868.
- 265th. Samuel Betman, killed by Dave Bithloman (white), at Albany Landing, on Caddo Lake, in 1868.
- 266th. George Carter, badly whipped by Bill Longley (white), on his place, in 1874.
- 267th. Sally Kimmon, badly beaten and her arm broken by Sam Patterson (white), in 1871.
- 268th. Milles Simn, badly whipped and stabbed, because she did not want to sleep with him, except he would marry her, and he would not marry her. This was done by a white man named Bill Langly, in 1872.
- 269th. Adam Thomas, badly whipped by Nathan Harris (white), at Parnell's store, in 1875.
- 270th. Pete Marlow, badly whipped by white men on Mrs. Pickens's plantation, at or near Sunny Grove, 1874.
- 271st. Bob Richmond, badly whipped by armed white men, at or near Harrell plantation, and his clothes taken off, 1870.
- 272d. Ben. Harris, killed by white men on Bill Acres' plantation, in the year 1874.
- 273d. Harvey Cornell, killed by white men on Samuel Edmond's plantation, in 1869.
- 274th. Simon (colored), killed by white men on Sam Acres' plantation, in 1870.
- 275th. Frances Anderson, badly whipped by white men on Bill Simpson's plantation, by Bill Simpson and others, 1870.
- 276th. Dick Garder, badly whipped by white men on Bill Simpson's plantation, in 1870.

- 277th. Handy Davis (colored), badly whipped by Joe Davis (white), on his plantation in 1873.
- 278th. Burritt Mitchell, killed by white men at or near Greenwood, in the year 1870.
- 279th. Argell Parker, killed by white men; taken from his house at night, about two miles from Mourningport, 1868.
- 280th. Wilson Parker, killed by white men on his father's place, at or near Mourningport, 1870.
- 281st. Simon Hunting, killed by white men about two miles from Mourningport, 1870.
- 282d. Bill Goings, killed by white men about two miles from Mourningport, in 1870.
- 283d. Mandid (colored), killed by white men about two miles from Mourningport; these were all killed for holding club meeting in 1870.
- 284th. Joe Lewis, shot by white men about two miles from Mourningport, in 1870.
- 285th. Albert Jackson, shot by white men, on Dick Harrison's plantation, in 1866.
- 286th. James Mitchell, badly whipped by Billy Harrison (white), on Dick Harrison's plantation, in 1866.
- 287th. Two colored men found dead at or near Carroll Jones' plantation, back of the old field grave-yard, April 23, 1875.
- 288th. General Green (colored), killed or beat to death by Henderson, a white man, on Little Levee Bend plantation, 1868.
- 289th. Louis Clarke, badly whipped by Albert Gristler, on his plantation, a white man, 1873.
- 290th. Albert Rainey, badly whipped by Albert Gristler (white), on his plantation, in 1873.
- 291st. Edmond (colored), killed by white men on Washington's plantation, 1869.
- 292d. A colored man, name unknown, killed by white men on Wimmis' plantation, about two miles and a half from Shreveport, Caddo Parish, in the year 1868.
- 293d. Mary Allen, colored, whipped by Henrick on old John Henrick's plantation, in 1874.
- 294th. John Williams, shot by white men, headed by Bill Barton, on John Jones' plantation, in 1866.
- 295th. George Grise, killed by a lick in the head with a rod of iron, by Eli Coleman, white, on his plantation, in 1868.
- 296th. Silas Porter was badly cut with a knife by Eli Coleman, white, on his plantation, in 1858.
- 297th. Marsh Johnson, badly beaten by Thomas Jourdan and Bill Coleman (both white), on Eli Coleman's plantation, in 1868.
- 298th. Dick White, shot by white men at or near Sunny Grove, in 1874, about his crop.
- 299th. Bob White, hung by white men at or near Sunny Grove, on Mrs. Picken's, and then thrown in the river, 1868.
- 300th. Richard Jones, badly whipped by Lite Marks, on his place, in 1870, simply because he was not afraid of him.
- 301st. Elder Marks, by Lite Marks and other white men, on Marks' plantation, in 1870.
- 302d. Dick Jackson, shot by armed white men near Greenwood, Caddo, in 1868.
- 303d. Rufus Bowles, badly whipped by Caspen Cottes, white, in 1873.
- 304th. Alex. Hamilton, badly whipped by Little Marks, on his plantation, in 1872.
- 305th. Toney Lee, badly whipped by Caspen Cottes, white, on his plantation, in 1868.
- 306th. John Daton was badly whipped by Sam. Madison, white, and other white men, on Madison plantation; accused of stealing a saddle, and afterward put in jail, 1874.
- 307th. James Henrick, killed by white men on Mrs. Morres's plantation, in 1867.
- 308th. Elbert, colored, killed on government land by white men, in 1870.
- 309th. George, colored, killed by white men at or near Converse Mills, in 1870.
- 310th. Elijah Johnson, colored, killed by George Johnson, white, on Micky Johnson's plantation, at or near Spring Ridge, in 1868.
- 311th. Cato Robinson, shot by a white, at or near Shreveport, in 1868.
- 312th. Neuse Reeves, shot by a white man at or near Shreveport, in 1874.
- 313th. Robert Johnson, killed by men, in 1868.
- 314th. James Watson, killed by Joe Parker, near the Four Mile Springs, for voting Radical ticket, in 1868.
- 315th. Asa Dorten, killed by Isaac Johnson, colored, near Claiborne Feaster's plantation, in 1870.
- 316th. Henry Davis, killed by Manuel, colored, on C. Foster's plantation, in 1870.
- 317th. Daniel Eaderoy, killed by Joe Daniels, colored, at or near Crow's plantation, 1871.
- 318th. Bright Mitchell, killed by white men at or near Greenwood, in 1868.
- 319th. Capus Holt, killed by Bill Boatman at or near Greenwood, in 1868.

- 320th. James Turner, badly whipped by Parson Doty and other white men on Dowty's plantation, 1871.
- 321st. Louis Coleman, badly whipped by William White, a white man, on White's plantation, in 1871.
- 322d. Coleman, colored, killed on Epps's plantation, and two other colored men, one hung, one shot, by white men, in 1867; names unknown.
- 323d. Manuel Gregory, hung by white men for talking to a white girl at or near Briton Bayou, six miles from Shreveport, in 1874.
- 324th. Mack Williams, killed by Sam Coleman on Eli Coleman's place, in 1872.
- 325th. Henry Bellas, killed by being beat to death by Allen Dimcrice and other white men, at or near Shreveport and Bob Carres' plantation, 1870.
- 326th. Moses Dundo, shot on Rhodes' plantation by a colored man, in 1875.
- 327th. Asa Camby, killed by Jack McFalland and Wm. Lowells, in 1866.
- 328th. Jack Vance, killed by white men and burnt, in 1874.
- 329th. Frank Page, whipped badly by Jack Davidson, white, on Gasgrove plantation, in 1871.
- 330th. Jeff, colored, killed on Rulfort place by white men, in 1866.
- 331st. Anthony, colored, shot at or near Fortison Miles' by white men, 1873.
- 332d. Charley Williams, killed on Dr. Regan's plantation by colored men, in 1872.
- 333d. Abe. Young, shot by white men on Angles plantation, spouting about voting Republican ticket, in 1874.
- 334th. Dan Dixon, shot by a colored man on Lodon place, in 1874.
- 335th Henry Stephen, shot on Jack Harris' plantation, in 1873; and Bill Young, shot by Waeb. Young on Page's plantation, in 1873.
- 336th. Dick Jackson, whipped, tied hand and feet, and then shot near Caddo Lake, in 1870.
- 337th. Jack Johnson, shot by Kite Gooden, colored, near Greenwood, in 1873.
- 338th. Nancy, colored, killed by a colored man on Page's plantation, in 1867.
- 339th. Frank Dawson, whipped and shot by Willis Albert on Albert's plantation, in 1874.
- 340th. Marshall Cato, beaten over the head with a six-shooter by a white man, in 1874.
- 341st. Six colored men hung, Vance's, Good's plantation, names unknown, by white men, in 1869.
- 342d. Ceaser Johnson, colored, killed by Walton, colored, on Gordon plantation, in 1871.
- 343d. Wallace, colored, killed by Frank Black, colored, a Democrat, at Allen's brick-yard, near Shreveport, 1874.
- 344th. Wilson, colored, killed by Jack Wiggins, colored, on Mrs. Hart's plantation, in 1872.
- 345th. Albert Hamilton, badly whipped by Dr. Davis on his plantation, in 1874.
- 346th. Hannibal Jones, badly beat by Dr. Davis, white, about his cotton accounts and crops, in the city of Shreveport, in 1873.
- 347th. Old man Lory, colored, killed by a white man on Frank Logan's plantation, in 1868.
- 348th. Louis Gray, killed by white men on the lake, in 1868.
- 349th. Thomas Jackson, killed by armed white men at Mourningport, in 1868.
- 350th. Russel Johnson, badly whipped by white men in Shreveport, in 1874.
- 351st. Jerry Green, colored, killed by Robert Logan, colored, on Charley Baley's plantation.
- 352d. Reeves Lake, badly wounded and since died, shot by Long Shaw and another white man, half a mile from Lickett, 1867.
- 353d. Dick Lake, killed by the same crowd at the same place, in 1867.
- 354th. John Bowan, killed by Jack King, colored, on Mrs. Brain's plantation, in 1871.
- 355th. Walton Hill, badly whipped by Dr. Scurves, white, on his plantation, year unknown.
- 356th. Robert Owen, killed by armed white men two miles from Sunny Groves, for voting the Republican ticket, in 1868.
- 357th. Dick Albatross, colored, killed by John Lee, colored, on Gordon plantations, in the year 1872.
- 358th. Ander Eliza Lacy, badly whipped by white men, who went to her house in the night on Merceo's plantation, name unknown, in 1868.
- 359th. Calvin, colored, was run from Johnson's plantation, about six or seven miles, and then killed, in 1868.
- 360th. David R. Johnson, whipped by Newton Glover, white, in Homer, in 1874.

CLAIBORNE PARISH.

- 361st. Bob Reese, badly whipped by Peter Meantio, white, in Homer, in 1874.
- 362d. William Madison, colored, killed by white men at or near Colquate, officers of election, in 1868.

- 363d. Burch Frilley, killed by white men at or near Colquate, in 1875.
 364th. Miles Dickerson, badly whipped by white men on Mrs. Hill's plantation, in 1868.
 365th. Scott Ranger, whipped by white men on Burch plantation, in 1868, near Homer.
 366th. John Roberson, badly whipped by white men at Homer, in 1868.
 367th. Sidney Rogers, wounded by white men and since died, in Homer, in 1873.
 368th. M. Elmore, badly whipped by Furgerson, white, in Homer, in 1873.
 369th. Sam Williams, shot by Peter Demento (white), in Homer, in 1874.
 370th. John Lee, badly whipped by James Whitaker, in Homer, in 1868.
 371st. Mattie Lee, badly whipped by same party, in 1874.
 372d. Jeannette Litman, badly whipped by same party, 1872.
 373d. Mite Parker, whipped badly by Peter Demento on his plantation, in 1868.
 374th. Edmund Mitchell, badly whipped by Silas Clark, white, on his plantation, in 1869.

DE SOTO PARISH.

- 375th. Adam Peterson, badly beaten by William Jourden on his plantation, in 1869.
 376th. Moses, colored, badly whipped by white men on Charley Chase's plantation, in 1874.

NATCHITOCHES PARISH.

- 377th. Henry Hunter, badly whipped by Charley Chase, white, on his plantation, in 1874.
 378th. Singmore Louis, badly whipped by white men at or in Natchitoches Parish, names unknown, 1874.
 379th. Louis Jones, killed by Charley Chase on his place, because he did not go to pounding when he told him to. This was in 1873.

SABINE PARISH.

- 380th. Molton Pluntel, killed by a white man, name unknown, because she refused to make a fire when he told her, at or near Pleasant Hill, 1868.
 381st. Brown, colored, killed by white men about two miles from Fort Jessee, in 1867.
 382d. Canus Wright, killed by white men, taken out of jail and hung at Fort Jessee, in 1868.
 383d. Frances, colored, beaten nearly to death by Mack Armstrong and Brooks, white men, because she refused to live with Armstrong any longer. This was on Joe Wood's plantation, in 1870.
 384th. Miss Morris, colored, severely beaten by Thomas Armstrong, white, on his plantation near Rains' Mills Co., in 1868, she being enceinte at the time about five months.
 385th. Tarvey Harrison, killed on Mr. D. Blackshade's plantation, a white man, in 1869, accused of voting a Republican ticket.
 386th. John Jackson, killed by white men on his own place, in 1872.
 387th. George Kenneday, hung by white men; he was taken from J. Vilman's plantation, and taken out on the railroad, in 1867—about doing his duty.
 388th. Hannah Jackson, badly whipped by Lansing Rains, white, on his place, because she refused to let him take her child.
 389th. Margeretta, colored, badly whipped by John Woods, white, on his plantation, in 1874.
 390th. Elijah Molby, killed by white men named Fernis, Gear, and Brother, in 1874. They tried to take his wife away from him in the woods, in 1874.
 391st. Hamp Gibbs, killed by white men because he would not live with his owners. His old master was instrumental in having him killed, Mr. Gibbs doing the deed, in 1867.
 392d. George Camby, hung by white men on Jeff. Villman's plantation, in 1868, no cause.
 393d. Moses Thompson, hung by white men on Jack Thompson's plantation, in 1867.
 394th. Jones Jurdan, killed by Jedro Sims, white, on Jedro plantation, in 1867.
 395th. Mack Armstrong, killed by Captain Finlay, white, at or near Pleasant Hill, in 1866.
 396th. John Davis, killed by white men, at night, in 1870. Place unknown.
 397th. Jessie Argylls, killed by a colored man at Cornells' Mills, in 1872.
 398th. Sandy Martin, killed by a colored man with a rock and thrown overboard, in 1874.
 399th. Andrew Mitchell, whipped by Joe Bolls, white, on his place, in 1871.
 400th. Aaron Marsh, badly whipped by George Cowers, white, and brother, on his plantation, in 1874, near Spring Ridge.

401st. Elijah Swanson, badly whipped by John Caldwell, white, in his stable, in March, 1874

DE SOTO PARISH.

402d. Ross Hall, killed by B. S. Horton and his company, white men, on Ned Edmond's place, in 1865.

403d. Silas Fuller, beat with a six-shooter by John Fisher, white, on Nat More's plantation, in 1873.

404th. Peter Hunter, killed by Sam Hopgood, white, on B. Davidson's plantation, in 1869.

405th. Ben. Green, killed by Sam Hopgood and others, whites, on B. Davidson's plantation, in 1870.

406th. Asa Hogan, badly whipped by a white man, name unknown, at or near Mansfield, in 1874.

407th. Asa, colored, killed by Thomas Hopgood on B. Davidson's, at or near Grand Cane, in 1870.

CADDO PARISH.

408th. Solomon Simms, killed by white men at or near Mackkidge Johnson's plantation, because he held club meetings, in 1868.

409th. Silvia Brown Lee, colored, badly whipped by Jack Ward and his men, all white, to make her tell where they would find her husband. This was in 1868.

410th. Rube Williams, colored, shot at by Doctor Blackwell, white, in Shreveport, in 1874.

411th. John McGruer, colored, killed by whites in election times. Ed. Stringer did the killing, in 1868.

412th. Bob Gray, killed by Charley Washington, white, in 1868.

413th. John Miplass, colored, killed by Daniel Adams, colored, at Shreveport, in 1870.

414th. Meams Fielas, colored, badly whipped by some party, 1870.

415th. David Robinson, colored, whipped by Dick Vincent, white, in Bossier Parish, in 1874.

416th. Thomas Reason, colored, badly whipped by Thomas Johnson, white, in Macky's brickyard, Shreveport, 1874.

417th. Albert Bates, colored, badly whipped by Thomas Anderson, white, at Shreveport, in 1875.

418th. William Gaine's, colored, killed by Jim Stewart, colored, at or near Shreveport, in 1870.

419th. Newton Stevens, colored, killed by white men, on John Page's place, in 1868.

420th. Henry Dixon, colored, killed by armed white men, on John Page's plantation, in 1868.

421st. Anderson, white, killed at Bean's place, in 1868.

422d. Marshall Davis, killed at Bean's place, in 1868.

423d. Henry Allen, killed by William Harris, white, on his father's plantation, in 1873.

424th. Ralph Murrell, killed by Dan Curvis, white, an old man, Langley Plantation, about 9 miles from Mourningport, 1873.

425th. Lizzie Coleman, badly whipped by Langers Bigaman and Borington, white men, in 1875.

426th. John Semmes, badly beat, then hung by armed white men, in 1869.

427th. Davis Jackson, badly whipped, hung afterward, but not killed, by armed white men, in 1869, on public road.

428th. Ellen Jones, badly whipped by Large Thomasson, white, on his plantation, in 1869.

429th. Mary Camps, beat badly over the head by James Fullgroves, jr., in 1873.

430th. George Rogers, badly whipped by Jack Hollingsworth, white, on his plantation, in 1870.

431st. Hiram Smith, whipped by William Davis, white, on Mrs. Walker's plantation, in 1875.

432d. Eliza Flood, badly beat over the head with a Derringer, by John Fisher, white, in 1874.

433d. Louisa Jones, whipped by D. A. Simpson, white, on Aleck Simpson's plantation, in the year 1867.

434th. Giles Gibbs (colored), badly whipped, and then tied to a horse and dragged about five miles through creeks, lakes, with the rope around his neck. This was done by D. D. Simpson and other white men on his place, in 1875.

435th. Adelaine Key badly whipped on his (D. A. Simpson's) plantation, and by him, in 1871.

- 436th. Rosamond Jones, whipped by D. A. Simpson on his plantation, in 1874.
 437th. John Hopps, killed by Larda Warner (white), on Cleman's plantation, on the 10th day of September, 1873.
 438th. David Rachel (colored), killed by Dick Johnson (colored), on Sam Washington's plantation, 6 miles from Shreveport, 1870.
 439th. Frank Rachel (colored), killed by the same man and on the same place, in 1870.
 440th. Beckitama Rachel, shot by the same man on the same place, in 1870.
 441st. Leo (colored), whipped by white men at the race track, in 1870.

CLAIBORNE PARISH.

- 442d. Jones (colored), shot about voting a Radical ticket at or near Haynesville, by white men, 1874.
 443d. Green Jackson, badly whipped with a hand-saw, and will never get over it. Also several more on the same place. Done on old James Smith's place, by white men, in 1868.
 444th. Ned Neally, shot and badly hurt by white men, on James Smith's place, in 1868.
 445th. Richard Green, badly beat by white men, on James Smith's plantation, for voting a Republican ticket, 1866.
 446th. Isom (colored), shot by James Blacksock, on James Nocks' plantation, and will not recover, in 1873.
 447th. Adelaine Mackwell, badly whipped by white men, on Jack Markwell's plantation, three miles from Haynesville.
 448th. Louise Tippet, killed by being beaten by white men, on Ashbury Hillie's plantation—one man did the killing—in 1868.
 449th. Henry Ham, shot by Thomas Larkins (white), on Tyler's plantation, in 1873.
 450th. Calvin Owens, badly whipped by Jack Daniels (white), on his plantation, trying to make her work, 1873.
 451st. Wash. Casselin, badly whipped by Ned and James Vance, brothers (white), on J. Vance's place, in 1868.
 452d. Nelson Moore, badly beaten by John Molton (white), on Molton's plantation, in 1873.
 453d. Jack Shanbress (colored), badly whipped and shot by white men, on Bob Bower's plantation, because he was president of a Republican club, in 1868.
 454th. Ben. Gardner (colored), badly beaten by white men, on Mr. Gamble's plantation, because he refused to stay on the place another year. This was in 1874.
 455th. Mint Mocks, badly beaten by white men, because he refused to live on the place any longer; this was in 1872.
 456th. Bob Glesten (colored), badly whipped by white men, on Doctor Macedo's plantation, in 1870.
 457th. David Lane (colored), wounded by Lock Flestoon (white), on his plantation in Homer, 1873.
 458th. Ben Chapman, beat nearly to death by Ned Litman, on Ned Litman's plantation, in 1874.
 459th. Sam Cooper (colored), beat nearly to death by Bob Roberts (white), and also took away his son and carried him to Texas, 1870.
 460th. Caroline Lee, badly whipped by Dave Penton (white), because she would not bind her children to him, on his plantation, in the year 1870.
 461st. Henry James (colored), badly whipped by white men, at or near Calquarte, in 1873.
 462d. John, a colored man, killed by fifteen white men, in or near Haynville; accused of asking a white lady an unfair question, 1872.
 463d. Joe Norton, colored, killed by Henry Norton, colored, on old man Doton's plantation, 1870.
 464th. Asa, a colored man, killed by white men at or near Lisbonville; also another colored man, name unknown, killed at the same time and place, and by the same crowd, 1870.
 465th. Mingo Edmunds, whipped and run off from his home by white men, in 1868.
 466th. Martin Jefferson, colored, beat, kicked, and taken from his home and has never been seen since; done by white men, in 1875.
 467th. Dick Hashlin, colored, badly beaten by old man Tangles on his plantation, in 1868.
 468th. Harris Payne and Emily Payne, colored, beat by white men on Aston Payne's plantation, in 1867.
 469th. Pensey Long, colored, badly beat in the woods by Bill Hays and other white men, in the year 1872.
 470th. Ben Jackson, colored, badly beat by Sam and Bill Hays, white, on Bill Hays's plantation, in 1872.
 471st. James Hill, colored, beaten by Louis Bowen and other whites, George Price's plantation, in 1871.

- 473d. George Hill, colored, badly beat by white men on Westley Grater's plantation, in 1871.
- 473d. Jack Barrows, colored, badly beat by white men on Mrs. Norman's plantation; her son and Newte Glener and another white man did the whipping, in 1870.
- 474th. Taylor Bittell, colored, badly whipped by Newte Glener, white, on Mrs. Norman's plantation, 1870.
- 475th. Jerry Hamilton, colored, cut with an axe on the head by Ben Adkins and nearly killed. Adkins was a colored man; done at Homer, in 1875.
- 476th. Thomas Willis, colored, badly whipped and laid up three months by Joe Neally and other whites, 1874.
- 477th. Morris Brown, colored, badly beat by Mark and Park Shaw, white, on J. Overte's plantation, 1871.
- 478th. Wash McAdams, colored, badly beat by armed white men at or near Bedford Place, in 1868.
- 479th. John Russian, colored, badly beat by white men near Bedford Place, in 1868.
- 480th. James Morse, colored, killed by white men on Mr. Thomas's plantation; accused of asking a white girl a delicate question, 1869.
- 481st. McCready Blackman, colored, killed by white men on Dr. Skeel's plantation, 1866.
- 482d. Margaret Carves, colored, killed by John Love, a white man, on Dr. Carves' plantation, in 18—.
- 483d. John Carter, colored, badly whipped by white men on the road about two miles from Lisbon, in 1872.
- 484th. Wash Edmunds, colored, badly beat by white men in Homer, in 1875.
- 485th. Mollie Kembrow, colored, badly whipped by white men on Dr. Madruke's plantation, 1868.
- 486th. Eliza Smith, colored, badly whipped by Frank Hall on his plantation about not being able to work while sick, 1868.
- 487th. Louis, a colored man, killed by R. Brown, white, on his plantation, 1870.
- 488th. Steele Core, colored, killed by John Blackman, colored, on Burrell Johnson's plantation, 1870.
- 489th. Bedford Green, colored, badly whipped by Asa Adams and Bill Allen, whites, on Allen's plantation, 1870.
- 490th. Everith Alvery, badly whipped by white men on Dr. Mark's plantation, because he was president of a Republican club, 1868.
- 491st. Richard Meeders, colored, badly whipped by Nester, Glover, and other white men, in 1868.
- 492d. Blanch Anne Morgan, colored, badly whipped by old man Tangles, white, on his plantation, 1870.
- 493d. Loranía Parks, colored, badly whipped and beat with a six-shooter over the head by J. Tangles, white, in 1870.
- 494th. Wiley Morgan, colored, badly beat and his eyes knocked out by Joe Tangles, on his plantation, in 1870.
- 495th. Hannah Langly, colored, beat near to death by armed white men concerning cotton on Henry Clarke Porter's plantation, in 1870.
- 496th. Nelson Moore, colored, dragged by a horse and badly beat, from which he will not recover, simply because he would not live with John Nocks; done by white men, in 1871.
- 497th. Gives Bill, colored, badly whipped and kicked nearly to death by Law Ferguson, white, at Homer, in 1874.
- 498th. A colored man killed and thrown into the Larborn Creek, on or near George Garter's plantation, in 1874.
- 499th. Thomas Marks, colored, killed by white men at or near Dutch Town, in 1874.
- 500th. Aunt Emiline, colored, killed by Newt Glover, a white man, at or near ———, in 1868.
- 501st. Yerk Brown, colored, badly beat by white men on Trabor's place, in 1874.
- 502d. Henry Sham, colored, beat by white men on Ferguson's plantation, in 1871.
- 503d. Albert Brown, killed by whites on J. Garter's plantation, in 1868.
- 504th. Laura Henry, colored, badly whipped by white men because she refused to live on Jenkins' place, in 1870.
- 506th. Pleas Jash, colored, badly whipped by white men on George Garter's plantation, in 1870.
- 507th. Green Amos, colored, shot from back of the house by white men on George Garter's plantation, in 1873.
- 508th. A colored man, James, killed by George Calvin, colored, on Philip Travor's plantation, in 1873. He is now in Baton Rouge.
- 509th. George Hill, colored, badly beat by armed white men on Mark Garter's at or near Lisbon, in 1872.
- 510th. Dick Johnson, colored, badly beat and since died from the wounds; done by white men on Mrs. Cook's plantation, in 1872.

511th. Florida Johnson, colored, burned to death by white men about three and a half miles from Homer, in 1873.

512th. Henry Simmons, colored, killed while working in the field by white men five miles from Homer, in 1872.

513th. Antino Tipet, colored, killed by white men on old man Tipet's plantation, in 1868.

514th. Louis Epps, colored, badly whipped by George Garter, white, on his plantation, in 1875.

515th. Louis Epps, colored, badly whipped by George Garter, white, on his plantation, in 1875.

516th. Ned Sapps, colored, badly whipped by two of Tungles' sons about three miles from Homer on Tungles' place, in 1875.

517th. Phebe Lonis, colored, shot by her husband, William Louis, colored, about one mile from Homer, in 1873.

518th. Henry Moore, colored, killed by white men and burned; accused of living with a white girl near Homer, in 1873.

519th. Luke Kenner, colored, killed by white men near Kenner's plantation; accused of harboring colored men, in 1873.

520th. Maurice, colored, killed by white men at or near Homer about his cotton, in 1867.

521st. Thomas Grisby, colored, killed by a colored man on Dr. Beatty's plantation, in 1874.

522d. Westley Gaster, colored, killed by John Grater's two sons on Godly plantation, in 1874.

523d. Louis Butler, colored, killed by colored men on Noxer plantation, in 1872.

524th. William Willis, colored, badly beaten by colored boys at or near Homer, J. Buttowa, J. Carles, and others, in 1869.

525th. David, colored, killed by white men about voting on Thomas Nelson's plantation, in 1868.

526th. Berry Hill, colored, badly beaten with a six shooter about voting, by William Allen and others, white, in 1868, Mineville.

527th. Isaac Dannel, colored, shot by Louis Brown, white, on John Harris's plantation; L. Brown trying to take his wife, in 1874.

528th. Cass Williams (colored), badly beat on Mr. Dickley's plantation, in 1874, by Jake and Keth Peckleys, whites.

529th. Randell Johnson (colored), shot by Joe Tungles (white) on George Grater's plantation, 1871.

530th. Henry Thomas (colored), killed by E. Olives (colored), on David Traler's place, 1873; was sent to penitentiary.

531st. Isaac Newton (colored), was killed by whites carrying his children from J. C. Tippet's plantation, and was put in the Middle Fork Creek, 1870.

LINCOLN PARISH.

532d. Booker (colored), killed by Bolly Chambers (white), who tried to take Booker's wife from him, on Caldwell plantation, 1873.

BIENVILLE PARISH.

533d. Peter Jones (colored), killed by white men on Jones's plantation, 1872.

WEBSTER PARISH.

534th. Jack Crown (colored), beat to death by colored men on Crown's plantation, 1868.

535th. Eli Brigham (colored), badly beat by a white man at or near Minden, 1874.

536th. Martin Hadson (colored), shot by Cutler's sons (white) on Slanlessing's plantation, 1865.

537th. Willis Luntton (white) shot and killed Thomas Washington (colored) on T. Marzenia's plantation, 1868.

538th. Hanley Perry (colored), badly whipped by Clarence Bright (white) for wanting a settlement with him at Minden, 1865.

539th. John Wallace (colored), killed and put in a barrel, by white men, and thrown into the river eight miles from Minden, 1873.

540th. Henry Bullocks (colored), badly whipped by Willis Lucifer (white), on Thomas Marzenia's plantation, 1868.

541st. Abe McLaughin (colored), badly beat on old man Sliddell's plantation, or Killing plantation, 1868.

542d. Jane Hawkins, badly whipped by Lunchford and Runson, on Plump's plantation, both white, because she refused to live with them, 1868.

- 543d. Unknown colored man killed and thrown in a well by Mack and Thomas Crow (white), on Crow's plantation, ten miles from Minden, 1868.
 544th. Andrew Williams (colored), whipped by Marzenia and other whites on his plantation, 1868.
 545th. Dennis Cornelia (colored), badly beat by armed white men in the road three miles from Minden, 1872.
 546th. Henry Wilson (colored), badly whipped by armed white men; year unknown.
 547th. Jourdan Miles (colored), badly whipped by Louis Morrey and brother, white men, on McDonald's plantation, 1868.
 548th. Albert Hanson (colored), whipped by Mr. Long (white), in 1868, on Cotter's plantation.
 549th. Calvin, a colored man, whipped by armed white men about nine miles from Minden, 1871.

JACKSON PARISH.

- 550th. Dick Harrow (colored), beaten by Squato Hopless in Vainville, 1871.
 551st. Mason Harrison (colored), killed by white men in Trenton, 1872.
 552d. Dick Hamilton (white), killed by Beales Turner (colored) on B. Shoulder's plantation, 1872.
 553d. Dock Harris (colored), beaten by Sid Morcanery in Vinandrass Town, 1874.
 554th. George Harris (colored), whipped by Dobe Axfort (white) in Minville, 1874.
 555th. Frank Lenington, beaten by James W—— (white) in Vainville, 1872.
 556th. Heury Jacobs (colored), killed by white men on Bob Yances' plantation, in 1866; also, Sam Thomas and Green Yances, killed by same white men on the same plantation, 1866.
 557th. Toney Smith, burnt to death because he looked and laughed at a white girl on Lawes or Claly plantation, 1867.
 558th. Harrison, colored, shot by white men on Rankius Thomas plantation, 1867.
 559th. Elis Hamilton, colored, badly whipped by white men, because he voted a Republican ticket, 1868.
 560th. Abram Shoulders, colored, and his three daughters badly whipped by white men, concerning his cotton and potato crop, 1868.
 561st. Park Richards, colored, badly beaten, because he voted as he chose, by white men, on old man Richards' place, 1868.
 562d. Aunt Polly Richards, badly whipped by John Shoulders, white, on his plantation, 1867.
 563d. Peter Jones, colored, killed by Albert Pormoles, while moving from his to J. C. Jones's plantation, 1874.
 564th. Cansson Tarleton, colored, beaten half to death, by Neute Smith, on plantation, 1874.
 565th. Jim Whifleton, colored, beaten severely by white men; he will not recover. Done on Mr. Kide's plantation, in Trenton City, 1873.
 566th. Morgan Shephard, colored, beaten by Buck Shoulders, a white man, on his father's plantation, 1874.
 567th. Jessie Warrick, colored, killed by a white man named James Whorns, on Markilty plantation, in the year 1873.
 568th. Mary Ann Harrow, badly whipped, and died from the wounds, on Mr. Tedd's plantation, 1866.
 569th. Toney Walker, colored, killed by white men on Mr. Walker's plantation, 1873. Killed about a colored woman.
 570th. Harris Romes, colored, badly whipped by white men, on Frank Price's plantation, 1872.
 571st. John Coots, colored, badly beaten by white men, because he was president of a club, 1870.
 572d. Wash Tarvers, colored, beat severely by white men, on Mrs. McLane's plantation, 1874.
 573d. Bob Williams, colored, shot badly by Bill Casson, white, on his plantation, 1867.
 574th. Jerry Kidd, colored, badly beat by white men, on Mr. Simpson's plantation, 1866.
 575th. Jerry Simms, colored, badly beaten by white men, in the town of Trenton, 1872.
 576th. Standford, a colored man, badly beaten by armed white men, on Mr. Jack Simms's plantation, 1874.
 577th. Isaac Pearson, colored, badly whipped by armed white men, 1868.
 578th. Mary Toade, colored, badly beaten by B. T. Kidd, on his plantation (white), 1867, in Claiborne Parish.
 579th. John Domkins, colored, killed by white men, about five miles from Painville, 1866.

- 580th. Isaac Jerry, colored, killed by armed white men, on his own place, 1868.
581st. Ben, a colored man, was killed by white men, on the same place, 1868.

CLAIBORNE PARISH.

- 582d. Barrett Telley, colored, killed by white men, on Mr. Rogers's plantation, 1874.
583d. Henry Willis, killed by white men, by being hung. He was taken from Willis's plantation, 1869.
584th. William Meeders, colored, killed by white men, because he held an office on Mrs. Smith's plantation, 1869.
585th. Beckett Wilson, colored, killed Pat McGold, colored; was sent to State penitentiary. Done 1873.
586th. Newton Hodge, colored, killed by white men; accused of having a white woman in the woods, 1873.

RIENVILLE PARISH.

- 587th. Unknown colored man killed by white armed men, about seventeen miles from Mindon, 1873.
588th. Two colored men, names unknown, killed by armed white men, six miles from Mindon, 1872.
589th. Anderson Clark, colored, badly whipped by white men, on Mr. Lowry's plantation; accused of asking a white lady an impertinent question, 1868.
590th. Abe Jackson, colored, beat by white men on Mr. Thompson's plantation, about his crop, done 1867.
591st. A young colored man, name unknown, killed by white men and thrown into a creek called Boon Creek, near lake Bisteneau, 1868.
592d. Jasper Smith, colored, killed by white men on Vance's plantation, 1863.
593d. H-nry Parker, colored, killed by a colored man named Martin Siplers, on Holler's plantation, 1867.
594th. Calvin, colored, killed by Dr. Moore, white, on Mrs. Adam's place, accused of cursing a white woman, 1871.
595th. Aunt Tapee, colored, whipped by white men on Mrs. Reed's plantation, 1871.
596th. Old man Bason, colored, killed by Mr. Lanton, white, on his plantation, 1872.

EAST BATON ROUGE PARISH.

- 597th. Frank Hays, colored, was badly beaten and all his crops taken from him, about six or eight miles northeast of Port Hudson, on Frank Vons's plantation, and Mr. Frank Vons was captain of the crowd of armed white men who done it; all white men, 1876.
598th. Peter, colored, severely beaten by armed white men, on Mudide plantation, about four miles from Port Hudson, and all his crops taken, 1875.
599th. Jack, colored, was hung dead, by white men, on De Loche's plantation, about three miles from the town of Saint Martinville, because he sauced a white man. The white man wanted him to leave his crop and he refused, thereupon the white man got a crowd of white men and hung him, and taken his crop from his family; 1875, July.
600th. William Henry, colored, hung dead, by a large crowd of white men, about four miles east of Saint Martinville, because he refused to let them take his crop. This was done December, 1875.
601st. Five colored men, names unknown, were hung dead, by a large crowd of armed white men at or near a place called Carn Crow, about eight miles from the town of Saint Martinville. They were taken from their homes at night, in January, 1875.

EAST FELICIANA PARISH.

- 602d. Picado Reilly, colored, badly beat by two white men, and put ropes around their necks and pretended they were going to hang them. Done on Mrs. Fletcher's plantation, about eight miles east of Bayou Sara, September, 1876.
603d. Abner Cariber, colored, badly shot by armed body of white men on Stair Hill plantation, about five miles east of Bayou Sara, October, 1875.
604th. Louis Washington, colored, was badly beaten over the head with a six-shooter, and considerably blooded by the same body of white men, on the same place, October, 1875.
605th. Sarah Parker (colored) was badly beat and her head cut with a six-shooter by armed white men on the Share Hill plantation on or about October, 1875.
606th. I was shot at, and my life threatened, and I was run off from my crop, and it was all taken from me by a crowd of armed white men, on Mrs. Fletcher's plantation, about thirteen miles east of Bayou Sara, August, 1875.

SAMUEL CHENEY.

607th. I was run off and all my crop taken from me, and my life threatened, by five armed white men on Wash Edwards's plantation, about six and a half miles east of Bayou Sara, September, 1875.

ISAAC COATES.

608th. Louis Smith was run off from his crop and all taken from him by a crowd of armed white men; his life threatened; his house broke open, and he was threatened by note being posted on the roadside; done about five miles from Bayou Sara, on Alex. Lile's plantation. September, 1875.

HENRY ADAMS,
U. S. Scout.

BOSSIER PARISH.

609th. Ishman Bob (colored), killed at Benton, by white men, 1868.

610th. Marshall Davis (colored), killed at Greely's plantation, 1868.

611th. Lonis Heftt (colored), killed at M. Ball's plantation, 1868.

612th. Rev. B. Membs (colored), killed at Dillard's plantation, 1868.

613th. Henry Harris (colored), drove from home to the woods for four months, 1874.

614th. A colored woman, name unknown, killed by white men. She was cut open, and her child taken out of her, and set side of her, being cut open while she was alive. Done by Ed. Stogles and another white man, near Dixisé plantation, 1868.

615th. Three colored men, names unknown, found dead on Woolus Sweat's plantation, belonging to Mrs. Pickett, about one mile from the house, their throats cut; they were buried by Doarity, a white man, who ran the plantation, 1868.

DE SOTO PARISH.

616th. Simus Riggs (colored), whipped near to death; arm broke by Dick Riggs and son, white men; done 1874.

617th. John Clinton (colored), runned off from Robert Scott's plantation, and his life threatened, 1875.

618th. Robert Parks (colored), beaten near to death over the head with a six-shooter, by Irvin Preinins, a white man, in a grocery called McCracken, at or near Kingston, 1875.

619th. Silas Moore (colored), badly beat by Bill Samples, (white), on his plantation, because he refused to vote the Democratic ticket, November, 1874.

620th. Simon Blandley (colored), beaten by white men, at or near Mansfield, because he voted the Republican ticket, November, 1874.

621st. Peter Hunter, killed by armed white men, on Bige Davidson's plantation, about fourteen miles from Keachie, southeast, and his crop taken away from his family, 1869.

622d. Asa Steward, colored, killed by armed white men in the night on the same place and by the same men; his crop also taken; done in 1869, and burned his corn.

623. Andrew Johnson, colored: I was badly beaten and my arm broken by James Payton, a white man, at or near Keachie, in August, 1874, and my wife was run off his plantation and our things taken from us, also our child's things.

CADDO PARISH.

624. Samuel Smith, badly whipped and bloodied by Captain Scott, white, because he went to church without his consent; then made him run away and leave his crop; done July 4, 1875.

625th. Henry, colored, shot badly by Marion McMillen, white, on McMillen's plantation, and he has not been seen since. All of his crops was taken from him. Done July 5, 1878.

626th. Patsy McCready, colored, badly whipped by John Ellis, white, on his place; accused of pulling a watermelon. Done June, 1875.

627th. Jesse, colored, killed by Sam Coleman, white, and all his crops taken from his family. Done in June, 1875.

628th. Asa Giggs, colored, killed by white men on John Harris's place, over the lake, about eight miles from Mourningport, 1868.

629th. Wilson Parker, killed on John Harris's plantation by white men.

630th. Simon Hunter, colored, killed by white men in the woods, 1868.

631st. John Jackson, colored, killed by Dr. Harris on John Harris's plantation; had his head shot off and cut open, 1868.

632d. Joe Fields, colored, shot by the same crowd of white men, on John Harris's plantation, 1868.

633d. John Waingus, colored, killed by the same crowd of white men on the same place, 1866.

634th. Parker, killed by the same crowd of white men and a hole dug and two colored men drove into it, 1868.

635th. Henry Johnson, colored, killed in 1873.

636th. Albert Mason, colored, killed in 1873.

637th. Lane McLane, colored, killed in 1872.

638th. John Angland, colored, killed in 1871.

639th. Reilly Fortbearry, colored, killed in 1871.

640th. John Philips, colored, shot in 1875.

641st. Isaac Bruce, colored, shot in 1871.

642d. Thomas Anderson, colored, shot in 1874.

643d. Archey Onealus, colored, shot in 1875.

644th. Corneus Potter, colored, wounded in 1875.

645th. Anthony Trammel, colored, killed in 1875.

646th. Merrick Trammel, colored, killed in 1875.

647th. Allen Coleman, colored, killed in 1875.

648th. Robert King, colored, killed in 1875.

649th. Nathan Virgin, colored, killed in 1875.

650th. Cannon Ermin, colored, killed in 1874.

651st. Nallie Rhodes, colored, killed in 1874.

652d. Sarah Frindle, colored, killed in 1874.

653d. Rev. Phil. Frenley, colored, killed in 1874.

Names of 24 unknown, colored, killed in 1874.

One hung, unknown, colored, killed in 1874.

MARION COUNTY.

654th. Wash Porter, colored, killed in 1874.

655th. Miss M. Bateman, colored, killed in 1875.

656th. Henry Ragland, colored, killed in 1875, July.

657th. Jerry Peter, colored, killed in 1875, May.

658th. Two men, names unknown, colored, found dead in 1875, April.

659th. One woman, unknown, colored, found dead in 1875.

660th. George Hill, colored, killed in 1874, October, and a large number, whose names are unknown to us, killed in 1871, 1872, and 1873.

GROSBECK COUNTY.

661st. Robert Sellers, colored, was killed on the night of July 15, 1875; some ten or fifteen white men came to his house and took him and shot him to pieces. He was living on McDaniel plantation.

662d. Nace Burgess, colored, was put in jail and taken out by a mob of white men in the same year.

663d. Sumner Abion, colored, was hung by white men. Old man Allen Strand was killed by the same crowd, and Bob King was shot by the same crowd—shot in pieces. All done at Springfield, Texas.

664th. Ten or more colored men were shot and cut to pieces. T. M. Hood was captain of them, and some of that same crowd told me they were going to kill every colored man for six miles around; and I know that ten colored men had to slip out to save their lives; and in Limestone, particular, the colored have to live in the swamp and woods to save their lives.

PARISH OF ORLEANS—ALGIERS.

665th. James Murphy, colored, killed by a colored man at or near the ferry-boat, on or about January, 1875.

666th. An unknown colored man, by a white man, about three-quarters of a mile from the ferry-boat, in December, 1875.

667th. Eight colored men in New Orleans, La., were run off from West Feliciana, where they were given only six days to leave there. January, 1876.

668th. James Washington, colored, killed at or near Shreveport, Caddo [Parish, in 1866.

669th. David Montgomery, colored, killed at or near Shreveport, by Joe Parker, white, 1870.

670th. Tim Taylor, killed by a white man in Caddo, in 1866.

671st. Miss Mandy Jackson, colored, whipped by two white men named Williams, 1874

- 672d. Morris Simson, colored, whipped by a white man named Candy, 1874.
 643d. Mango Reeves, shot by a white man in Caddo, in the year 1874.
 674th. Julia Davis, colored, killed by Smith, the boss manager on the plantation, 1874.
 675th. Dick Turban, colored, killed by a black man in Bossier Parish, in 1873.
 676th. Ralph Morris, colored, killed by Dean Carey, white, at or near Carey Lowe, 1873.
 677th. Henry Clay, colored, killed by Bill Harris, a white man, on his own plantation, 1873.
 678th. Manuel Johnson, colored, killed by white men on John Hamilton's plantation, 1868.
 679th. Cæsar Turner, colored, beaten near to death by J. Stephens, white, on Joe Thomas's plantation, 1875.
 680th. Martin Singwell, colored, whipped by Calvin Crown, white, at or near Winghart, 1871.
 681st. Henry Nichols, badly beaten by James Noll, white, in the year 1871.
 682d. Miss Salena Jetts, colored, whipped by Bill Alburtt, white, on Youngblood plantation in 1874.
 683d. James Metimus, colored, beaten by Billy Willfort, a white man, on Dr. Spempe's place, because he did not get out to work as soon as he wanted him to, 1868.

AFFIDAVITS OF COLORED MEN.

No. 1.

DE SOTO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Edmond Jones. I have a place in this parish, but was run off from it for about thirteen months. So I then left the parish with my family. Mr. Joe Molloine told my son that if I did not move back on my place that he and other white men would run anybody else off of that place that goes on it by my order, and put my eye on it they please and ask me no odds, simply because I had agreed to rent it to a friend of mine, as I seen I could not live on it myself.

EDMOND ^{his} × JONES.
 mark.

Witness:
 HENRY ADAMS.

No. 2.

DE SOTO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

Myname is Anthony Witch. I live in De Soto Parish. I had to pay this year, 1874, twelve dollars tax, and I only had one horse and one cow and calf. Do not own any land, nor never owned any land, and a large number of us have been made to pay that much on three horses and cows; and if we do not pay the money right away they take our stock, and then make us pay a great deal more as taxes. We have all been prosecuted about taxes again this year, but we don't know what the amount will be, as we have only a few horses & cows.

ANTHONY × WITCH.
 mark.

No. 3.

CADDO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Mary Johnson, and I live in this parish by a white man named James Hill, at Flour Grove Plantation. I was accused of a crime I never dreamed of nor dose. This was in 1872.

MARY × JOHNSON.
 mark.

Susanah Williams was badly beaten and whipped by a white man named Bill Allen, on his place, in the year 1868.

MARY JOHNSON.

No. 4.

SHREVEPORT, CADDO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

I, Cæsar Robinson, make the following statement: I am a colored man. I settled a

place on overflood land about three and a half miles west of Shreveport, at or near the lake; and I have about nine or ten acres improved and four houses built on it; and I have lived on the place for the past five years; and in the year 1875, in December, I went to Natchitoches to the United States land office, and I paid them fifteen dollars, and got my title to the land. The land agent told me to carry my papers to W. D. Willey and tell him to have them recorded for me in the court-house at Shreveport, and I did so, and Mr. Willey charged me nine dollars to have them recorded, yet he did not have my land recorded, nor did he give me my money back, neither my papers, nor can I get them from him. At the land office at Natchitoches they told me there was thirty acres of land in that tract. In January, 1876, Mr. Jewell told me to leave that place, also Mr. Willey. Mr. Jewell told me he would send me to State prison if I did not leave that place and leave everything there that I had made and built on that place. Nor would he let me move anything. I am about eighty years of age; have a wife and one child. I had a good garden, but they have turned the stock in on it and destroyed it. I also had a very nice lot of fruit trees, such as apples, plums, peaches, &c., and he would not let me move any of them. This is the truth, so help me God.

his
CÆSAR X ROBINSON.
mark.

No. 5.

CITY OF EAST BATON ROUGE,
State of Louisiana:

At or near the city of East Baton Rouge, I seen on board of the Col. A. P. Kouns a colored man and his wife and one child, I think about six or seven years of age, who had taken passage from New Orleans to West Baton Rouge. But the captain on the A. P. Kouns carried them about twenty or twenty-five miles above Baton Rouge landing, for we passed Baton Rouge about 2 o'clock p. m., and they were put off about half past 4 o'clock p. m., on the same day. The captain did not land at Baton Rouge, but put them off on a coal barge about the distance as stated above, and left them to get back the best way they could. It was rainy and very cold, and rained nearly all night on the poor people who were then on the coal barge on the Mississippi River, a long ways above the town. This was about the 15th of March, 1876. The colored man begged the captain to land and put them off, as he had paid his fare for himself and family. But the captain would not land, but carried them up the river and placed them on the barge.

H. ADAMS.

No. 6.

PARISH OF NATCHITOCHES,
State of Louisiana:

My name is Henry Albit. I went on board the steamer Col. A. P. Kouns, at Coushatta, and took passage in Red River Parish, and took passage to Grand Ecore, in Natchitoches Parish. But the captain would not land at the wharf for me to get off. I then asked the captain to put me off at Grand Ecore wharf, and he told me he would do so (that was when I took passage and was paying my fare), but when he landed his boat for me to get off it was at Alexandria, and he then told me if I did not get off or pay more fare he would go for me, and he would not be long about it either. So I was put off there, and had to pay my fare back to Grand Ecore on another boat. This February 8th, 1876.

REV. HENRY ALBIT.

No. 7.

CADDO PARISH,
State of Louisiana:

We, George Underwood and Bellun Harris and Isiah Fuller, make this statement: We live in the parish of Caddo, and worked, or contracted to work and make a crop on shares, on Mr. McCrowning's place, for one third we make or made, and McCrowning to furnish provisions or rations. But, in July, when we were working along in the field, Mr. Mack Moring and Mr. Mack Borrington came to us and said, "Well, boys, you all got to get away from here, for we have been going as far as we can, and you all must sign agreements, or you all must take what follows." They then went and got their sticks and guns and told us we must sign the papers, and we told them we would not sign it, because we did not want to give up our crops for nothing. They told us we had better sign, or we would not get anything. They said they only wanted justice; so we told them we would get judges to judge the crops, and to say what it is

worth. But they told us no judges should come to see the crops, and we did not want to sign the paper. But they beat me (Isaiah), and then we got afraid and we signed the paper. We had about thirty acres in cotton, and it was the best cotton crop in that part of the parish, and we had about twenty-nine acres in corn. The corn was ripe and the fodder was ready to pull, and our cotton laid by. They then run us from the place, and told us not to come back any more. We owed Mr. Mack Moring one hundred and eighty dollars altogether. They then told us if they ever heard from us again they would fix us. During the time we was working and living on the place they did not half feed us, and we had to pay for half of our rations, or whatever we eat. We worked just as hard as if we were slaves, and in return was treated like dogs.

GEORGE ^{his} + UNDERWOOD.
mark.
BELLUN ^{his} + HARRISS.
mark.
ISAIAH ^{his} + FULLER.
mark.

No. 8.

PARISH OF DE SOTO,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Albert Thomas; I work on Joe Williams's plantation, about two miles southeast of Keachie. On December 26, 1875, I was badly beaten by George Crow, a white man, on the above-named place.

ALBERT THOMAS.

No. 9.

DE SOTO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Hiram Smith; I lived on Joe Williams's place, about two miles southeast of Keachie. I asked Mr. Williams to pay me what he owed me on my cotton; also seventy-five dollars he had taken away from me, what another man had paid me. He jumped on me and beat me so badly I fear I cannot live. He made me crawl on my knees and call them my God, my master, the God of all power. They then drew revolvers on me; all because I had asked for a settlement. This was done on the 16th of March, 1876.

HIRAM SMITH.

No. 10.

DE SOTO PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Primus Albert; I lived on Joe Williams's place. On the 5th of February, 1876, Mr. Joe Williams gave me a terrible beating with a buggy trace, striking me one hundred and two licks. I did nothing to merit it unless it was I worked for him too much like a slave.

PRIMUS ALBERT.

No. 11.

BOSSIER PARISH,
State of Louisiana :

My name is Simon Dickson; I worked for Miss Lizzie Dickson, on her place, about sixteen or seventeen miles from Shreveport, north, on the bank of Old River, in the year 1873. I was due her the sum of twenty dollars. I made six bales of cotton and each bale weighed about six hundred pounds. I was to give her one hundred pounds to the acre, but she took all I made that year for the amount I owed her, twenty dollars. In 1874 I made eight and a half bales of cotton, weighing on an average about five hundred and twenty-five pounds to the bale. I was to give her one-half of what I made. But she again took all, and would not let me have any. I then owed her about forty dollars. She said I owed her about one hundred and fifteen dollars, so she taken all of my crop every year, for what she claimed I owed her, yet she would never tell me what anything cost. In 1875 I asked her to tell me what such and such things cost, but she refused to tell me. I asked her for the account sales of my cotton, but

she would never give them to me, nor to any of us on her place, though she has about two hundred and fifty hands working on her place, and out of them all there are but three she will give anything like justice. She even takes our cotton seed. She furnishes us a mule to plant with. This place is near Benton, La., and belongs to Miss Lizzie Dickson.

SIMON ^{his} + DICKSON.
mark.

Adjourned to Monday, March 15, 1880.

T W E N T Y - F I F T H D A Y .

WASHINGTON, *Monday, March 15, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10.30 o'clock a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Window, and Blair.

JOHN HENRI BURCH (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOW :

Question. State your full name and residence.—Answer. John Henri Burch.

Q. You spell Henry, H-e-n-r-i ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your local residence ?—A. Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Q. What is your business ?—A. I am at present in charge of the archives of the custom-house in the city of New Orleans.

Q. Have you a profession ? Have you ever been educated for the bar or for any other profession ?—A. No, sir ; I have no profession other than the fact that when in Louisiana for about eleven years I was a journalist.

Q. What papers had you charge of in Louisiana ?—A. Well, in 1869 I was correspondent of the Republican Standard, published at Carrollton, by J. S. Chapman and J. Willis Menard. In 1870, in connection with Governor Pinchback and several others, I started the Louisianian, in New Orleans. In 1871 I purchased the Baton Rouge Courier, and owned that paper and edited it in 1878—the latter part of 1878.

Q. In your connection with these papers and from your general knowledge of the people of that State, have you given any attention to the emigration of colored people from that State to the north, or from any other locality to the north ?—A. Well not whilst I was connected with any of these papers, for I have not had my attention called to this emigration movement until 1878, just before I ceased my connection with that paper.

Q. Has your attention been directed to it since that time ?—A. Yes, sir ; it has, very closely.

Q. I will ask you whether the exodus of your people is on the increase or decrease ; and if so, why you think so ? I ask that to give you a sort of general question, so that you may answer anything you may have to state in connection with it.—A. Well, from my close observation of it I believe at one time last year the exodus movement rather slackened up, but since the election in the State, I am very well satisfied that it has been largely on the increase.

Q. Since what ?—A. Since the election in our State last December that exodus has been largely on the increase.

Q. Why do you think it is on the increase ?—A. Well, from the fact that it is generally the rule in the State of Louisiana that all contracts between the planter and laborers are made during the months of January and February. These contracts have not been made this year ; at

least the colored people have refused to make these contracts, and the time has passed really when these contracts should have been made; and also a large number of colored people in several of the parishes that lived in the country have moved from their places in which they lived last year and have largely moved into the cities and towns along the river with their goods and families in order to take any transportation which may come to hand to carry them away from there. I am also aware of the fact, by correspondence with parties and otherwise, that the colored people, of the river parishes especially, have made up their minds generally that they would leave the several States along the Mississippi Valley and go west.

Q. Tell us, as nearly as you can, what is the cause of this movement, and of this increase that you speak of last year.—A. If I might be permitted, Mr. Senator, to give it in my own way, I would like to tell why there is any exodus at all.

Q. Well, take your own way. Mr. Burch, to inform us as to the causes of the exodus, and give us any information upon it you may have.—A. As to the causes of the exodus and what has brought it about, I suppose the causes of this exodus, so far as the colored people are concerned, may be grouped under the head of a fear on their part of class legislation against them by Democratic legislators, and fear of interference with their educational privileges; the uncertainty of their obtaining means for themselves and their families; the interference with their religious and personal rights, together with the fear of disfranchisement. I suppose the causes that have brought about this exodus may be placed under this group.

Q. What do you mean when you speak of their fear of interference with their religious rights?—A. When I speak of interference with their religious rights, I would refer the committee to the case in several of the parishes, one of which was mentioned, I think, by the witness from Shreveport, and I would refer to the actions of the authorities in New Orleans. I do not think that the case in Shreveport was the first one. I think there were a great many cases where the people have been interfered with in their churches and in their religious worship.

Q. Well, name any cases that you know of.—A. In the city of New Orleans, in 1878, just after the Democratic State council took their seats and the new mayor was installed into office, that council issued an order in the city of New Orleans closing every colored church in the city at ten o'clock, ordering the police to close those churches, and if those churches were opened after ten o'clock to arrest the ministers and carry them to prison. I believe one of the ministers was arrested under this order. Several of the leading colored men of the city of New Orleans, who were more or less connected with the churches as trustees and members, called upon the mayor and asked him why he issued that order closing the colored churches; because in the city of New Orleans there are all denominations of churches, Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, Baptist, A. M. E. Church, Methodist Episcopal Church north, one or two Zion churches, &c., of all denominations. These colored men desired to know why an order had been issued closing the churches. I will state here, however, that before the order had been issued several articles appeared in Democratic papers, complaining as to the noise made by some of the colored churches in the city, and charging that they disturbed the neighborhood.

Q. Disturbed the peace of the neighborhood while in worship?—A. Yes, sir, in their church worship; charging that they held their churches very late and disturbed the neighborhood. I saw these

articles in the Democratic papers, and upon the appearance of these articles this order closing the churches was predicated. When the committee waited on the mayor this question was asked him, whether he complained of all the churches alike, and whether the Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church (colored), and others, were included in that category, and whether if the complaint was that one or two churches disturbed the locality in which they were situated, if it would not have been best to have confined the order to those churches alone, instead of making it indiscriminately apply to all the colored churches. So far as that is concerned, I can say that after the case was presented in our papers, and after the Louisianian and the Observer had called the attention of the outside world to the fact that the Democratic State council of New Orleans had made a move on the churches in that city, the order was modified. It was not modified, however, until one of the ministers had been arrested and incarcerated over night.

Q. What was the result of this modification of the order?—A. Well, I believe an order was issued to the police not to disturb certain churches—not to enforce it generally. I do not know whether it has been entirely repealed or not. I know it is not enforced at present. There is also a fear on the part of the people that has induced this exodus that their educational advantages would be curtailed, and that they had their fear strengthened by the action of the constitutional convention of our State that was held last year. It has been conceded that the educational system of Louisiana, as incorporated in the constitution of 1868 under Republican administration, was as fair a one and as thorough a one as could be found in the South, and in all instances, in the administration of the school law, it was equally as fair for one class of educationable children as another. Under that system, however, when they called this constitutional convention, one of the reasons given why the constitutional convention should be held, was that the laws passed by these Republicans were forced upon the people, and that they should be repealed and swept from the statute books. The question of education came before the convention, and they moved immediately on the head of the educational department by repealing that section providing for the appointment of a superintendent of education. That action was really had, but through the strenuous efforts of the colored men, and I can say also aided by two or three Democrats who had been elected to this constitutional convention from parishes strongly Republican; but these Democrats had openly and publicly promised the colored men that if they were elected to this constitutional convention they would protect them in their educational, their civil, and their political rights. There were only two or three in this convention of that kind—Mr. Pochee, of Saint James Parish, I think, and one or two other Democrats—and they with their friends, together with the Republicans, finally secured towards the close of the convention the reinstatement of the superintendent of education. But the system of education, so far as the school laws are concerned, differs now from that under Republican rule in the fact that it requires that schools in the parishes should be kept open a certain number of months in the year, while the present one leaves it optional with the school board how long we may keep the schools open; and I have seen it stated in some of the public prints in New Orleans—I forget exactly which paper—that they did not think there would be over two months of schooling hardly in any of the parishes this year.

Q. How are these boards appointed?—A. By the superintendent of education.

Q. How is he appointed?—A. He is elected. He was elected last year. The gentleman who was superintendent of education, Mr. Lusher, was not re-elected; another man was. The old people, however—the fathers and mothers of these colored children—in a large measure are very desirous of educational advantages, more for their children, of course, than for themselves, because they think that they are so old it is too late for them to undertake to go to school. Their chief desire probably is to obtain means for themselves and families and educational advantages for their children. There was a law in Mississippi, or some action was taken in Mississippi, as I have received a letter and a paper from there, that interfered greatly with their educational system. I have an item from a newspaper here, and if the committee desire to hear it I will read it, bearing upon the school system.

Q. What is it?—A. A small cutting from one of the newspapers.

Q. If it is brief you may read it.—A. It is very brief, sir. It is taken from the New Orleans Ledger of February 21, 1880.

Q. What is the politics of that paper?—A. It is neutral, sir. The article is headed "No Republican teachers need apply," and it says:

A contributor to the Aberdeen, Miss., Weekly says that the Democratic executive committee of Monroe County—the county of which Aberdeen is the capital—have adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, That it is the opinion of the executive committee that there should no longer be any Radical [a term used in all the Southern States for Republican] school-teachers employed in the capacity of public school teacher in the county of Monroe, and that the superintendent of education be specially requested to decline giving any Radical a certificate as a teacher."

That is the resolution as adopted, and the article goes on to say that—

The superintendent of education of the county has required that every applicant for the position of teacher shall certify that he (or she) has been and will continue to be a Democrat. The superintendent's requirement is thus worded: "I hereby certify that I have been a Democrat, and that I will hereafter support the candidates of the Democratic party, and work with that party."

This was recommended in the parish of Tensas and the parish of Concordia. Senator Young, who has been connected with schools for a long time, informed me that Concordia was about to copy after Mississippi in the political regulation of the teachers, requiring that applicants should certify that they were not Radicals, or, if they were, that they would thereafter work with the Democratic party and vote the Democratic ticket. The reason why I allude to this in Mississippi is to call the attention of the committee to the fact that Mr. Young, who was elected to the legislature, was not permitted to take his seat at this time, and when he was in New Orleans he gave me this and told me that that was recommended, he thought, in Tensas and Concordia.

Q. Recommended by whom?—A. He didn't say by whom. He said that all teachers would be required to state that if they were employed to teach schools, they would work with the Democratic party and vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Before you leave that subject of schools, let me ask you, Mr. Burch, what is the standing of any white person in any of the localities of which you speak who teaches in a colored school; how is he regarded by the white people generally?—A. Mr. Windom, I would say that that is a question that I do not know as I could really answer accurately without possibly being a little partisan in my views. I have been connected with the school board in East Baton Rouge Parish for several years, and as such I have had occasion to commission a great many teachers. I found that when I would commission a Republican white man that he was immediately ostracised and proscribed; but when I

would appoint, as I did appoint in many instances, a white teacher who was a Democrat, or whose family were Democrats, whether he taught a white school or a colored school, in some cases it was all right and in other cases it was all wrong. But, generally speaking and mainly, the teachers who were white Democrats, or whose relatives were, or who were connected with white families there, very freely accepted positions as teachers, and made applications to teach, and did teach. Some of them had schools, but they were not very particular whether they were colored schools or white schools, so that they could get schools to teach and were paid.

Q. Their position socially depended rather upon their politics than upon whether they taught white or colored schools?—A. Yes, sir; it depended rather upon that.

Q. Well, go on, Mr. Burch, and give us any other reasons for this exodus, if you know of any.—A. There is another fear, sir, that operates upon the minds of our people and has tended to produce this exodus, and that is, a fear of interference on the part of the white people with their educational rights. I think that, so far as the old people among them are concerned, that is one of the greatest causes of the exodus. These people are generally landless and homeless, and they have not the satisfaction, even when they acquire homes, of knowing that they will be secure in the possession of them in every respect. They being homeless and landless, are dependent very dependent. This makes them dependent on the land-owners, and makes them daily toilers for those that own the land, and they have to labor for what their employers choose to give them, and very often at a large reduction from the nominal value of their labor—in a great many cases at a large reduction.

Q. Have they very generally a desire to secure homes and to become property-holders?—A. You can judge somewhat of their desire to obtain homes and of their capacity to obtain homes from this fact: In 1869, I remember that in my parish a majority of the colored people in the parish raised what crops they raised with the hoe, with the hoe alone, just after they returned from the war and went back to their home. I have seen women come in town between nine and ten o'clock in the morning with the various fruits in their seasons—berries and such things—selling them for the purpose of getting a loaf of bread to carry to their husbands, who were working in the field, and had been working all that time without any breakfast. Now, in a few years after that, these same people had made sufficient money to procure horses and wagons and mules, and they could go to the stores, and, instead of buying only a loaf of bread, they could buy the commodities of life. And when they came to settle at the end of the year some of them had money and some of them did not; but those of them that had acquired money made a rush for the land office, and made applications to the planters living in that parish to buy land. I myself have in several cases given men money to buy land. I myself went in with an association of colored men who bought all of Port Hudson, or very near—a place called Mount Pleasant—several thousand acres of land; and we settled on that tract of land, I suppose, some three or four hundred families; and we paid for that land by the raising of the cotton. I owned several shares in that institution, and had my tract of land surveyed and families put on it, but there is not one of them there now, not one.

Q. State how it was, Mr. Burch, that they could do so much better then than they can now.—A. Well, sir, they were strong in faith then, and strong in hope of the complete success of the Republican party under a Republican form of government, both in the nation and in the

State, and they took right hold of labor as soon as they returned from the war, and I suppose it was their desire to assist the South in building up their waste places, and to become *bona fide* land-holders and citizens in every respect; and they believed that their first duty would be possibly to secure lands and to secure homes. I suppose that they preferred to remain there to going to any other part of the country if they could secure homes the same as others, and had their rights secured to them in every respect. In article 132 in our constitution we had a requirement that in all the sheriff sales in that State the land should be cut up in tracts of fifty acres or so, so as to give all purchasers a chance to buy. In the constitutional convention of last year that provision was struck out, although what was on the statute-book was not observed.

Q. Why was that requirement not observed?—A. Because they had a way, when land was sold, of getting a man to survey it in such a manner that it never did anybody much good; they never realized much out of it.

Q. Well, go on and state other causes that in your judgment, and from facts that you have, caused this exodus.—A. Well, there was also developed an insecurity of securing homes in the South. There are to-day in New Orleans several colored men who have considerable property, who have bought homes for themselves, and who own property valued at three, five, seven, ten, and twelve thousand dollars. These men are to-day refugees from their own places and dare not return.

Q. Why?—A. Well, they think their lives would be insecure, as well as their property. The fact of the case is, Mr. Blount, of Natchitoches, who owns some ten thousand dollars' worth of property, when he left there, he was ordered to leave not only the parish but the State.

Q. What had he done that that order was given?—A. Well, he was a minister, and a man of great influence with his people, and he had represented them in the legislature since reconstruction in 1868. He was a senator, a State senator, and before his last term expired he was made to sign a paper that he would never take a seat as State senator any more, nor indulge in politics any more. That was several years ago; but he has served since, and taken part in politics; but in the last disturbance in 1876 he was made to leave, and he has never gone back since.

Q. You say they made him sign a paper that he would not take part in politics?—A. Yes, sir; while he was at home. They gave him the alternative never to have anything more to do with politics or to take a seat in the senate again, or to leave the State by force.

Q. You say "they"; whom do you mean by "they"?—A. I mean the Democrats in that parish.

Q. Was ever anything charged against him except that he was an active Republican?—A. Well, that takes in a good deal in the South, that he was an active Republican. On the part of a great many people there, it means almost everything bad. A man that is an active Republican there has a great many other vile epithets applied to him.

Q. You don't quite explain to my satisfactory understanding of it, why these people, who a few years ago could do so well in getting homes, are now not able to get a living, and have even deserted homes that they have made for themselves. I do not fully understand that.—A. Well, they were protected somewhat by certain laws. They were protected by laws. There was one law particularly that they called the homestead law. I had the pleasure and the honor to introduce that law in the legislature and secure its passage. That prevented a person

from taking any labor—white or colored, it made no difference—any of his implements—that is, his horse, his wagon, his stock, his wife's furniture, and such as that—to the value of six hundred dollars.

Q. Has that exemption or homestead law, as you call it, been repealed?—A. Yes, sir; the Democrats repealed that as soon as they got in. Whilst I was in the senate I accepted quite a modification of that, at the earnest request of the land-owners of New Orleans, who asked me to, on the ground that it operated against the land-owners, because a great many people took advantage of that law to go into the courts, and it took away from the owners a large amount of rent. This law was very sweeping. It didn't permit the land-owners to accept anything in writing, and these people understood that, and they could then go to work and secure these agricultural implements, furniture, and so forth; and if at the end of the year they owed for the rent these things could not be taken away from them under the provisions of this law. This law I secured in 1872, and in 1874 I accepted a modification of it, by excepting the city of New Orleans from its operations, so far as the landlords were concerned. But when the Democrats got possession that was one of the first laws they repealed. The consequence is now that there is nothing safe for the laborer now, if he chooses to move upon him and take away his goods and implements of agriculture.

Q. It is generally believed now among the colored people that they are not secured now in their property; that if they earn anything it will be taken from them, is it?—A. Yes, sir; I know it is so. The argument was made against me when I ran for re-election in 1874, by the present member of Congress in my district, Mr. Robinson, now in Congress, and was my opponent, that I had introduced and passed a bill that prevented the white people from trusting the colored people any more; that in its operation it really prevented the white people from trusting them, and that the colored people could not get any more provisions out of the stores.

Q. Did the colored people complain of that law on that account?—A. No, sir; they were glad of it; they liked the law. I stated to my people that I passed that law, and that it would be a good deal better for them if they didn't eat so much XXX flour, and if they would be more prudent and provident in their purchases. Many of them would stop at the stores on the plantations where they sold anything and everything to our people at very exorbitant prices, and our people would go in and buy. I have sometimes known some of our people who would go in and buy what a bale or two of cotton would come to, because they induced them to buy by giving them whisky. It was what we called "buying whisky."

Q. They would give them whisky and put them in the buying mood?—A. Yes; they would give them a glass of whisky, and they would buy anything and everything the storekeeper wanted them to.

Q. Well, go on and give us the facts concerning the causes of the exodus.—A. This law when it was repealed operated against them; and they have lost a great deal. They have lost their land and they have lost their property and their household goods, and the owners have come in under the law passed by the Democratic party for indebtedness of the last three or four or five years; and in consequence a great many of the people in the parish of East Baton Rouge, especially where I live, have abandoned their homes and the plantations on which they were, because they do not think they could ever pay what was claimed as owing for ten years or more.

Q. Were they really debts that they had incurred?—A. They are debts that are alleged against them.

Q. What is understood among themselves as to whether these debts are honest debts or not?—A. I have not heard them say. I have heard them say, however, that they would be ten years' time paying up what was claimed as debts against them, and in a great many instances I have heard them say that "They didn't owe that man a dollar."

Q. Proceed and give us any other reasons you have to state concerning the exodus.—A. Well, the action of the constitutional convention also increased the desire on the part of the colored people to remove from Louisiana. They watched the proceedings of that constitutional convention with a great deal of interest; and all that was done there was communicated to them. I can say, however, that the constitutional convention got over its sessions without any serious detriment to the interests of the colored people of that State.

Q. So that they really had nothing to complain of as to that?—A. They had really nothing to complain of so far as that constitutional convention was concerned, no. I think, however, we owe that to the fact that there was a class of Democrats who got into that constitutional convention by the colored votes that were cast for them, and so forth, and by their being true to their promises.

Q. Then the action of this constitutional convention not having had anything to do with the exodus, go on, Mr. Burch, to something else.—A. Since the legislature has met, however, they have shown an evident disposition to go into class legislation to such a degree as to cause fear on the part of the colored people and a desire to leave before it is passed upon them; and as to this class legislation as against the colored people, they are engaged in passing laws there that will certainly, if enacted and placed upon the statute books, and put in operation against the colored people, force them to leave in still greater numbers. These laws are of a very serious nature.

Q. What is the character of these laws?—A. There is one law there especially that is obnoxious—and I might say here that in 1876 the same law was attempted to be passed—it is what is called the chain-gang law.

Q. What is there about that?—A. But it was not passed; we defeated that in the senate, on the closing day of the senate, and they called an extra session, and during the extra session that bill was passed.

Q. It was passed?—A. It was passed, but they could not make it move exactly to suit themselves. It was senate bill No. 132, and it provides that "persons convicted of crimes and misdemeanors not necessarily punishable by imprisonment at hard labor or death may be sentenced to labor on the public parks, roads, and streets of the parish, town, or city, where the crime or misdemeanor may have been committed, in lieu of imprisonment, for a term not exceeding that for which the convicted person is liable to imprisonment. In cases where a fine only is authorized by law, the convicted person may be sentenced to labor in lieu of the fine. Persons sentenced to the payment of a fine and failing to make good the amount within the time fixed in the sentence, may be sentenced to labor on the streets or roads of the parish or town to which the cost of prosecution may eventually be chargeable at the rate of fifty cents per day until the amount of the fine is paid."

Q. Well, why do they object to that? Would those convicted of crime rather be confined within prison walls than to be set to work on the public parks and roads? Why do they prefer confinement to the other

kind of punishment?—A. They object because it is an inducement to arrest them for trivial offenses and thus to place exorbitant and excessive fines upon them. I think that the people living especially on the Mississippi River are aware of the fact of a bill something like that being now in force in Mississippi, and that bill was passed in Mississippi in 1878. I have a synopsis of it here. It was under the innocent title of "An act to reduce the judiciary expenses of the State," and the act provides that "all persons convicted and committed to the jail of the county, except those committed for contempt of court, and except those sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary, shall be delivered to a contractor, to be by him kept and worked under the provisions of this act; and all persons committed to jail except those entitled to bail may also, with their consent, be committed to said contractor. Another section provides how the "consent" may be secured, by enacting that if a prisoner does not consent his daily diet shall be "six ounces of bacon or ten-ounces of beef and a pound of bread and water." This section also provides that not consenting to work for a contractor before his conviction without compensation, the prisoner must, if convicted, "work for said contractor a sufficient term to pay all costs of prosecution, including jail fees for keeping and feeding him." Section four provides that in working out his fine the prisoner shall be worked "at the rate of twenty-five cents a day, not including Sundays and days in which said convict shall be unable to labor, or for any cause by his consent shall not labor;" and also "that said convict shall work two days for every one lost by sickness," one of which days shall be for compensation for keeping him during a day on which he was sick." He must not only thus work out the fine, but all costs of prosecution and jail fees. This statute puts the power into the hands of any one who cares to use it upon any trivial offense to have "contracted" to him a laborer, or if his laborers become dissatisfied, to prevent them from leaving him by threats of the "contractor's chain-gang." Under this law a negro in Noxubee County, for some petty offense, was fined two hundred and fifty dollars and costs. This would require several years to work out. A glance at the provisions of this and similar laws makes it evident that their penalties must fall on the poor and friendless offenders, which would generally mean the negroes."

Q. You say that this law is now in force in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir, it is now in force in that State, and it was considered by the people there to mean what I have given as the synopsis of it in every respect.

Q. Do you know what class of courts may inflict this punishment?—A. Any justice of the peace court.

Q. Is that true in the law as proposed in Louisiana, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A justice of the peace may sentence them to the chain-gang?—A. Yes, sir.

I have here a speech of the Hon. T. T. Allain, of Iberville Parish, in defense of the laboring people, which was delivered in the Louisiana house of representatives, in New Orleans, on the 23d of last February.

Q. Of this year?—A. Yes, sir; delivered February 23, 1880.

Q. Is Mr. Allain a colored man?—A. Yes, sir, he is a colored man; one of the large colored planters in New Orleans. He rents from the Citizens' Bank of New Orleans a very large sugar plantation in the parish of Iberville; and whilst he is not considered as true to the colored people as he might be, he has had his fears awakened by the attempt to pass this senate bill No. 132. And in order to satisfy you as to the effect this bill would have upon the question of the rights of the labor-

ing classes, and to show what it really means, and how it illustrates the class legislation of the Democrats against the race, I would like to read it entire. It is very short and is by a representative man. It fully explains the meaning and what would be the operation of this senate bill 132.

Q. Well, is the explanation Mr. Allain gives in this speech such as you would adopt as your own?—A. Yes, sir; it agrees fully with my own views. I do not agree with Mr. Allain in hardly anything that he does, but I do in this.

Q. Let us have your explanation as you understand it and as the colored people understand it, so far as that explains it?—A. O, not on this bill; this bill, No. 132, was one of the bills we call the chain-gang law. The bill on which Mr. Allain speaks is not the chain-gang law, but one that affects the laboring interest vitally in the State. It is house bill No. 67, and is called a bill for the "protection of employers." I will read this speech, as it expresses very fully my own views and convictions on the subject.

Q. Very well.—A. (Reading.)

House bill No. 67, introduced by Mr. Harris, of De Soto Parish, having been called up to be engrossed, and the bill having been read as follows: An act to prevent interference with the laborers or employés of the citizens of this State during their term of service, and to enforce the provisions of the same by adequate penalties.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Louisiana, That whoever shall employ the laborer or employé of another (said laborer or employé, after the first day of January, 1881, being under a written contract, attested by one or more witnesses), during the term for which he, she, or they may be employed, knowing that such laborer or employé was so employed, and that his or her term of service was not expired; or whoever shall entice, persuade, or decoy, or attempt to entice, persuade, or decoy any laborer or employé during the term of service, knowing that said laborer or employé was so employed, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars or imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months, or both, at the discretion of this court.*

Mr. ALLAIN said:

Mr. Speaker, it appears to me that the bill introduced by Mr. Harris, of De Soto, and now under consideration, is little less than an insidious expedient to abridge, if not to destroy, the liberties of the tillers of the soil, most of whom, as you are well aware, are persons of the colored race. The title of this bill is "An act to prevent interference with the laborers or employés of the citizens of this State, during their term of service, and to enforce the provisions of the same by adequate penalties." It reads very smooth and innocent of harm, but it is like the apples gathered on the shores of the Dead Sea, beautiful to look upon, but full of rottenness and corruption.

Mr. Speaker, it was once remarked by a shrewd politician that language was given us to conceal our thoughts; and so, it seems, was the intention of my honorable friend in preparing his bill; for, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the bill, if it were to become a law, would open the way to a system of serfdom and vassalage no less frightful than that which existed in the dark era of slavery.

It may be agreed that this bill does not conflict with article 49 of the constitution of Louisiana, which declares that "no law shall be passed fixing the price of manual labor." But, sir, if it does not say so in terms, it certainly exhibits the spirit and intention of interfering with, and, in an underhand manner, of violating the spirit of that article of the constitution. To put the matter more clearly, let us see what would be the practical operation of this measure. A laborer contracts to serve a planter to help him make a crop, and, in order to secure the payment of his wages, the contract is a written one. Few colored laborers can read, and were their contract read to them they would still remain ignorant of the existence of this law.

Suppose that there may be personal or private reasons why the laborer desires to live on an adjacent plantation; suppose that he can thereby improve his condition, or that he may have been maltreated, and desires to go elsewhere, why, sir, no planter would venture to receive him lest he should be charged with crime, under the provisions of this ill-conceived bill.

As I have previously stated, the colored laborer would become a mere chattel, a slave on the plantation, unable to leave it, for no other planter would receive him or his family, as there would always be a dread of the fine and imprisonment imposed by this

bill. And suppose that a white Irishman, or a white Englishman, or a white German, or any other nationality, should be that laborer, what would be the result? The planter who should receive the fugitive would himself be tabooed as much as if he had secreted a fugitive slave in old times.

The honorable gentleman who has proposed this bill, Mr. Speaker, will find that he has raised a storm of indignation by it among that very class which it ostensibly intends to benefit. How can he expect a high-toned gentleman in the planting interest to look upon a bill which renders him liable to a grievous fine and degrading imprisonment for no other reason than because he had probably taken an old servant into his employ who had signed a contract to work elsewhere?

It is evident, Mr. Speaker, that this bill gives full scope to make false charges against any planter, for it says plainly enough "that whoever shall employ the laborer or employe of another," and so forth, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. The charge of "enticing" or "persuading" is easily made and difficult to be disproved, and the penalty easy to be inflicted.

Mr. Speaker, at the time I had the honor of being a member of the constitutional convention, I predicted that attempts might be made on the personal rights and freedom to seek employment of the colored race, and at my solicitation Hon. Thomas J. Semmes, of Orleans, therefore introduced article 49, which was adopted by the convention.

The event has proved that my fears were well founded. They were shared by many thousands of colored families, who have left all that was cherished by them, their homes, their dead, their pleasant associations, and sought homes in distant States, because they could not trust the legislation of the general assembly, fearing that some bill like that now before us would be enacted by which their present liberties would be encroached on, and they would be reduced to a state of abject seifdom. Mr. Speaker, I have heard this argument repeated again and again by our agricultural laborers; yes, sir, and also by the residents of towns, and oftentimes in this very city, for I assure you, sir, that there is a deep-seated distrust among the colored people in regard to the motives and actions of this legislature. Shall we encourage this distrust, or shall we endeavor to allay it? If there be any gentlemen in this legislature who are desirous to drive away our colored population from this State, then they would seize upon this opportunity as being one of the most effective means to accomplish their object.

Let me ask you, Mr. Speaker, how would such a measure be received in the enlightened legislatures of New York, Massachusetts, or in other communities where the Caucasian element is predominant? Why, sir, the proposition would be scouted with contempt or received with ridicule and laughter. Are we, then, wiser and more advanced in civilization than those in more northern States, or have we a civilization of our own, belonging especially to the South, and to Louisiana in particular? No, sir, the same principles of political economy govern the world so far as human nature is concerned, and we see the result, which may be stated in this proposition, that the greater the restrictions or obnoxious the laws placed upon a people, the more miserable will be their condition, and therefore the greater their anxiety to move away to fresh fields and pastures new.

Mr. Speaker, I have always used, and will continue to use, such influence as I possess in opposition to the Kansas exodus, believing such a course very injurious to the interests of my people, and I have urgently invited the colored people who are leaving Northern Louisiana to come to our sugar region, where they will obtain excellent wages and good opportunities for the education of their children. But if this measure should pass, it would only add fuel to the exodus flame, and our plantations would be almost depopulated by those very people who produce so much wealth to Louisiana, and consequently to the United States. You have passed a very judicious act for the encouragement of immigration, yet, should this bill pass, those who yet remain would be eager to get away, and my plan of inviting immigrants to Louisiana would be effectually checked. Instead of passing laws like that before us we should do all in our power to encourage labor in our State, and to come to us; we should show the Irishman, the Frenchman, the German, and all other nationalities, that in Louisiana they can obtain happy homes and good wages, without any restrictions upon their liberty of action or upon their individual tastes, and we should do all in our power to attract the constant flow of emigration from the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, and elsewhere, as well as from the countries of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, I maintain that while it is our interest, it should be our duty and our purpose to promote the increase of our own products. We want more sugar, more rice, and more of those agricultural benefits in our State which have been bountifully offered to us by the Supreme Being, and which we can only obtain by an increased cultivation of our fertile soil. I would also suggest to our merchants, to our bankers, to our planters, and to our business men generally, that they should use all their influence in opposing any restrictive laws upon free labor, or however can they expect to pay their responsibilities; and, in conclusion, I wish expressly to state the fact that

should this bill pass the house, receive the sanction of the senate and the approval of the governor, then it will become a law and will strike melancholy and sorrow to the already despondent hearts of my people.

The WITNESS. The following from one of the New Orleans papers is a statement of the provisions of Mr. Harris's bill. It is headed "Protection of Employers," and says :

The bill introduced in the house by Mr. Harris to prevent interference with laborers or employés of the citizens of the State during their term of service, and to enforce the provisions of the same by adequate penalties, is one of peculiar importance at this time, in view of the systematic efforts being made in some of the Southern States to entice laborers away from their employment under the pretense of bettering their condition in the Western States. The bill referred to makes it a misdemeanor, punishable by fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, or both, at the discretion of the court, for any person to employ, entice, persuade, or decoy any laborer employed under a written contract after January 1, 1881, during the term for which they may be engaged, the person so offending knowing that such laborer or employé was employed at the time of such enticement or persuasion.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Then, to sum it all up, as I understand you, Mr. Burch, the fear of the passing of these chain-gang laws in Louisiana, the fact that such a chain-gang law has been passed in Mississippi, and these other bills that are pending that tend to abridge the educational and other rights of the laborer, the colored people understand to be designed to reduce them to a system of peonage?—A. Yes, sir; and they believe that these rights are still further threatened by the legislature.

Q. And they are moving to get away before they are finally reduced to that condition by the legislature?—A. Yes, if they can get away they will go. There is, of course, more or less a great fear of intimidation and violence, but they have become used to that now, and it is almost a secondary consideration with them now.

Q. What is their condition of mind as to the denial of their political rights, judging by what has been done, and by what they fear will be done in the future, as you understand it?—A. Well, so far as their political rights are concerned, they have at this time, I guess, pretty good assurance that they can use them, in a manner, in parishes that are Democratic, that is, strongly Democratic.

Q. Where they were in a minority they would have their political rights?—A. Well, where they were in a minority, I do not believe there would be any disturbance, and I believe in such parishes they could go to the polls and vote.

Q. How is it in the strong Republican parishes?—A. In the strong Republican parishes it is only a question of time that the same feeling that has bulldozed some of the parishes will extend to the others. Now, Ouachita Parish has at present a candidate for lieutenant-governor, Mr. Samuel McEury. But he stood up in Lafayette square, and in his speech after his nomination as lieutenant-governor he said there were not but thirteen Republican votes in that parish, and he could guarantee that they would not be cast in that next election.

Q. What was the Republican vote in that parish?—A. In 1874 and 1876 the Republican vote was from eight to twelve or fifteen hundred, along there.

Q. What was the Democratic vote?—A. The Democratic vote was not over four or five hundred, somewhere along there.

Q. What was the result of this pledge of his?—A. He said that there were not but thirteen Republican votes, and that there would not be that many cast; there were eleven cast.

Q. Have you the exact vote there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just state it.—A. In Ouachita the vote for Wiltz was 1,976; and the vote for Beatty, Republican, was 11.

Q. What was the relative colored and white vote of that parish, as near as you can give it; or have you stated it as correctly as you can?—A. I have given it as nearly as I can; I thought I had the vote of 1874 and 1876 here, but I have not.

Q. You say there is a twelve to fifteen hundred Republican vote, and four to five hundred Democratic vote in that parish?—A. Yes, about that.

Q. And you say that there was a vote of about nineteen hundred—1,976—and these eleven added to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that the parish had a Republican majority of from eight to twelve or fourteen hundred?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mostly colored people, in that majority, are they?—A. Yes, sir; mostly.

Q. From what you know of the colored people in that State, what proportion of them would voluntarily, if not intimidated or in other ways prevented, vote the Republican ticket?—A. How many of them?

Q. Yes; what proportion of them?—A. Well, sir, I don't know as I could find a fraction that would represent that.

Q. That would be small enough to represent those that would vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir; that would be small enough to represent it.

Q. The vote of the colored people would be almost unanimously Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you account for the fact that such a result as you have given us could be obtained?—A. You have heard them speak of a returning board. We have no returning board for the State of Louisiana now, but we have a returning board in every parish.

Q. How are these returning boards appointed?—A. They are elected or appointed by a police jury—the police jury of each parish. East Baton Rouge appoints commissioners of election, and these commissioners of election receive and tabulate the vote, and they turn it in, and as they turn it in it goes; their action is final.

Q. What is the reason that with this large Republican majority they did not have a majority on the returning board?—A. There is not a single police jury in the State of Louisiana that has a Republican majority except one parish, and they have driven the Republicans out with a pistol there, and that was up in Carroll Parish. And the way they got around that is this: In all the parishes that had a Republican police jury the Democrats passed a law empowering the governor to appoint five additional police jurors in every parish, and, of course, he appointed five Democrats.

Q. How many were there before?—A. Five generally were elected; sometimes seven. They took them from the several wards in the parish.

Q. The original number was five to seven, and the legislature authorized the governor to add five more?—A. The original number was five, and they passed a bill authorizing the governor—Governor Nicholls it was, and the law is now in operation—to appoint five additional jurors, making now ten; of course he appointed Democrats, and the consequence was that in every parish they now have Democratic police jurors.

Q. Why have not the Republicans named five Republican police jurors?—A. If they elected five Republicans there were five Democrats appointed.

Q. Then they would be even ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why, then, would not the Republicans have the same chance to make the returns as the Democrats ?—A. I believe they did in one parish, and the consequence was that men went into the court-house, and, with revolvers, drove out the Republicans.

Q. So that they didn't have half and half there ?—A. No, sir. That was in East Carroll Parish.

Q. Let us stick for a moment to the parish where they had the twelve hundred Republican vote and the five hundred Democratic. Was there any trouble there on the day of election ?—A. No, there was not.

Q. Do you remember how the returning board stood in that parish ?—A. Of course they appointed commissioners of election for each ward and precinct.

Q. Were there any Democrats in the original five before the governor added five ; what were the original five or seven ?—A. O, they were Democrats.

Q. How was that, if the parish or precinct was strongly Republican ?—A. That was before this law was passed. There has been no Republican majority in Ouachita Parish since 1876.

Q. O, they have not voted, then ?—A. No, sir ; they have not voted.

Q. Why did they stop voting after 1876 ?—A. By reason of the outrages.

Q. Give us a general account of them, without going into details at all.—A. I suppose that the country is aware of the troubles we had there. It was during the year of the Presidential campaign, and I suppose that these are generally known from the reports that have been made by committees of Congress from Louisiana relative to the matter of intimidation and murders in Ouachita Parish.

Q. I think that is very generally known.—A. Yes, sir ; I suppose they are generally known. Well, since these outrages were committed in 1876, by which they were prevented from voting, they have not voted.

Q. They have not voted ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Still they seem to have been counted ?—A. Well, they are counted. I know the gentleman who claims to represent that district in Congress here. There are 1,976 Democratic votes in that parish—white votes.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Who is the gentleman ?—A. I believe it is Mr. Elam.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Tell us, if you can, how it is that in so many of these parishes where they have so large a Republican majority the Republicans do not defend themselves. That matter has been discussed here, and I would like to have your opinion on it ?—A. I have heard that question asked very often. I think it is a reflection on the honor and the courage of the Southern men. I think if you look at the fact that it required a great many years and the payment of millions of men and dollars to whip the Southerners—four or five years of war—it is carrying the matter too far to expect that the negro with a hoe in his hand can whip these white men every time they get up to fight. The leaders of the South are as regularly equipped and as well drilled to-day as during the days of the rebellion ; and their old army associations are as intact. They take a great deal of pride in keeping it up, and their captains and colonels are there ; I believe some of their generals have been permitted to serve out a term in Congress, and some of them are here to-day, but they can very easily go back if they are wanted. To expect these negroes, who

certainly showed bravery on the battle-field, with the musket in their hand, and when backed up by the government who said he was an American soldier and should be treated as such, to stand up against these Southern men is too much. I do not think our Southern friends thought he was so much of a coward then as since he has laid the musket down and picked up the hoe. They think that now they can easily intimidate them, and so they can. I say it is impossible—I don't care how brave my people may be, or what they may be—to defend themselves under the circumstances. I say it is impossible for the negroes of the South to whip that whole South, when it took the whole North four or five years and millions of dollars and men to do it. That is the reason why they don't do it. Another reason is this: If a colored man was to defend himself and kill a white man, that man might get away, but there is no knowing how many colored men would have to pay for that one man's life.

I will give you an instance: In the parish of Saint Martin's, over on the Teche, is one of the finest colored men in that State. His name is Emile D'Etiege. He was educated in France, and is a man of means and a perfect gentleman, and has represented that parish in the legislature—in the Senate. There is a family also of whites there named De La Housaye, and they have had a feud—these two men. De La Housaye claimed to lead the parish, and that Mr. D'Etiege, who was an old resident, had come into the Republican party to obtain their votes. Whilst *he* (De La Housaye) could obtain their votes it was all right. In 1876, these men had a personal encounter. Pistols were fired. De La Housaye fired on Mr. D'Etiege, and threw his pistol aside. As he was unarmed D'Etiege would not then shoot him. But, as Mr. D'Etiege walked away, De La Housaye secured his pistol, as he saw his friends approach, and shot D'Etiege through the hip, so that he went on crutches for six months. At this last election in September, these two men met again. Mr. De La Housaye was running for sheriff—now the biggest position to vote for except governor. De La Housaye, the old gentleman, was running for sheriff, and D'Etiege was running for sheriff at the same time. D'Etiege beat him and was elected. The day after the election Mr. De La Housaye attacked Mr. D'Etiege. They drew their weapons, and D'Etiege, whilst the old gentleman was coming towards him with his revolver drawn, saw his (De La Housaye's) son coming from this way (indicating). The son fired first, and Mr. D'Etiege fired on him and killed him. The father then came up to him, and D'Etiege fired on him (De La Housaye) and killed him, and then made his escape. And Mr. D'Etiege has never been seen since.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a pretty good fighter?

The WITNESS. Yes; he was a good fighter. He defended himself. He was defending his own life. But if he had been arrested or was to be arrested and put in jail he would be taken out and hung before morning. I have seen his letters and why he would not give himself up. If he was to give himself up there would be a riot. His friends, he says, would go round, and there would be bloodshed, and half the parishes of the State, he believes, would come to his assistance if the white men should attempt to take him to jail and hang him. He is in hopes of justice, and has hidden himself away; he has never discovered himself since.

Q. What do you know about the operations of the Democratic bulldozers in that parish?—A. They don't claim to do it in that parish. They always claim that the men that do it in that parish come from some other parish. In the parish of Baton Rouge, when we had the

first difficulties there in what was called the Colfax massacre, I saw men from my parish take a keg of powder and guns and drive over from the Red River, and they claimed that the men who bulldozed there came into the parish from some other State or parish.

Another thing I forgot to state, Mr. Windom; that is, concerning the negro's not fighting and defending himself. He knows that if he would do so—for instance in Louisiana—if he would try to defend himself in Louisiana in any of the parishes the white men of those parishes would leave and go to Mississippi or to Texas, and these States would respond by sending into Louisiana a number of men to do the fighting. It is well known that they have done this in Mississippi and Texas and Alabama. And it is a well-known fact, in the big mob on the 14th of September, 1874, that one company of troops that they claimed they had in New Orleans at that time were not natives of the State of Louisiana nor residents of the State. The colored man knows that in case he should attempt to defend himself he has got not only the people of the State of Louisiana to fight, but the white people of several of the States adjoining; that they will come over to help them.

Q. All of whom are organized in military companies?—A. Yes, sir; belonging to military companies.

Q. So that it is a fact that where there is a Republican majority of ten to fifteen hundred votes, if the colored men should attempt to meet the forces of these bulldozers they would have to meet the forces from other parishes and other States?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you imagine that the government would be called upon by the colored people to assist them if they themselves should be unable to control these forces?—A. Well, there is another fear that the colored people have. They believe that if they were to rise to defend themselves, if it should be necessary in this defense, or if it should come about in their efforts to defend themselves that they should kill any of their white enemies, or burn their houses, or even whether they would burn their houses or not, they believe that it would be immediately telegraphed all over the North that the negroes were rising; that they were killing the white men, and burning down their houses and ravishing the women and doing all manner of devilment, and the whole North would rise against them. They believe that.

Q. Then, if a company of ten or fifteen or a hundred white men should come to a negro's cabin at night and take him out and lynch him, to intimidate the district, the rest do not think it would be safe for them to rise and try to put down this lawlessness?—A. No, sir; they do not think it would be safe, because of the reason I have given.

Q. Do they usually take the colored men in detail in this way, going to one man's cabin and taking him out, and then to another?—A. Yes, sir; they take them in that way; so that very few men are to be found in their cabins at these times when the trouble is on; very few of them sleep in their cabin during a political campaign.

Q. Why?—A. For the reason I have given; they have this knowledge, that the white men select the places to go to, and when they are coming to this man's cabin or not they do not know; so they think it the best way for them not to be in them. I, myself, at Baton Rouge, have been for a month or for two or three weeks at a time out till two or three o'clock in the morning before I would go to my room. I was out in the fields and on the road with my friends. It was known that I was out, because we would meet many white men on the road on horseback and in teams and wagons, and we would pass them and they have passed us many times, and some of them would acknowledge afterwards

that it was pretty hard to tell who was worst scared, them or us. It was just before election time, and we armed ourselves, and had our friends with us, and staid out in the streets all night, and out on the roads we would pass them many a night, and they pass us many a night. They knew we were out in this way ready to protect ourselves. I never left the parish but once, and I left it then to avoid a collision, because I believed that night they would try to take me, for we heard that they were going to take me and my friends that night.

Q. What were you doing?—A. I was ruuning for the State senate then.

Q. And you were simply making your campaign?—A. Yes, sir; that was all.

Q. You went out of the parish?—A. Yes; I took a skiff at night and went down the river and went away for ten days.

Q. Were you elected in that campaign?—A. Yes; I was elected to the State senate.

Q. Now you have given us an account of the way the white people have acted in the matter of the schools, depriving you of educational privileges and of the passage by them of various laws tending to curtail your liberties and reduce you in the matter of labor to a system of peonage; and you have also stated the manner in which they have carried elections and counted them against the Republicans if they could not carry them in any other way; is there any other reason you can give for the discontent among these people that induces them to leave?—A. Well, I want to say this right here; that I do not see why they think it necessary for the white men in the State of Louisiana to-day to use force to carry the elections for the Democrats?

Q. Why?—A. Simply because they have the count, and they count out anybody there is in that State, they don't care who he is, that is not a Democrat, or does not connect himself with the Democratic party. They have no respect for anybody, I don't care who he is; if he is not a Democrat, and don't train with the Democratic party, they count him out.

Q. How does the Democratic party that constitutes the white element in Louisiana mainly regard the colored man as a citizen?—A. In this way I can only explain it: They say, "This is a white man's government," and that all men of all other colors have just such rights as the white men choose to give them, and no more.

Q. And when they resort to bulldozing to prevent them from voting, or cheat them out their vote by counting it out, they are simply carrying out their rights under the Constitution? Is that what they say?—A. They say we have just such rights as they choose to give us.

Q. And that is understood among the colored people to be their view, is it?—A. Yes, sir; that is the knowledge among our people; they know that to be the case too well.

Q. Looking over the whole field, taking the character of the laws and of the State constitution, and the social custom and usages among the people—their treatment of your race, and so forth, let me ask you what remedy, if any, do you think the colored people have to secure their rights in these States?—A. There are a great many remedies, sir; but before I get to them, I would like to present my understanding of the matter, my opinion, as I have written it out.

Q. Well, I will limit the question a little, and ask you—?—A. But I want to call attention here, if you permit me, to the pros and cons of the exodus in that State, and my view of the remedies. I want to show, by papers published in that State, the character of the opposition against

us, what we have to contend with, and that they are responsible, and I want to place the responsibility right with our Southern friends, by giving selections from their papers, expressing their opinions, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose we don't want the witness to read all the newspapers?

Mr. WINDOM. No (addressing witness); you can let us have such extracts as you desire to submit.

The WITNESS. I want to call your attention to the fact that I have the opinions of a great many colored men in the South as to the causes of the exodus, and so forth, and a few of them—a very few—I would like to present.

The CHAIRMAN. Put all in that you want.

The WITNESS. I shall not want to put in a great deal, but a few brief extracts.

The CHAIRMAN. Put in what you want.

The WITNESS. I have here a short account of the way in which they have been hanging the colored men since the election, and the way they use them on the steamboats, &c.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have it.

The WITNESS. It is a "card" published in the New Orleans Picayune, and put in as an advertisement, marked "F 17—1t." It says (reading):

A CARD.

NAPOLÉONVILLE, LA., Feb. 14, 1880.

Editor New Orleans Picayune:

The grand jury of Assumption Parish this day rendered its final report this morning and unanimously ignored the bill against Clairville Blanchard (son of Capt. Max Blanchard, of steamer Belle), for killing a negro who attempted to buldoze the officers of said steamer, as reported in Picayune last week. The passengers present, both white and colored, testified that they never saw a case of more justifiable homicide.

Hereafter our traveling public will be assured that good order and steamboat discipline will be kept on Captain Blanchard's boat at all hazards.

H. H. C.

This is as it is published in the Picayune. He was a deck-hand on that boat, and some words passed between him and the mate, and the mate shot him down and killed him. They claimed that he was buldozing the officers of the boat; but, as it says in the latter end of that card that discipline will be kept on that boat at all hazards, it shows that they mean, if it is necessary to keep discipline by shooting down colored men, they would shoot them down.

I will read an account of the Amite outrage. The New Orleans Times of December 31, 1879, contains a telegram from Amite City, which it heads "Mob law—four negroes hanged and two released from jail." The telegram is dated December 29, 1879, and says:

About 10 o'clock this evening a mob, numbering not less than fifty, called on Sheriff F. P. Mix and demanded the keys of the jail.

After the keys were obtained, the mob then took six negroes who were confined in the jail, about half a mile from town, on what is known as "The Avenue," and hung four and liberated two for some cause not known.

When the four bodies were found, they were lying close together, and were riddled with bullets. Ropes were around the necks of three. Their names were Dick Smith, who was on trial for killing a white woman; George Carroll, charged with murdering his wife at Hammond, La.; Harrison Johnson and the other one were arrested on the charge of murdering a Mr. Phillips, at Tangipahoa, on Christmas Eve last.

The same paper, the New Orleans Times, of December 31, has an

editorial on the matter which it heads "The Amite madmen," which says :

And the reason why we take the liberty of criticising some recent performances in Tangipahoa Parish is that the performances aforesaid affect the interests of New Orleans, and indeed of the whole South, almost if not quite as seriously as they affect the interests of their immediate locality. We get a share of the uncomfortable damnation which drops down on the vicinage of the crime. We allude to the late Amite lynching affair, particulars of which have appeared in all the papers. Suppose we admit that the persons murdered by the mob were guilty as charged. How long can we hope that similar mobs will confine themselves only to those who are guilty? What guarantee that they will not—having taken the law in their hands with impunity once—think that a most convenient and expeditious way to get rid of persons who may only be suspected of guilt, or who may be obnoxious without being criminal? The law had not yet decreed that the accused men should die; and until it had so decreed they were innocent so far as that mob was concerned. That is the fundamental law in Amite as in other parts of the United States. It is the law, furthermore, which a large majority of the people of Amite approve and wish to see enforced. And the reason why this is a law as old as civilization is that mobs are the most hideous, precarious, and merciless of all executioners. To-day it may, indeed, punish a criminal of the blackest guilt, but to-morrow it may murder an innocent man, who only chanced to fall in the way of the beastly fury of the mob. Indeed, it came very near doing this Sunday night; it carried out six men and would have murdered them with dispatch but for the fact that Sheriff Mix called out to them that those men were innocent, or at any rate not suspected of the particular crime which the mob purported to be avenging. These are the kind of things which wear on civilized men—men who can see no hope for society except in the formal and orderly execution of the law. It is the vital distinction between Shacknasty Jim and Chief Justice Waite; between Cetywayo and the king's bench. The Amite affair is only less sickening to the people of Louisiana than to the fellows who were hung by the mob. Not that we like, any better than they, to see criminals go unpunished. On the contrary, we have felt constrained to cry out often against the miserable dawdling and weaknesses which let so many murderers in New Orleans go unconvicted, and let so many who were convicted go scot-free. But it is superfluous to say that we want no mob to assume the functions of jury and executioner. Our ambition is to eschew the mob in ourselves, of which there is now a fair prospect, and to have our neighbors eschew it, the prospect whereof is, just now, mighty sickly. Still we will not cease to hope for such a consummation, nor cease to lash those who through whatever mistaken impulse or whatever unrestrained passion persist in covering this fair section with the black poison of their lawlessness.

This was after the election. Since the election there have been some very curious things in the State, and we wonder why it is necessary to use any violence or intimidation so far as the election is concerned, because they have all the count in their hand and can easily count the vote to suit them.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. I want to ask you how the colored women, the wives of these colored men down there, look upon this exodus?—A. Well, the women have had more to do with it than all the politics and men in the country. These women, since reconstruction, have followed their husbands and brothers and all who had a vote, from morning to night, around the parishes demanding that they should vote the Republican ticket, especially if they heard that their husband, or brother, or father, was likely to vote the Democratic ticket. They have been very active since 1868 in all the political movements; they form a large number in all the political assemblages, and they have evidenced a deep interest in all that pertains to politics so far as their husbands and fathers and brothers were concerned; and they have always placed their desire that they should vote the Republican ticket on the ground that it was only through the Republican party and the principles of that party that they could secure homes for themselves and educational advantages for their children, and protection in all the rights accorded to them by the Constitution of the nation. And so they have followed up their husbands

and brothers and fathers until they have seen their Republican government swept away from under them; and now they have turned their attention to this emigration. There is in New Orleans to-day a committee formed in 1878, that was called then the "committee of five hundred women," of which Mrs. Mary J. Garrett is president; her name is now Mary Jane Nelson—she married this year.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Are they colored women?—A. Yes, sir; they are all colored women.

This committee published an address in 1878, that I am very sorry I have not with me now, in which they demanded every right and privilege that the Constitution guarantees to their race, and that they should use every power in their hands to get it.

Q. This committee of five hundred women in the city of New Orleans have been active, have they, in this movement of demanding that their husbands and brothers should leave that country and take them where they could live in security and peace, and get homes for themselves and education for their children?—A. Yes, sir; they have been active in this movement.

Q. What effect will the exodus have upon the colored people who remain in the South and in the State of Louisiana?—A. Well, I think the effect of the exodus on those that stay behind in Louisiana and in the South will be to make it a good deal better, possibly, for those that remain. I think that the labor would be scarcer, and that their wages would be higher, and there would be a great deal more respect paid to their educational and political and civil rights. I am one of those men who laugh at the idea of supplanting the labor of the South by white men or even Chinese. I have seen it tried by Chinese, and I think any man acquainted with the Mississippi Valley will agree with me that the colored people are the proper people for that portion of the country, and the only ones that are suited for it, simply from the fact that no class of emigrants can come to the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, or other State along the Mississippi Valley there, and live there safely at the very time when labor is most needed—in the summer time, the cropping time. Everybody knows that the yellow fever there is a big bug-bear to any man who don't live there. The people of the States themselves leave every summer and get away if they can for fear of the yellow fever. These colored men down there are acclimated men. It was never known before in the history of Louisiana so many colored people dying from yellow fever as year before last in the epidemic of 1878. There were more colored people took it—not so many died of it, however, as white—but more colored people took the fever that year than was ever known before in the history of that section of the country. But these colored men in that year, 1878, were more needed than ever, because whilst the yellow fever was going on and raging through the country they remained on the plantations, and carried on the crops just the same as if the owners were there; and they manned all these boats that went up and down the river; and they manned these ships that went across the Gulf; and no class of white men could do that in that section of the South because of their not being acclimated; at the very time when they should be there to carry on the crops of cotton, sugar, and so forth, they would be stricken down. We had an instance of this over in the Teche country, in the parish of Saint Mary, in which a Northern man went there last year and invested heavily in a sugar plantation and took a large number of white men down to

work it; and when the yellow got there into that parish, I know all the papers in the State said, although they were Northern people, that the yellow fever would not touch them, yet the man that bought that plantation died of the yellow fever, and nearly all around him died.

Q. You think, then, that the colored men would rather remain there if they had their rights?—A. Yes, sir; they would rather remain there than go on any other place on the face of the earth, if they could have all their rights and privileges secured to them.

Q. Well, how can this exodus be stopped, if it is better for all sides that it should be stopped?—A. Well, it can be stopped by giving to these people all their rights, and by securing to them all the privileges that belong to them the same as to any other class of citizens in our country.

I would like to submit my opinion here on that, as I have written it out. It is my view on it, as I mentioned before. I would like to submit it here.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; let us have it.

The WITNESS (reading):

To what extent this exodus will go depends entirely upon whether the causes which have occasioned it are greatly modified, or entirely removed or not. The difficulties are great, but the appliances are certainly at hand. There is no desire on the colored people of the South to deny the fact that they are thoroughly attached to their homes, and would prefer remaining there than going anywhere else on earth. Indeed, so great is their love for the South that no ordinary consideration could induce them to abandon it. This declaration is amply proven by the fact that, although their then masters went into the rebellion to continue and strengthen their system of slavery, the then slave remained quietly at home, tilled the soil, and cared for the families of the absent Confederate soldiers. When they were finally called into the service of the United States as soldiers they served out their time as such, and when mustered out, regardless of the place, they returned to their former plantations, even as the Confederate soldier returned to his home, and, laying down his musket, again, as in days of yore, took up the hoe and other agricultural implements, and evidenced a desire to assist the Southerner in building up the waste places of the South. Again, when Abraham Lincoln proclaimed their freedom they did not abandon their Southern homes for Northern climes, but remained where freedom found them, and there they have attempted to stay under all manner of iniquities, outrages, and wrongs; but as these were perpetrated on him during the time that Republican laws were in the ascendancy, both national and State, he remained strong in his hope and faith in the final triumph of right over wrong. But to-day he is going, and why? All is changed. His hope is crushed, his faith departed. Democracy rules the entire South. Their promises to the nation and their colored population have not been kept. Legislation, capital, and one class of the people of the South are against them. They have been subjected to greater outrages under Democratic rule than ever under Republican rule and even now their rights are further threatened. To raise again their hopes, to effect a return of their faith, and induce them to remain in the South, there must be no uncertain, powerful public sentiment in the country thus affected, and a returning sense of justice in the disturbed localities. To start with this course will be to suggest and apply correctives to the abuses which have brought about this exodus, and the dominant class convinced not only of the wickedness, but the folly of their proscription may so enforce the laws of the nation and States as to secure to all citizens the enjoyment practically of equality of rights. In this event this exodus would be undoubtedly checked and finally ended, and even if persevered in, but comparatively few would avail themselves of this dernier resort. However, it cannot successfully be denied that proscription and outrages against the colored people have so obtained in certain localities to such an extent as to breed profound discontent and prevalent restlessness in many communities, and which must be absolutely and unmistakably allayed in order to stop this flight of the colored people out from their modern Egypt. There is undoubtedly another great and serious cause which occasions discontent among the colored people of the South. They are landless and without homes; they are compelled to labor, like the peasantry of Europe, at the will of others. This dependence compels them to accept such compensation as the landlord may offer, and also to accept payment often in a practical discount of their nominal earnings.

An experience of fifteen years shows that the colored people of the South have neither secured homes nor accumulated a competence commensurate with their labors and desires. There may be cases to the contrary, but they are the exceptions and not the

rule. It is useless to descant upon the consequences of such-dependence. Without homes there can be no established permanent form of family. The daily laborer is compelled to scatter his family for their sustenance; they are thus subjected to injurious influences, and the parents are left to infirmity and old age without the presence and care of their children. That the proportion of offenses against the law should be greater in this disorganized condition on the part of the colored people than of the whites is reasonable to be supposed. It is very natural that the women of the colored race should deprecate this continued poverty and dependence. It is natural that they should desire to seek some country where their labor should secure them a home in which they would employ their children in creating at once a home and a heritage. This home, they are now being taught, is to be found in the West. This discontent, added to their apprehensions of disfranchisement, impels the colored people of the South to emigrate. It may be, and is often asked, why the colored people of the South should quit a country which they prefer to any other, for one in which a better destiny may not be assured them? Have not the same causes founded and peopled America? Are any people prouder of their country than the English? Can any more adore their own land than the French? Can any give higher evidence of attachment to their fatherland than the German? Or of conceit of the accomplishments and progress of their race than the Chinese? Yet all these people have quitted their respective countries for the wilderness of America. The causes were combined; the class oppression to which the Englishman, Irishman, Frenchman, and German were subjected, and the want of an independent home for themselves and their families. With the Chinese it was a financial question alone. The most striking example of these combined effects is found in the case of the inhabitants of Ireland. Perhaps no people are more attached to their country than the Irish people. Were the lands subdivided as homes among them, or were the political institutions such as assured to these inhabitants an equal participation in the government of their country, they would be content to remain at home. The want of political security, and the denial of fixed homes, has made a large part of the Irish laborers but toilers by the day upon the lands of others. One result of their discontent has been the emigration chiefly to the United States, of more than three millions of Irish. Homes and education have made the emigrants to this country the peers of the best of American citizens, but these emigrants found homes and education in the *Northern and Western States* and not in the South. With the example of the effect which practical ostracism, social degradation, and industrial serfdom has had upon the people of Europe, with the evidence of their progress and advancement under the political protection, industrial equality, and educational advantage afforded to the institutions of the United States, is it not probable that to protect the discontented colored people of this country in the exercise of their chartered rights, and to permit them quietly and securely to obtain homes and educational advantages, employment for themselves and families, would produce an effect analogous to that of their European examples? In justice and in wisdom this experiment should be made. It may stop an exodus which is undoubtedly subject to the impulses with that which founded the United States, and which threaten to depopulate Ireland. I affirm that only by the equal justice of laws, grouping together the common interests of all her citizens regardless of race, color, or parties, the strength of the united energies, minds, and sinews of her whole people, the experience and maturity of the intellect and wisdom of her true sons, on the part of the whites, freedom from persecutions, violence, and bloodshed, freedom to go and come, to think and act, to fear no one or anything excepting God and the laws of his country, on the part of the colored people, by all these just results, and by them only, can a remedy be found, which, in my opinion would stop this exodus. Finally, all these great interests should be combined to arrest this exodus. The colored people should be encouraged and permitted to secure homes, education unlimited and uncontrolled should be placed within their reach, and male and female employed in various industries in the South for which their race is peculiarly endowed. We have mentioned the influence of the women of color in impelling the men to seek some country where the safety of their political rights and the acquisition of homes is practicable. In this point of view, I would add that the natural desire of the colored women of the South to ameliorate the condition of themselves and families, may be able to interpose an important barrier against immigration, by making the country of their choice more satisfactory to them. These, in my opinion, are the remedies calculated to stop the exodus.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Are there any other matters that occur to you now that you would like to state?—A. No, sir; except to submit as evidence a few extracts from the papers and proceedings of conventions that I have referred to, in confirmation of my opinion as expressed in my written views that I have just read.

Mr. WINDOM. You can mark such of them as you wish to put in and hand them to the reporter.

[These extracts, as handed by witness and marked for insertion, are printed at the close of witness's testimony.]

Cross-examination of witness :

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. Mr. Burch, when do you expect to leave Louisiana ?—Answer. Well, if I had followed the advice of my wife I would have gone long ago. I thought I would wait and see, if we could, who we would elect as President.

Q. So you and your wife differed on that subject ; the colored men and women differ on the exodus, do they ?—A. Well, she has less faith in events than I have.

Q. You mean she has less faith in the election of a Republican President ?—A. Yes, sir ; she is only sharing possibly in the fears and apprehensions of a good many others among our people that we had better get out before one goes in.

Q. So you have not as yet found it a necessity to go yourself from Louisiana ?—A. I have not yet left the State.

Q. And you are advising other people to leave, when you have not found it necessary to go yourself ?—A. Does the chairman of this committee understand that I have said I have advised our people to go to Kansas ?

Q. I do not say to Kansas, but to leave Louisiana.—A. I do not know that I have said that.

Q. Is not that the purport of the paper you have just read here ?—A. I do not think there is anything in this paper that says that I have induced them to go.

Q. You do not ?—A. No ; I believe I have given reasons why they should not go ; why the exodus should be stopped.

Q. Have you not been asked by Mr. Windom repeatedly in your examination to give your reasons why the colored people were leaving Louisiana ?—A. Yes, sir ; I have.

Q. And you have been asserting that there was no hope for them except they left Louisiana, unless certain things were changed that you referred to very fully ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that you had little hope that they would be changed ?—A. I have more hope than some in reference to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me have the first sheet of your statement.

The WITNESS (handing the written statement to the chairman). I think you will find I have said nothing there to show that I was in favor of their going or not. I have not been asked that question.

Q. Well, then, I ask it now, simply, plainly, and distinctly, Mr. Burch, are you in favor of the exodus of the colored people from your State at this time, or have you been for the last two, three, four, or five years—at any time during that period ?—A. No, sir ; I have never been in favor of their leaving the South. I have had more confidence than some that their condition would be improved, as I have always said that the South was the place where they ought to be.

The CHAIRMAN. I noticed an observation of this sort in your written statement here. Up to that time I had inferred that you were very strongly in favor of the exodus. I am very glad I have asked you that question.

The WITNESS. I try to answer all the questions asked me according to the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. I will give you every opportunity. I have no desire to make any point upon your testimony, except what you make yourself; so you may dismiss any ideas of that kind from your mind, if you have them. I want to get at just what your opinion is about this exodus; so I will ask you again. You have answered it already, I know, but I will ask you again whether you have been in favor of the exodus of Southern people from Louisiana?—A. You asked me had I done so for four or five years.

Q. Well, I ask you now, are you in favor of it now?—A. I am, sir; in a modified form.

Q. What is the modification?—A. If they can remain in the South and be protected in their civil and religious rights—I won't dwell so much on their political rights—but if they can be permitted to secure homes and be secured in their title to these homes when they get them, then I believe it is better for the South and for the whole country that these people should remain there.

Q. Well, we agree upon that.—A. But I have not finished yet.

Q. Go on.—A. But if they cannot get their rights and be protected in the enjoyment of them, then I am certainly in favor of their going somewhere under the American flag where they can have and exercise these rights. The Englishman, Irishman, Frenchman, and German, I find, deserted their own country and offered their allegiance to this for the purpose of obtaining these very things.

Q. Would you have them go to Liberia?—A. I find that the colored man does not like the idea of going to Liberia. Many efforts have been made to have him go there, but he don't like that; he prefers to remain here in this country as an American citizen, and if he cannot secure his rights as an American citizen in the South, then he wants to go somewhere in the United States where he can, as Mr. Adams says—to Kansas or Nebraska, or Missouri—or to any State he can where he can be a citizen under the American flag without fear or hindrance.

I am in favor, sir, of doing all that man can do to better their condition in every respect; and I may say here, Mr. Chairman, and I take a great deal of pleasure in saying, that in every movement made in Louisiana towards the unification of the races I have taken an important part, sir; and all of their efforts to bring about a unification of races I claim were defeated by the politicians; and for that reason, up to the present time, I have not come out openly in favor of emigration.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly.

The WITNESS. I went to my parish last year, and I asked the colored people to remain in that parish, and to unpack their trunks and unpack their furniture, and try once more to see if they could not have the full and free exercise of their rights. I done that last year in the campaign, and I did keep a great many of the people from going. But they told me right up in public meeting, "Mr. Burch, there is no use in us staying if we cannot have our rights, and if Mr. Wiltz is elected governor we are going."

Q. Where did they say they were going?—A. To Kansas. And they are going.

Q. Now, you said you were in favor of the exodus in a modified form?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And I asked you to give the modification?—A. And I have done so.

Q. I am not complaining at all. You have done so very fully. You state that if they could enjoy their civil and personal and religious rights in Louisiana, you would be in favor of their staying?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But if they could not you were in favor of their going?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, what is your opinion as to whether they can obtain these rights or not?—A. I do not think they can in Louisiana, sir.

Q. Then you are in favor of their leaving, are you?—A. I do not think they can, and in case they cannot get them I am in favor of their leaving.

Q. Very well.—A. Will you permit me to state why?

Q. Certainly.—A. Well, I noticed, Mr. Chairman, in every one of the Southern States, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, that just as fast as these States passed under Democratic rule there was immediately a large emigration out of those States to the Southern States that were Republican, into Mississippi and Louisiana. The census of 1875 showed that thousands of people from Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida had come into these States, to the Southern States that were Republican, into Mississippi and Louisiana, that had not been there before; and now they came into these States because they were under Republican governors; but as quick as they passed under Democratic governors, that is, in 1878, these people having no other Southern State to go to, and it being the same in Louisiana and Mississippi as other States, concluded that the only other thing for them to do was to follow Horace Greeley's advice to "go West." So they have started out under these circumstances.

Q. I believe you are a State senator now, Mr. Burch?—A. No; I place an "ex" before that.

Q. How long has it been since you were State senator?—A. This year. I was two years in the lower house.

Q. You have not yourself been denied political rights to a serious extent in Louisiana, have you?—A. Never but once, when the Democrats made me vote for Seymour, and I lost my vote.

Q. It was not bought, was it?—A. No; I found it six months after in a Democratic jail, under the floor. They had changed the ballot boxes.

Q. Well, there is a good deal of that going on down in Louisiana, isn't there?—A. What do you refer to?

Q. You spoke of returning boards. You had the election board in 1876, hadn't you?—A. Yes.

Q. And you counted the vote of Louisiana for Mr. Hayes?—A. We counted it under the laws of the State of Louisiana.

Q. For Mr. Hayes, didn't you?—A. It so came out by the count.

Q. Can you say distinctly that it was so counted?—A. Well, I think the chairman knows about that.

Q. I have difficulty in finding out that you know about it by the way you answer.—A. I don't doubt it one bit.

Q. You were one of the electors?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And I understand you to admit that you did count the vote for Mr. Hayes?—A. Yes, sir; under the laws of the State of Louisiana.

Q. Do you think the majority of the people of Louisiana voted?—A. Who do you call the majority?

Q. All that voted.—A. I think a majority did vote; yes, sir.

Q. You think so, honestly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that the count was simply a count of the votes that were put in?—A. No; I don't say that.

Q. No?—A. I say the count of the returning board was made under the laws of the State.

Q. Well, the laws of the State were made by the Republican party, were they?—A. Yes.

Q. And then the laws of the State made by the Republican party didn't necessarily count out the votes that were put in, did they?—A. They didn't. In that respect I don't think they followed the laws very plainly.

Q. Yes; and they counted out whom they pleased; counted particularly those they put in, and estimated those that were not put in also?—A. Well, I maintain that they counted that return under the laws of Louisiana.

Q. O, I know that. Let me ask you what you mean by this sentence in your statement, which I listened to with a great deal of pleasure? You said this: "Again, when Abraham Lincoln proclaimed their freedom, they did not abandon their Southern homes for Northern climes, but remained where freedom found them."—A. Yes, sir.

Q. "And there they attempted to stay under all manner of iniquities, outrages, and wrongs; but as these were perpetrated upon him during the time that Republican laws were in the ascendancy, both national and State, he remained strong in his hope and faith in the final triumph of right over wrong." Why did you particularly have strong faith in the triumph of right over wrong? Because these outrages were inflicted upon the negroes under Republican administration, both national and State, or why? What connection is there between your strong hope and faith in the final triumph of right over wrong and the ascendancy of the Republican party, both in the nation and State? I don't exactly see the connection; you can probably explain it.—A. Well, I think that is very easily explained, Mr. Chairman.

Q. Well, explain it.—A. My explanation is this: Under Republican rule, Republican laws, and so forth, not only in the State, but in the nation, with a Republican President and a Republican Congress, they believed that finally the amendments placed in the Constitution of the United States would be enforced, so that it would be just as safe to be a Republican in Louisiana as it would to be a Republican in Indiana or Ohio; and although these outrages were perpetrated on them to a great extent, they did not believe it was necessary for them to leave that country, nor did they leave that country. They remained where they were, with all the intimidation and violence, because they knew they were under Republican rule, both in the State and nation. It was only when the State of Louisiana and other Southern States came under Democratic rule that they commenced to believe that the Democratic party was not a safe custodian of their rights and liberties. And so they are leaving.

Q. But you say that all these outrages and wrongs in Louisiana were perpetrated upon your people during the time that the Republicans were in the ascendancy both in the nation and State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can you tell us how much worse Democratic ascendancy in the nation and the State can be than that?—A. I will tell you what I mean by that. I thought you would ask me that question, but after I wrote it I would not scratch it out. About suffering more, I will tell you. When the Republicans were in the majority and assumed the control of the government, we had a Republican governor and a Republican legislature. The laws we passed were for the protection of all citizens of the State, regardless of color, or class, or party, so that at that time all the negroes were bothered with was the intimidation and violence of the dominant race; but to-day the Democratic party is in the ascendancy in the State. It has a Democratic governor and a Democratic legislature, but the violence and intimidation, if they choose to visit it now, they can visit by the legislature, and put such laws as they please

upon the statute-books, and thereby subject him to greater outrages than were visited on him under a Republican governor and a Republican legislature.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Have they done it?—A. I have referred here in my testimony to laws passed by the legislature, and read the speech of a colored Republican to show that from the action of the legislature the fear and distrust the colored people have of the legislature come from its interference with their educational privileges and personal rights.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You state this in a very comprehensive manner when you say that "all" manners of outrages and wrongs were perpetrated upon these people during the time that the Republicans were in the ascendency. I would like to know how much more the Democratic party could do to inflict outrages and wrongs than that, whether by the legislature or in any other way?—A. Well, I will plead guilty to an extravagance of language, and I will qualify my statement as written by striking out "all" and inserting "some."

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You say "all manners"—all kinds—not all men?—A. Yes; I meant to say all kinds of outrages. I will say "many" outrages and wrongs.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Is it not true that you had just as rough a time, and rougher, when Grant was President and Kellogg was governor, than you have now in Louisiana?—A. I will confess that we had, sir; we have got more quietness there now.

Q. You are in a quieter condition now than then?—A. Yes, sir; we have a certain quietness down there now, and that quietness is because we are in a condition down there that our vote doesn't count for anything hardly. They have control of the government; and I repeat again what I said a little while ago, that I don't see what use there is of taking men out of jail and hanging them, and shooting them down on steamboats, and chasing them on the streets now, when they have the whole count in their hands, and when all they have to do is to count us out.

And one thing more. I say there are to-day in the State of Louisiana more refugees driven from their homes and families and possessions than ever before in Louisiana.

Q. At this time?—A. At this time.

Q. Whereabouts in the State?—A. Well, anywheres than in their homes.

Q. Whereabouts in the State are they driven from their homes?—A. I will give you the parishes and names of some of them: Mr. Raby, of Natchitoches; Mr. Blount, of Natchitoches; Mr. John G. Lewis, of Natchitoches; each and every one of these men are men of property, and dare not go to their parishes, and are in New Orleans to-day. And Mr. Hill, of Ouachita.

Q. Why did these men have to leave Natchitoches?—A. For political reasons.

Q. Growing out of what?—A. Mr. Raby was a representative in the legislature; Mr. Lewis was a representative, and Mr. Blount was a senator, and they had to leave their parish because of political opposition there.

[The following extracts, statements, &c., were admitted into the record as part of the evidence of witness.

Under the head of interference with personal rights and freedom of speech, referred to in the written statement read by witness, witness submits the following article in the New Orleans Louisianian of November 15, 1879, with the note that it is written by J. D. Kennedy, esq., a candidate on the Republican ticket for secretary of state in Louisiana in 1879, and who was prevented personally by white men from speaking in Tensas Parish. The article is headed, "Tensas Parish; the outrage at Waterproof; interesting statement of facts by J. D. Kennedy, esq.," and proceeds as follows:]

TENSAS PARISH—OUTRAGE AT WATERPROOF.

DELTA, November 10, 1879.

MY DEAR MAJOR: When I left you in New Orleans a few weeks ago, you will remember I predicted we would meet with no opposition in our tour through the State, other than that based upon an honest difference of opinion as to men, measures, and politics. Imagine my surprise, therefore, when we were not permitted to speak to the hundreds who had assembled to meet us at Waterproof a few days since. We have closely followed the programme mapped out by our campaign committee, and everywhere have been greeted by large and attentive audiences. Even in Baton Rouge, where the bulldozer has held sway for some years, and where a Republican meeting has not been held since 1876, our audience—so I was informed by eye-witnesses—was three times as large as that which greeted Mr. Wiltz and his party. I was not prepared, therefore, for the treatment I received at Waterproof. Judge Beattie did not go with us to Waterproof. He complained of being unwell and well-nigh worn out by continual travel and talking. He sent word to me by the route agent on the "R. E. Lee" that he would await our arrival at Saint Joseph, where we were advertised to speak on the 6th. Mr. Bobe and myself, in deference to the wishes of the large number of colored people present, many of whom had come over twenty miles to hear us, decided to hold a meeting at any rate, although we had every reason to believe an attempt would be made to prevent it. A large number of white men were present, and I saw by the repeated consultations they meant business. As soon as Mr. Bobe commenced to speak, he was interrupted by several white men. They hurrahd for Wiltz, jeered and hissed when Judge Beattie's name was called, and said they were determined to break up any Republican meeting in that section of their parish; that the whites and blacks were satisfied with the present condition of affairs; that they were tired of this thing, and proposed hereafter to manage matters to suit themselves. I came forward and made an appeal to Mr. Yamer, who, I believe, is the mayor of the town, and who was very violent in his denunciation of white Republicans, to allow me to speak. I told him I was a native of the State, a candidate on the ticket, and I demanded a hearing as a colored man who had received up to this time the praises of the Democratic journals for his conservative views wherever he had spoken. He would not hear me there. I offered to divide time with him and have a joint discussion. He declined that. He then invited me over to his store, where he said "we can talk." I went over with him, followed by a crowd of whites and blacks. There I was given to understand that while it was not their purpose to hurt a single hair in the head of a colored man, it was their determination to maintain Democratic government in this State. I was told by another gentleman present, who took the boat and went to Yatchez with us, that they intended to break up the meeting at Saint Joseph the next day. He advised me to stay away. I went to Saint Joseph, however, and sure enough they were all there; but I learned after, they were given to understand by the merchants in Saint Joseph, and by Mr. Bland and other large planters in that end of the parish, that they would not be permitted to interfere with the Republican meeting. Now, you know I have been heretofore pretty conservative in my opinions, so much so as to have my motives impugned and questioned by many warm personal and political friends. But when the white men of Waterproof and the surrounding country permit a Jew, and a Pennsylvania carpet-bagger at that, to guide and direct them in a crusade against free speech and fair play, I think it is time for me to halt and ask the question whether my appeals to that sense of justice which ought to characterize an intelligent people have not been in vain. When did the Jew free himself from proscription and prejudice? How long has it been since his race has had the right to disturb and agitate labor by mere prejudice on account of color or of political faith? The history I have read tells me they have always been a proscribed people, and that the spirit of hate evinced against them last summer was rebuked by the moral sentiment of this country through the press and pulpit when Judge Hilton and other hotel

proprietors North refused to accommodate them at their hotels. I am loath to believe that Mr. Yamer's action will be indorsed by or that it reflects the sentiments of any considerable number of his people. It cannot be that after the persecution and ostracism they have suffered through countless ages they are now to become the persecutors of others, socially, politically, or otherwise. But it makes a great difference, I suppose, when they join a party whose principles are based on prejudice, and whose policy has been to oppose by negative acts and votes all the grand principles engrafted on our legislation for the amelioration of our condition. I consider this act, although no personal violence was offered, an outrage that gives the lie to the fair promises of protection and freedom of speech made and guaranteed by Mr. Wiltz and his followers to the colored people of the State. When will the Democratic party learn wisdom from experience? I venture the prediction that the action of the whites at Waterproof will tend to unsettle and make restive in a more marked degree the labor in that section. In their eagerness and haste to get at the "rat-hole of the public treasury" they are losing sight of the things that tend to develop and enhance the material interests of the State. Their labor is agitated. Their treasury is depleted. Their credit is at stake, but it makes little difference to them. Honors are reserved for those who break up Republican meetings, for I have no doubt Mr. Yamer will be reappointed mayor for his "devotion to party" in the "great crisis" at Waterproof. This little affair does not deter me in the least, however, for I shall go forward and see whether this spirit of intolerance exists in other sections of our State.

Yours for the right,

JAMES D. KENNEDY.

The Louisiana Capitolian of February 14, 1880, publishes the following account of proceedings of a citizens' meeting held in East Baton Rouge Parish in the interest of the assertion of the rights of the colored people:

Proceedings of citizens' meeting.

PIKE'S HALL, February 7, 1880.

Pursuant to notice given by a committee of citizens, a mass meeting of the citizens of the parish of East Baton Rouge, irrespective of party or color, was this day held at Pike's Hall, for the purpose explained in the report of the committee on resolutions which follows.

The meeting was called to order by Samuel P. Greves, esq.; and, on motion, Rev. R. F. Patterson, of the ninth ward, was called to preside, and W. C. Annis, of the first ward, was requested to act as secretary.

Not being entirely familiar with the object of the meeting, the chair called on some member of the committee who had issued the call to explain why the meeting had been called and the object to be accomplished.

Mr. Andrew Jackson, on behalf of the committee, explained that the object of the meeting was in the interest of labor and to assure protection to all classes of our citizens against unlawful interference by evil-disposed and irresponsible persons, and moved that a committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions expressing the sentiments of the people to that effect. Pending the adoption of the motion it was suggested to increase the committee to eight; the suggestion was accepted, and the motion adopted.

The chair then appointed the following gentlemen on said committee: Samuel P. Greves, Daniel Morgan, E. L. Woodside, Aug. Williams, J. A. Dougherty, Ivey Patterson, J. C. Charrotte, Jesse Magee.

On motion of Mr. C. F. Smith, the secretary was added to the committee.

The committee then retired to draw up their report. During their absence the meeting was addressed by Col. R. Caruth, General Allen Thomas, of Ascension, A. B. Booth, esq., and the Rev. R. F. Patterson. The committee having returned, at the conclusion of Mr. Patterson's address, submitted the following report:

We, the undersigned committee, appointed by the mass meeting of citizens of the parish of East Baton Rouge, held at Pike's Hall on Saturday, the 7th of February, to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting, respectfully report the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the good citizens of this parish of all classes and conditions have heard with mingled feelings of shame and indignation that peaceable and industrious citizens of this parish have been threatened with violence and even death by masked men and by secret written missives left clandestinely at the houses of citizens unless they should quit the parish; and, further, that such threats have been carried out by acts of arson and personal violence; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the citizens of East Baton Rouge, do deprecate said malicious and unlawful acts, and will do everything within our power to detect and bring to

justice all persons who have or who may hereafter be guilty of said unlawful and malicious acts, and will encourage and defend our citizens who may have been threatened or injured in disclosing the offenders and giving their testimony in the courts.

Resolved, That we have full confidence in our judiciary, and in the executive officers of our parish and State, that they will do their whole duty whenever complaints are brought regularly before them of offenses against the property and persons of all classes of citizens without regard to color or condition, and we call upon all persons who may know of such offenses to make the same known to the officers of the law.

Resolved, That we especially congratulate the citizens of our parish upon the action of our excellent governor, Louis A. Wiltz, in announcing to the citizens of our parish his determination to bring to justice all offenders against the persons and property of our citizens. And be it further

Resolved, That while we intend to do all in our power to give full protection in life and property to our colored people, at the same time we expect a like return of good feeling on the part of our colored people towards their white friends, so that a mutual good feeling will exist on both sides.

Respectfully submitted.

SAMUEL P. GREVES,
Chairman.

J. C. CHARLOTTE.
J. D. DOUGHERTY.
IVEY PATTERSON.
E. L. WOODSIDE.
DANIEL MORGAN.
W. C. ANNIS.
A. WILLIAMS.
JESSE MAGEE.

Pending a motion by Mr. Jackson to adopt the report, Maj. R. L. Pruyn arose and orally offered the following amendment, or rather additional resolution, to the report; which, being reduced to writing by Mr. A. B. Booth, was submitted and its adoption urged by him in a few remarks:

Resolved further, That we do as citizens earnestly desire that our colored citizens should be fully protected in every civil, religious, and political right guaranteed to them by the letter and spirit of the constitution and laws of the State, the right to vote, the right to acquire property, to enjoy the benefits of liberty without any hindrance or intimidation whatever, believing that protection to them and their rights is not only demanded by justice, but by the spirit and letter of our constitution and laws.

After some discussion an understanding was arrived at that the resolution was not to replace any part of the report submitted, but to be added thereto; when the whole was adopted by a unanimous vote.

On motion of Samuel P. Greves, esq., the three newspapers of this city were requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

A motion, by Augustus Williams, returning the thanks of the meeting to the chairman, secretary, and committee, was adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

R. F. PATTERSON, *Chairman.*
WM. ANNIS, *Secretary.*

CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN AT NASHVILLE.

The following extracts from proceedings and reports of committees are given of the late national convention of colored men held at Nashville, Tenn., May 6, 7, 8, and 9, 1879, at which representative colored men were present from all parts of the South:

The call seconded.

CHARLESTON COLORED WESTERN EMIGRATION SOCIETY,
Charleston, S. C., April 30, 1879.

At a meeting of the said society, held at the residence of the chairman on the 30th day of April, 1879, to take into consideration the question of what this society shall do in response to the call issued by our fellow-sufferers, the friends and promoters of the

movement for the emigration of the colored people from the former Southern slave State of the Union to the free States and Territories of the country, for a convention to be held at Nashville, Tenn., on the 6th of May proximo, the officers of this society and many other persons interested being present, and an informal discussion and free interchange of views upon the subject being had, it was unanimously voted to second the call.

Let us appeal to the good people of the country to aid us in changing the place of our abode to the free States and Territories. We have willing hands as ever; we have strong arms still. We are sneeringly told that we are poor and have not the means of defraying our expenses in removing from here to the free States and Territories. We have no apology to make for our poverty. It comes illy from those who have enjoyed our unrequited labor for hundreds of years the taunt that we are poor. Voted that the foregoing, signed by the officers of this society, be transmitted to the Nashville convention, with the request that the officers of said convention furnish this society with a certified copy of the proceedings of the said convention, and with such other papers as they may be in possession of, of interest.

M. G. CHAMPLIN, *Chairman.*
JAMES N. HAYNE, *Secretary.*

Report of the Committee on Address.

Fifteen years have elapsed since our emancipation, and though we have made material advancement as citizens, yet we are forced to admit that obstacles have been constantly thrown in our way to obstruct and retard our progress. Our toil is still unrequited, hardly less under freedom than slavery, whereby we are sadly oppressed by poverty and ignorance, and consequently prevented from enjoying the blessings of liberty, while we are left to the shame and contempt of all mankind. This unfortunate state of affairs is because of the intolerant spirit exhibited on the part of the men who control the State governments of the South to-day. Free speech in many localities is not tolerated. The lawful exercise of the rights of citizenship is denied, when majorities must be overcome. Proscription meets us on every hand; in the school-room, in the church that sings praises to that God who made of one blood all the nations of the earth; in places of public amusement, in the jury box, and in the local affairs of government we are practically denied the rights and privileges of freemen.

We cannot expect to rise to the dignity of true manhood under the system of labor and pay as practically carried out in some portions of the South to-day. Wages are low at best, but when paid in scrip having no purchasing power beyond the prescribed limits of the land owner, it must appear obviously plain that our condition must ever remain the same; but with a fair adjustment between capital and labor, we as a race, by our own industry, would soon be placed beyond want, and in a self-sustaining condition.

Our people in the North, while free from many outrages practiced on our brethren in the South, are not wholly exempt from unjust discriminations. Caste prejudices have sufficient sway to exclude them from the workshop, trades, and other avenues of remunerative business and advancement.

We realize that education is the patent lever by which we are to be elevated to the plane of useful citizenship. We have the disposition and natural ability to acquire and utilize knowledge when equal facilities are accorded, but we are denied the necessary advantages, owing to the defective common-school system, and non-enforcement of laws in most of the Southern States. We therefore favor and recommend a national educational system embracing advantages for all, the same to be sustained by the proceeds derived from the sale of public lands.

Wholly unbiased by party considerations, we contemplate the lamentable political condition of our people, especially in the South, with grave and serious apprehensions for the future. Having been given the ballot for the protection of our rights, we find, through systematic intimidation, outrage, violence, and murder, our votes have been suppressed, and the power thus given us has been made a weapon against us. The migration of the colored people now going on from several of the Southern States has assumed such proportions as to demand the calm and deliberate consideration of every thoughtful citizen of the country. It is the result of no idle curiosity, or disposition to evade labor. It proceeds upon the assumption that there is a combination of well-planned and systematic purposes to still further abridge their rights and privileges, and reduce them to a state of actual serfdom. It is declared in Holy Writ, that "The ox that treadeth out the corn shall not be muzzled." If their labor is valuable, it should be respected. If it is demonstrated that it cannot command respect in the South, there is but one alternative, and that is to emigrate. But as the South possesses many advantages for them, they would prefer to remain there if they could peacefully enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are legally entitled, and receive fair and equitable remuneration for their labor. The disposition to leave the communities in

which they feel insecure is an evidence of a healthy growth in manly independence, and should receive the commendation and support of all philanthropists. We therefore heartily indorse the National Emigration Aid Society recently organized at Washington, D. C., and bespeak for it a successful issue in its laudable undertaking.

We view with gratification the recent efforts of the planters of Mississippi and Louisiana, at the Vicksburg convention, to effect an adjustment of the labor troubles existing in that section of the country. Believing that through such movements it is possible to establish friendly relations, adjust all differences between the races, and secure a final and satisfactory settlement of the grave causes underlying the unsettled and inharmonious condition of affairs now obtaining among them at the South, we would respectfully recommend to both classes the adoption of similar action in the future for the settlement of all differences which may arise between them.

Report of the committee on education and labor.

That the first want of the colored laborer, whether he shall remain at the South, or shall emigrate to the West, is to become a landholder to his own home.

That, in view of the opportunity to obtain land by homestead from the United States, or purchased on easy terms from individuals in several of the Southern and Western States, the colored farmer who year after year contents himself with hiring his labor, without an effort to obtain land, not only impedes his own material progress, but is a heavy weight upon the uplifting of his race. We further urge them to use their influence and suffrage at all times in the interest of public schools. We also urge upon them the great importance of giving their children a liberal education, and of using their influence to induce their neighbors likewise to give their children good educations. We also ask all our fellow-citizens, of whatever race or party, to join with us in developing such a healthy state of public sentiment that the operation of the school systems in many of the States may be so modified that the public schools of said States may become more general in numbers and effective in operation. We would also recommend to the various State legislatures the adoption of compulsory systems of public education.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed upon conference from each State to memorialize their respective legislatures relative to this all-important question, and ask that a more efficient system of this great bulwark of our freedom, happiness, rights, and liberties be established.

It is the sense of this conference that separate schools are highly detrimental to the interests of both races, and that such schools foster race prejudice, but where they do exist colored teachers should be employed in colored schools in preference to white teachers. This national conference memorializes Congress to place in the hands of a board of regents of colored men the sum of three hundred thousand dollars, the amount of unclaimed bounty of the colored soldiers and sailors of the Federal Army during the rebellion, the same to be used in establishing and maintaining an industrial and technical school for colored youth, in the unoccupied buildings at Harper's Ferry, or at some other easily accessible point.

Report of committee on migration.

The committee on migration submitted its report, which was read by J. H. Burch, of Louisiana.

We beg leave to submit the following resolutions :

Whereas the political and civil rights of the colored people, from the Ohio River to the Gulf of Mexico, are abridged and curtailed in every conceivable manner ;

Whereas there seems to be no disposition on the part of the great majority of Southern whites to better this condition of affairs, or to grant the colored people their full rights of citizenship ; and

Whereas a further submission to the wrongs imposed, and a further acquiescence in the abrogation of our rights and privileges would prove us unfit for citizenship, devoid of manhood, and unworthy the respect of men ; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that the great current of migration which has for the past few months taken so many of our people from their homes in the South, and which is still carrying hundreds to the free and fertile West, should be encouraged and kept in motion until those who remain are accorded every right and privilege guaranteed by the constitution and laws.

Resolved, That we recommend great care on the part of those who migrate. They should leave home well prepared with certain knowledge of localities to which they intend to move ; money enough to pay their passage and enable them to begin life in their new homes with prospect of ultimate success.

Resolved, That this conference indorse the Windom committee as the permanent national executive committee on migration.

Resolved, That the American Protective Society organized by this conference be, and are hereby, authorized and ordered to co-operate with the said committee in the earliest endeavor to secure home sin the West for those of our race who are denied the full enjoyment of American citizenship.

We also recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That this conference recommend that the national executive committee, of which Senator Windom is chairman, appoint a committee of three to visit the Western States and Territories, and report not later than the 1st of November upon the health, climate, and productions of said States and Territories.

Hon. J. T. Raper, Alabama; George N. Perkins, Arkansas; J. C. Napier, Tennessee; R. W. Fitzhugh, Mississippi; G. W. Gentry, Kentucky; Hon. J. H. Burch, Louisiana; W. R. Lawton, Missouri; W. B. Higginbotham, Georgia; John Averett, Virginia; J. H. S. Parker, District of Columbia; F. L. Barnett, Illinois; Col. Robert Harlan, Ohio; H. G. Newsome, Nebraska; Hon. J. H. Rainey, South Carolina; S. E. Hardy, Minnesota; G. L. Knox, Indiana, committee.

A debate of three hours on the report followed. Twenty-three speeches indorsing t were made, and at 12.15 a. m. the report was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions passed.

By J. C. NAPIER, Tennessee :

Whereas the civil and political rights of the negro, from the Ohio River to the Gulf of Mexico, are abridged and curtailed in every conceivable manner, he being denied almost every privilege that is calculated to elevate him in his moral, intellectual, and political status; as compared with the public school privileges of the white man, his are a mere mockery; in the courts, as compared to that justice which is meted out to white men, his is entirely farcical; he seldom or never enjoying that right which the Constitution of our country guarantees to every citizen, namely, the right to be tried by a jury of his peers; and

Whereas it appears there is no disposition on the part of a great majority of the Southern people to grant to the negro those rights which the word citizenship should carry with it, or to relinquish any of their old customs and prejudices: Therefore

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that the great current of migration which has within the past few weeks taken thousands of our people from our midst, and which is daily carrying hundreds from the extreme Southern States, should be encouraged and kept in motion until those who are left are awarded every right and privilege to which the Constitution and laws of our country entitle us, or until we are all in a land where our rights are in no respect questioned.

By REV. ALLAN ALLENSWORTH, Kentucky :

Whereas there is now an exodus of colored people from some of the Southern States; and

Whereas there are certain parties trying to mold a public opinion in the North to the effect that said exodus is a political trick originated by and is being carried out for the Republican party, and that the Republican party is responsible for the suffering and losses occasioned by said exodus: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we enjoin the public that the assertion is not true, but that said dissatisfaction and exodus is caused by the unrighteous, unlawful, unpatriotic, and uncivilized treatment we receive from our "best friends" in the South, who exact exorbitant prices and rents for lands; who discriminate in free school facilities; who discriminate upon railroads, steamboats, and at railroad stations and hotel accommodations, while at the same time they charge the same fare; who compel our ladies to ride in smoking-cars, among the roughest of travelers; who deny us representation upon juries, and who fail to protect us in our contracts for labor; and who hold up to the world through their papers our ignorance, our superstition, and our crude efforts to live, and at the same time disparage our leading educated men. It is, therefore, at the door of our *best friends* we lay the source of all these evils.

Be it further resolved, That it is the belief of this conference that the Republican party is *not* responsible for the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company failure as a party.

By W. H. COUNCIL, of Alabama :

Resolved, That whereas the principal business men and farmers have entered into contracts for the present year, we deem this an untimely season to agitate the question of migration, believing that it would prove detrimental to the interests of all concerned.

2. That we are opposed to a general and sudden exodus of our people for any part of the country, but recommend a careful consideration of the matter for all who desire to migrate, and after such mature consideration and calm reflection, if they are satisfied that their condition can be improved by emigration, we advise gradual migration.

3. That the emigration question should be considered apart from politics, and should be based upon business calculations.

The committee on credentials

Presented the following as the roll of delegates :

ALABAMA.—Rev. J. W. Washington, Uniontown; H. C. Binford, box 33, Courtland; Edward Pope, Samuel Lowery, D. S. Brandon, W. H. Council, Huntsville; Rev. W. O. Lynch, Rev. W. H. McAlpine, Marion; David Wilson, Rev. J. M. Goodloe, Huntsville; G. S. W. Lewis, Uniontown; W. J. Stephens, Selma; J. H. Thomaston, Athens; S. P. Smith, Stephenson, Jackson County; Rev. Peter C. Murphy, Mobile; David Ripley, Rev. W. H. Ashe, Florence; L. W. Cummins, Mobile; Hon. J. G. Rapier, H. V. Cashin, Montgomery; P. J. Crenshaw, Athens.

ARKANSAS.—M. W. Gibbs, Little Rock; J. P. Jones, clerk of Desha, Watson; J. R. Rowland, Rev. J. T. Jenifer, Little Rock; H. W. Wadkins, Arkadelphia; George N. Perkins, Campbell; G. B. Antoine, Isaac Gillem, Little Rock; David A. Robinson, Pine Bluff; M. G. Turner, H. B. Robinson, Helena; S. H. Holland, Lake Village, Chicot County.

GEORGIA.—Rev. L. H. Holsey, Augusta; C. C. Wimbush, Rev. J. H. Wood, S. C. Upshaw, Atlanta; W. B. Higginbotham, Rome; Madison Blount, J. H. Delamotta, Atlanta; Rev. Toby Stewart, Clinton; Rev. George Valentine, Atlanta; J. W. Brooks, Macon; Moses H. Bently, Atlanta; W. A. Pledger, Athens; R. R. Wright, Cuthbert.

ILLINOIS.—J. J. Bird, Cairo; F. L. Barnett, Chicago.

INDIANA.—R. Nicholas, Evansville; J. W. James, 184 Locust street, Evansville; F. D. Morton, 701 Chestnut street, Evansville; Rev. W. H. Anderson, pastor Third Baptist Church, Terre Haute; Rev. Greene McFarland, Evansville; S. Daniels, Terre Haute; Rev. P. W. Johnson, Indianapolis; J. A. Braboy, Kokomo; G. L. Knox, Westfield; J. H. Clay, Greencastle; J. H. Walker, Terre Haute; Emmet Stewart, Brazil; J. W. Stewart.

KANSAS.—Rev. T. W. Henderson, Topeka.

KENTUCKY.—Allan Allansworth, W. H. Nicholl, Horace Lewis, Bowling Green; G. W. Gentry, G. W. Darden, Rev. Bishop Miles, Louisville; John Garnett, Glasgow; J. F. C. Snarden.

LOUISIANA.—P. B. S. Pichback, James Lewis, Naval office; J. Henri Burch, Lewis T. Kenner, James D. Kennedy, Chas. A. Burgeois, New Orleans.

MINNESOTA.—S. E. Hardy, St. Paul.

MISSISSIPPI.—J. R. Lynch, R. W. Fitzhugh, Theo. H. Greene, Natchez; Thomas Richardson, Port Gibson; Rev. J. H. Bufford, Stormsville; David Wilson, W. H. Maury, B. G. Booth, Water Valley; S. P. Cheers, Water Valley; J. C. Mathews, Holly Springs.

MISSOURI.—Wm. R. Lawton, St. Louis; J. W. Wilson.

NEBRASKA.—H. G. Newsom, Hastings.

OHIO.—Robert Harlan, Cincinnati.

OREGON.—Rev. D. Jones, Lexington, Ky.

PENNSYLVANIA.—J. D. Lewis, Wm. Still, Philadelphia; F. J. Loudin, Ravenna, Ohio; Dr. C. V. Wiley, Philadelphia.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Hon. J. H. Rainey, Windsor.

TENNESSEE.—S. F. Griffin, Clarksville; Rev. D. C. Asbury, Paris; J. B. Bosley, Wm. Sumner, T. A. Sykes, Nashville; Rev. Isaac Lane, Rev. R. F. Boyd, Pulaski; J. H. Hendricks, Goodlettsville; Rev. G. H. Shafer, J. W. Grant, Nashville; T. W. Lott, Jackson; D. W. Williams, Brentwood; L. A. Roberts, Grand Junction; J. H. Kelley, Columbia; Dr. J. F. McKinley, Nashville; W. C. Hodge, Chattanooga; H. H. Thompson, Pulaski; Randall Brown; Nashville; J. M. Smith, La Grange, Fayette County; A. J. Carr, B. A. J. Nixon, Pulaski; M. F. Womack, A. F. A. Polk, A. N. C. Williams, W. A. Henderson, jr., Chattanooga; B. J. Hadley, J. H. Burns, Rev. D. Wadkins, W. F. Yardley, Rev. G. W. Le Vere, J. C. Napier, Rev. C. O. H. Thomas, W. F. Anderson, Nashville.

TEXAS.—Richard Allen, Houston; Rev. B. F. Williams, East Bernard Station; J. R. Taylor, San Antonio; N. W. Cuney, Galveston; E. H. Anderson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

VIRGINIA.—R. A. Perkins, Lynchburgh; J. W. Cromwell, Washington, D. C.; John W. Averitt, Lynchburgh.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—J. H. S. Parker, Post-Office Department, Washington.

DEFENSE OF NEGRO LABOR.

The Baton Rouge Herald of February 21, 1880, quoting an extract from the Louisiana Capitolian commenting on the Thibodeaux Sentinel,

thus asserts the superiority of the negro over the white man as a laborer in Louisiana:

"The Thibodeaux Sentinel denies the charge, made by a local paper, that white labor cannot supply the place of the 'exodus negro,' and cites instances in Lafourche Parish which proves the infinite superiority of the white man as a laborer.—Capitolian."

The "local paper" referred to in the above paragraph is no less a paper than the Baton Rouge Herald. We would have answered the article in question, but considered it time and valuable space wasted, for what might be carried on, even though successfully, in that section of the State, cannot be applied to the parish of East Baton Rouge. We have noticed, upon more than one occasion, that our contemporary favors the negro exodus from this parish, but does not seem to have the moral courage to come out flat-footed and acknowledge it. The Capitolian does not lose the least opportunity to give a side dig to those who oppose the exodus, the last of which is contained in the above quotation. We are openly opposed to it, and have enough confidence in ourself to be able to successfully defend our position and reassert that the parish of East Baton Rouge is not as yet prepared to dispense with its negro labor, the side digs to the contrary notwithstanding. We are informed that the wages paid to negroes are fifty cents a day and a peck of meal and five pounds of salt meat per week, which is considered their board. Now, we would ask, in all kindness and with due consideration for the views of our contemporaries, do the white men of Thibodeaux or any other section of the State or of the United States work for such wages? and could they be secured on these or similar conditions? We unhesitatingly say "no"—echo answers "no."

VALUE OF NEGRO LABOR TO THE SOUTH.

ESTIMATED VALUE OF COLORED LABOR FOR THE YEAR 1877-'78.

Commodity.	Quantity.	Total value.	Proportion produced by colored labor.
Cotton..... bales..	4, 811, 265	\$320, 446, 288	‡ equals \$137, 778, 930
Sugar, estimated..... hogsheads..	1, 127, 753	13, 000, 000	13, 000, 000
Molasses, estimated..... gallons..	14, 237, 280		
Rice, estimated..... tierces..	300, 000	3, 000, 000	3, 000, 000
Tobacco..... hogsheads..	560, 000, 000 lbs.	39, 200, 000	3-5 equals 23, 520, 000
No estimate for grain, stock, cattle, vegetables.			
Menial services of women and children, 1,000,000, @ \$100 per annum.....			\$100, 000, 000
Mechanical work, manufacturing, 100,000 @ \$500 per annum.....			50, 000, 000
Transportation, steamboats, drays, etc., 20,000, @ \$400 per annum.....			8, 000, 000
			\$158, 000 000
			235, 298, 930

Skilled in tobacco, in Virginia, 5,000.

The following is from a speech of Ex-Governor Henry S. Foote, as published in the Southwestern Christian Advocate of New Orleans:

FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE.

But I must be permitted to declare that I entertain no disparaging notions of the sons and daughters of Africa. I have seen much of this interesting portion of the American people in my time. I was born in their midst. An affectionate colored nurse protected my feebleness in infancy. Faithful colored servants administered night and day to my wants. Colored servants were often my familiar companions amidst innocent and joyous scenes of boyhood. Worthy members of this derided race were often my counselors and protectors in moments of perplexity and difficulty. I remember no striking instance in which I intrusted important interests to the charge of a colored servitor in which those interests were criminally betrayed by him. In latter years, since liberty was bestowed upon those who had so long borne the discomforts and sufferings of servitude, I visited their schools and colleges, their universities, and their places of worship, and I am now prepared to bear testimony, were it necessary, which I feel ought to dispel all doubt that if any human beings on earth are worthy of freedom, and capable of maintaining it, the colored citizens of this republic are. I am myself well satisfied that if at all favored by circumstances hereafter, these people will give such convincing evidences of intellectual capacity as will astonish the world. In a few years I am confident that we shall find among them as ripe and

accurate scholars, as successful cultivators of general science, as refined and intelligent citizens as are anywhere else to be met with.

In support of this view of the African race on this continent, allow me briefly to call the attention of this audience to a few historic facts with which many individuals here must be as familiar as I am. We are many of us proud, and justly proud, of our Anglo-Saxon, our Norman, and Celtic ancestors. Now, without intending in the least degree to weaken the respect of any for a derivation so creditable, let us compare for a moment the intellectual and moral progress of these same ancestors of ours to that which has taken place, and is now so splendidly perfecting itself before our own view in this transatlantic region, so prolific of wonders of every description, among the men and women of a much darker complexion.

I have myself more than once listened to speeches in Congress from the lips of colored orators, which were alike marked with logical power, with large political information, and with such graces of manner as would have commanded respect in any legislative body known in any age of the world's history; and I have heard elaborate discourses from colored speakers of eminence now living equal in intellectual merit and rhetorical finish to efforts far more commended because emanating from men of paler hue and of more aristocratic surroundings. I personally know men of the same class capable of appreciating all the delights and benefits flowing from an enlightened and disinterested friendship, such as Cicero has so felicitously depicted in his famous *Amicitia*, and have heard of others whose example in the decline of life, if described by a Ciceronian pen, might have added new charms to his essay on *Old Age*. Jurists are fast springing up among this class of our citizens, who are already holding forth indications of future eminence and usefulness; and there is not one of the learned professions which has not already opened its doors to intellect and attainment whose possessors are not ashamed to confess that they have not a single drop of African blood circulating in their veins and arteries, and African genius and enterprise are beginning to claim equality of rank and consequence in all the useful branches of mechanical industry. God grant that the car of progress, now moving forward so grandly, may gain additional impetus in every generation of the future, until all the blessings which belong to the highest state of civilization which the race of humanity is capable of attaining may be alike the guarantee of freedom and felicity to all who shall dwell under the protection of our noble Constitution and laws!

THE DREAD STATE OF AFFAIRS IN LOUISIANA.

The following is from the Louisianian, "showing the dread state of affairs in that State at this late day of progress and reform; Louisiana will have to fall out of the category of civilization":

We live in a section of this broad country where every "prospect pleases, and only man is vile." The ferocious tiger does not roam his native jungles of India more at freedom to lap his molars in the blood of his prey than do the white savages of Louisiana, y-clept men, move about with less fear of God, and no regard to law, to hurry negroes, unprepared and unknelt, into the dread presence of their Maker. The daily papers contained an account of the lynching of four colored men at Amite City, within a few miles of this city. The cold-blooded brutality displayed by the white savages who did the fiendish work, but for the frequency of such outrages in this State, would have moved the very trees which witnessed the devilish scene to indignation. The time was when the white people alleged that they murdered negroes in this State as a necessary sequence of bad Republican government. Be that as it may, we have now been living for nearly four years under Democratic rule, and we are unable to notice a diminution of the white Comanches who are a disgrace to their race, a curse to the State, and an impious libel on the God that made them.

These white savages are upheld no little by the chivalric class and the Democratic press, which see in these violent infractions of law and the reckless slaughter of black men only slight ebullitions of public wrath, which they say are as common to the enlightened States of the North as they are to the barbarous communities of the South. With such horrid experience as the Tangipahoa affair in the minds of our people; with the consciousness they have that the white savages who delight in drinking their blood, as it were, are really the class that rule and make public sentiment in Louisiana, no one need wonder that the negro laborers are determined to go hence, where their lives can be given the regard due to that of a dog. It is not a whit in palliation to say that the four wretches who were hung and riddled with bullets at Amite were charged with heinous crimes; we have courts, but very little justice for colored men. The government of Mr. Nicholls long ago told that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness would be safe and protected under the régime of the party he represents. Appearances indicate that the white savages have completely deposed him and all law from power.

The odious name which Louisiana has merited by the ascendancy of this cruel, savage element, will stick to her skin like a Nemesis till the present generation shall have been gathered to their fathers, in the world where both the tormentor and his victim will be under the impartial rule of the same monarch. But this condition of things cannot long last. You cannot always play with keen-edged tools without being cut; you cannot mock justice and insult principle without, soon or late, incurring the dire consequences of such temerity. If the brutal murders of colored men do not cease the natural laws of right will in time subvert the liberties of the people and relegate them to an iron-hand power, which will know neither white nor black in the dispensation of rewards and punishments.

It may be a poor consolation, but it is nevertheless something worth having, that until Louisiana suppresses her white savages, and protects her black yeoman muscle from their ruthless barbarities, she must suffer all the pains and agonies, in her turbulent state, of the damned in the kingdom of the savage lord of the flames below.

And also the following proceedings, after executive session, in the Louisiana State senate, in the contested election case of Perry *vs.* Riard, as illustrating witness' testimony as to class legislation against the negro:

The senate took a recess until seven o'clock. After recess, the senate reassembled at the hour appointed, Senator Robertson presiding, twenty-five senators present, and proceeded at once to the consideration of the contested election case of Perry *vs.* Riard.

The resolution embraced in the majority report of the committee on contested elections, recommending that the contestant, R. S. Perry, be seated, was read. The grounds upon which this action is recommended are that Mr. Perry received a majority of the votes cast at the late election; and, further, that Fortune Riard, not being a legal resident of the eleventh senatorial district at the time of the election, was not eligible to the senatorship.

The case was opened by Hon. Anthony Sambola, counsel for the sitting member, who delivered an exhaustive and able argument.

Hon. Albert Voorhies, counsel for defendant, followed.

At the close of the argument of the counsel for contestee, Mr. Demas offered a resolution, as a substitute for that included in the majority report, confirming Mr. Riard in his seat.

Mr. Demas then spoke in support of the claim of Mr. Riard.

Mr. Riard, rising to a question of privilege, addressed the senate in his own behalf. He assured the senate that he had never relinquished his residence in the parish of Lafayette. He had, it is true, held the position of naval officer for some years, during which time his office was in this city, and he resided here for so much of the time as was absolutely necessary, returning to the parish of Lafayette whenever he found it possible to do so.

Mr. Luckett concluded the debate. The committee, in making their report, had, he said, been actuated by no factions opposition; on the contrary, the modest deportment and constant attendance of Mr. Riard and his non-partisan votes had raised him in the opinion of the Democratic members. The case had been decided upon points of law alone.

The substitute offered by Mr. Demas was lost—yeas, 4; nays, 26.

The resolution offered by the majority was adopted—yeas, 25; nays, 5.

On the motion of Mr. Luckett, the oath of office was administered to Senator Perry by Mr. Robertson.

Under the head of class legislation against the colored people, the following telegram to the New Orleans Times is submitted by witness

DALLAS, TEXAS.—FORT WORTH ORGANIZES A VIGILANCE COMMITTEE—PROSPECT OF JUDGE LYNCH SETTING HIS COURT IN MOTION.

[Special telegram to the N. O. Times.]

DALLAS, February 27, 1880.

A public meeting has been called at Fort Worth court-house for to-morrow evening to organize a vigilance committee.

Private information from reliable source has been received here, and states that preparations have been made to hang Isham Capps, the negro who attempted rape on Mrs. Thornton, of Fort Worth, a few days ago, at four o'clock to-morrow evening, by a mob composed of parties who will join the vigilance committee that night. It was not decided definitely to hang the other four negroes in jail for the same offense, but they, too, will probably swing.

THE LOUISIANA EXODUS—ITS CAUSES, ETC.

The New Orleans Ledger, of February 14, 1880, has the following editorial:

Immigration.

State Senator Walton's bill, providing for a bureau of agriculture and immigration, is somewhat inexplicit in its terms, but exhibits a commendable desire to befriend the State. But would he really like to see annually published and distributed "all statistics and facts relating to the character and resources of the State?"

What is the first inquiry which statistics should suffice in an immigrant's mind? Not whether the soil is prolific or cheap, nor whether the climate is propitious, but whether peace is the certain hospitality of the vicinage which he may seek. The soil and climate are of little value to him if his enjoyment of them be at the cost of personal opinions or comfort. He cannot comprehend that he is amenable to two codes—that which the commonwealth prescribes in solemn legislative form, and that which violent men clandestinely enforce without restraint from the vicinage. The two codes manifestly conflict in spirit, and yet are too seldom arrayed in practical antagonism. The legal code acquits or fails to pursue the interpreter of the brutal code, and the latter, by its armed panel in the cross-roads ambush, administers a penalty to the rash attorney or juror who has ventured to discountenance violence. The immigrant sees his hoe to be an ineffective instrument of defense against the partisan rifle, and objects to pawn his manhood for a tract of land which, after all, he may have to abandon under the stress of some local party directory's fiat.

Why do not immigrant's swarm hither, or why do not the few comers halt when they touch Louisiana? Because at the foreign emigration centers of Europe, which Senator Walton doubtless seeks to reach, and which earlier bureaus of immigration here sought to reach, "the character and resources of the State," are thoroughly known already.

There is not a German, Irish, or English point of departure at which immigrants have not long since fully debated—as frugal men will debate, who are about to cross an ocean with their meager dollars to earn a home—all the various merits and demerits of American localities. They know from the pamphlet—and yet more from that great recruiting instrumentality, the frequent letter from friend or relative—all that any new immigration bureau can now tell them.

It is no news abroad that Louisiana has a rich soil and beneficent climate, yet soil and climate tempt no immigrants hither. They choose rather to seek the Northwest, with its rigors of climate, than venture hither. The reason is manifest. The first atmosphere about which they inquire is that of a wholesome public opinion, in which alone men can thrive and communities fitly mature; in which each man jealously protects his neighbor by reason of a common interest in the maintenance of law. The luxuriant growth of Brazilian wastes allures nobody while serpents wind through them, and the partisan fang more than countervails the tempting advantages which Louisiana presents. Let Senator Walton remember that the immigrant at Liverpool or Bremen cannot be persuaded by a pamphlet—that what it will not confess weighs more in his mind than what it recites. We welcome any effort to augment our population with breadwinners, but the party in whose behalf Senator Walton acts, and for whose legislative sanction he makes appeal, has done its utmost to keep them out, or, in other words, to crush them as in a vice between the plantation fence and the State wall. It is only when the administration of laws shall be so peremptory that violence shall be daunted; it is only when courts and sheriffs shall faithfully illustrate the righteous hatred for wrong which our statutes announce; it is only when the humblest citizen shall be as secure and confident in his opinions as is the lawbreaker in his immunity; it is only when his children are assured a stable school system, that the immigrant will seek Louisiana to reclaim her wastes. Until then, the colonies of her laborers who are seeking other and bleaker parts of the country, will preach down reams of Senator Walton's pamphlets."

The Southwestern Christian Advocate, New Orleans, of February 19, 1880, has the following in its editorial columns:

Exodus.

As predicted some time ago, the exodus is assuming considerable proportions. The Donaldsonville Chief says the reports of a revival of the Kansas fever which reach it are confirmed by a reliable gentleman who has just returned from a trip through the Florida and Red River Parishes. He says:

"A great many have left East Baton Rouge owing to fear of persecution, and many more are preparing to go. Secret organizations in the interior are sending anonymous letters, notifying them to leave the community in twenty days. Prominent Democrats are discussing the situation, and steps will be taken to suspend these reprehensible proceedings. Planters in West Baton Rouge are offering twenty dollars per month to laborers, an inducement which has been accepted to some extent." Our correspondent also reports that departures from Livingston, Tangipahoa, and the adjacent region are now taking place, the movement having been accelerated by the recent lynching of four colored prisoners at Amite City.

Says the Baton Rouge Herald :

The exodus movement, initiated in our parish during the last summer and continuing quietly up to the present time, has been renewed. Hundreds have already left it since its commencement, and hundreds more are preparing to follow at an early period. Some of the largest and best plantations in the parish, which in previous years have always had an ample supply of excellent labor, are now without a hand, and their owners are unable to procure any from any other quarter. Not alone are our agricultural interests threatened, but the interests of our merchants, mechanics, and other classes of our city. Some of the smaller retail stores, on account of the loss of trade upon which they depended for patronage and maintenance, have "shut up shop," and others who have conducted a more extensive and important business are seriously considering and coming to the conclusion to discontinue here and seek more inviting and prosperous localities. Let this emigration of the laboring and productive class continue without any rational and judicious effort to arrest its progress, and another year will reduce not only the population but the business and wealth of our parish fully 50 per cent.

We are informed that two colored men, living in the vicinity of Jones' Creek, in this parish, were waited upon last Thursday night and ordered away from their homes. They are reported to us as industrious, peaceable, and law-abiding citizens. And still there are persons who profess to be ignorant of the cause of the present and prospective wholesale emigration of the blacks from our farms and parish.

The Baton Rouge Advocate says :

We would suggest the propriety of a meeting of merchants and planters of this parish relative to the cause of a revival of the dissatisfaction existing among the colored people in some of the country wards.

The Donaldsonville Chief, editorially :

It is recorded that two men who engaged in the erstwhile patriotic occupation of burning the cabins of negroes and warning the inmates to leave the parish under pain of death, have actually been arrested and remanded to the Baton Rouge prison, without benefit of bail, to await trial before the district court.

The Catahoula News reports that the exodus of colored people from that parish has assumed serious proportions.

A brother writes us from Shreveport, La. :

SHREVEPORT, LA., *January 1, 1880.*

MR. EDITOR: I would like a short space in your columns to let you see our people in Northwestern Louisiana are not all asleep, but are awake to a sense of their duty and have made the great and noble start which I have been laboring for for eighteen months—to Kansas. The fever is here bad; thank God for that. On last Sunday morning seven wagons, with two mules to each, and twenty-five families, started to that great and free land, Kansas. Each and every one were prepared and well supplied with money to pay their way to Kansas and have enough left to start in any kind of labor. We were aroused last Wednesday morning by the excitement down at the depot. On arriving there I found sixty-five persons were going out on the 11.30 a. m. train, and each was well provided with money, well dressed, bought their tickets like American citizens going to a free country where they could breathe the air of freedom. The cars are crowded every day on their way to the land of freedom. The last of the week 150 families leave on the morning train bound for Kansas. O, yes, Mr. Editor, the Kansas fever is here, and it is here bad. I am confident when the river rises and the boats begin to ply between here and the mouth North Louisiana will be as free of the black faces as she is of rice growing. The railroads charge enormous prices, charging extra fees on trunks; but for all that, they pay and proclaim aloud that they are bound for the promised land. I hope to see the day when these powerless people will have a home, vote as they please, pay only one rent, and at the end of the year when they go to the land owner to pay, he will not say "nought is a nought, figure a figure, figure belongs to me and the nought to the poor nigger." I write this, dear editor, to let you see what is going on in our midst.

Here is an editorial from the Kansas Herald, published by colored men at Topeka, in that State:

The exodus from the South continues, and while we favor our people coming from that section, we must be allowed to say that we do not favor the idea that they should all come to Topeka before seeking homes in this State. Of course Topeka is generally understood to be the distributing point, but at the same time we incline to the opinion that it is unwise for all the emigrants from the South to concentrate in this city.

The crowded condition of the barracks at times render that institution anything but comfortable, and parties arriving here who can possibly do so, should give that establishment a wide berth. By this we do not cast any reflection on the community having the barracks in charge, for we honestly believe that they have done, and are doing all in their power to alleviate the wants of those who apply to them for assistance.

We favor the exodus. We have several reasons for favoring it. We are in favor, and would be glad to welcome every colored man from the South to the growing West. We think some good might derive from a move to get some of our people from the South to go elsewhere than Kansas; not that this State is too crowded, but because other Western States hold out as great inducements to the new-comers as Kansas.

Another and a prominent reason why we favor the exodus is because affairs in the South have undergone such a change that it is simply impossible for the colored man to remain there with any degree of safety to either life or property; because he is not allowed to exercise the rights guaranteed by the laws of the very State in which he resides; because he is cheated, robbed, and even murdered by his professed "best friends," and because he has no redress for wrongs in the courts of his native State; and indeed is not looked upon by the chivalrous Southron, as constituting a part of the body politic; because he is not allowed representation in the councils of his State, when it is generally known that the colored voters are in the majority.

If a fair and honest election could be held, the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina would roll up rousing Republican majorities; but, as matters now stand, the shot-gun Democracy have captured the State governments, and are prepared to hold them. Yes, we favor the exodus, first, last, and all the time.

[From the New Orleans Times of April 22.]

Again, let us be perfectly frank. As we have said, the negroes are leaving the State because there exists among them a sense of insecurity—an apprehension that their civil and political rights are in danger—a belief that they cannot have justice. The truth compels us to admit that these apprehensions are not altogether unreasonable; that they are the natural results of the conduct of a class of irresponsible young men—young politicians they think themselves—who have no interest in peace and order, since they have no ambition but to get office. That the acts of these people have been exaggerated by politicians of the other side; that Radical politicians, white and black, have been guilty of equal, if not greater offenses, is all true. But the fact remains that the threatened emigration of the negroes is to be traced to the conduct of this class, who seem to emulate the name of bulldozers.

The Southwestern Christian Advocate of New Orleans, December 18, 1879, contains the following editorial:

THE NEGRO EXODUS FROM TEXAS.

The departure of negroes from Texas to Kansas and the North has assumed large proportions the past few weeks. On an average from 1,000 to 1,200 have gone every week. As a rule, they are of the better class, and have money to pay their fares, or to go on teams, and have something left to buy homes with. While the larger numbers go by railroad, many are going with teams. In one camp one of our ministers counted two hundred going thus, leisurely and comfortably. On the International Railroad over two hundred tickets were sold at a small station in one day. The company had been several days gathering at that point. We went into one car and counted ninety men, women, and children. They all had first-class tickets—the railroad will sell no others to them, and the fare of that company in that one car amounted to over \$1,000. Just now the tide flows from Waller and Grimes Counties. Private meetings are being held in many other counties, and every indication is that there will be a much greater movement in the spring than even the one going on now.

And still the leading men of Texas seem blind to the great significance of this movement, and to the disaster which because of it, threatens large portions of the State. The best newspapers simply note the fact that large numbers are going, while many ridicule the "exodusters," and say "let them go." Some few are beginning to realize the danger, but the great mass do not see it, and still talk about "emissaries from the

North among the negroes," and that the present movement is only temporary, and those who have gone will soon come back, if they do not freeze or starve to death. What shocking stupidity! We have concluded that the best thing is for the exodus to continue until the whole South sees that the negroes can go; and until the southern land owners learn that they can find friends and homes, and a fair chance to enjoy the fruits of their labor throughout the North.

The efforts thus far made in the South to prevent this movement have been of a character to increase it. Railroads, as a rule, give no reduction from highest local rates. One railroad official told us that he had been instructed to put on the highest possible rates for fare, so as to keep as many as possible from going. In the country regions leading colored men suspected of intending to go, are arrested on slightest pretext; and put under bonds. In Sabine County a few days since, a colored man was reported to be preparing to go. He had bought a horse, and owed a small amount on it yet. On Sunday while the people were at church, suddenly a body of armed men surrounded the building, and leveling their guns over the congregation, told all to be still. One of the men entered and searched for the colored man, but did not find him. The armed band then went to a neighboring Baptist church, and doing the same thing, found the man they were hunting. He was arrested on a suit for what he owed and put under bonds, and several leading colored men were selected and made to go his bond. No doubt the trial will be postponed indefinitely, and the bond remain so held, dare leave for fear of severer penalties.

WHY THE COLORED MAN HAS TO GO.

A correspondent of the New York Tribune, who has been on a visit to several of the Southern States, thus speaks of the just cause for dissatisfaction of colored men, and gives good reasons for their departure to other quarters to better their condition.

It is asserted by excellent authority that in many cases, especially in Alabama and Florida, colored men have attempted to become owners of some of the vacant public lands, but have been prevented by the white people. Instances are mentioned where colored men who had taken up homesteads under the homestead law were "squeezed out" and driven off as soon as their improvements had become of sufficient value to excite the cupidity of white men.

There is also good reason to believe that a pretty general understanding and determination exists among the whites in the States mentioned, that on no account shall colored men be permitted to acquire a title to any portion of the public domain lying within those States. A colored man may be allowed to begin a settlement under the homestead law, and perhaps be encouraged to clear the land and get it ready to produce a crop. When that is done, some white man steps in, and by one device or another deprives the settler of his rights and enjoys the fruits of his labors.

[From the New Orleans Picayune of February 24, 1830.]

There is talk of an exodus movement in Tensas Parish.

The residence of Mr. Jolissaint in Iberville Parish was recently burned down.

According to the Shreveport Standard, about thirty negroes have left for Kansas, taking their departure lately from Caddo Parish.

[From a Louisiana journal, name and date not given.]

By actual count, we learn 750 laborers left Delta (Madison Parish) last week for Kansas. They are arriving in large numbers at the river from the parishes of Ouachita and Morehouse. Such is their anxiety to get away that many of them come to the landings all the way afoot. The sanguine journalist who professed to believe that whites would fill up the gap about as fast as the blacks could get away, have now a chance to realize their expectation. Let these white husbandmen hurry up to the rescue, or the bulls will have it all their own way in fixing the price of the next cotton crop.

[Extract of letter from Governor St. John, of Kansas.]

Governor Saint John, of Kansas, states in a recent letter to H. N. Rust, of Chicago: "Since last April from 15,000 to 20,000 colored refugees have arrived in Kansas. Of this number, perhaps not less than 12,000 were destitute of food, and the means to buy it. The Freedman's Relief Association has secured employment for at least 12,000. One or two car-loads have been forwarded to Nebraska, where they were kindly received and cared for till homes could be secured. The association has established a colony in Wabausee County which is getting along well, and by July will be self-supporting. The negroes continue to come to Kansas at the rate of at least 250 a week. I make the

prediction that the present year will bring 100,000 of them northward. They must find a lodging-place somewhere. The great State of Illinois, that furnished to the country Abraham Lincoln and Grant, should furnish homes for 50,000 of them where they could earn their own living. The work of the association is in the hands of true Christians, who have no other aim or object in view than to perform what they deem to be simply a duty to a much abused people. The white people of the South could put a stop to this exodus at once by simply extending to the blacks the equal rights before the law that the whites enjoy."

DR. HARTZELL, OF THE SOUTHWESTERN CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE.

The opinion of Doctor Hartzell, editor of the Southwestern Christian Advocate, published at New Orleans, follows :

Doctor Hartzell says: "The causes of the negro exodus may be grouped under a single head, namely, the conditions of financial, political, and social distress in which the negroes of the South find themselves after fifteen years of freedom, and the conviction that their former owners, who, with their allies, now control every Southern State, have in the past opposed their advancement, and do not give sufficient evidence of good desire towards them to insure their present and future welfare."

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF GOV. WADE HAMPTON.

I want the colored people to become land-owners, for then they will become conservative. I want to see the people of both races living in peace together, and friendly terms with each other. If one is in prosperity the other will be also, and neither can go down without dragging the other with it.

On motion, the committee stood adjourned to Wednesday, March 17, 1880.

TWENTY-SIXTH DAY!

WASHINGTON, *Wednesday, March 17, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of the testimony.

TESTIMONY OF R. B. AVERY.

R. B. AVERY sworn and examined as follows :

By Senator WINDOM :

Question. Where is your place of residence ?—Answer. Bay Saint Louis, Hancock County, Mississippi.

Q. How long have you resided there ?—A. Since 1874.

Q. What has been your occupation for the last few years ?—A. I have been special agent for the Southern Claims Commission, but when I went there to Bay Saint Louis, I went there to edit and publish a newspaper.

Q. How long were you in that business ?—A. I was about eighteen months in that business, and I was at the same time a special agent for the Southern Claim Commission.

Q. What part of the State is Bay Saint Louis in ?—A. It is on the coast, 50 miles east of New Orleans.

Q. How long have you been an agent of the Southern Claims Commission ?—A. I was appointed in the spring of 1877.

Q. During your service in that capacity have you had occasion to visit various parts of the Southern States ? A. Yes, sir ; but not so much in Mississippi and Louisiana as in Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, and Arkansas.

Q. Your home is in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir; at Bay, Saint Louis.

Q. Did you spend considerable time there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had time to observe the exodus of the negroes and the causes of it?—A. I have heard a great deal of it, and I have seen a few parties who were going with it. I was in Nashville when some of them told me that three or four hundred were on their way to Kansas. That was early in 1878, in the winter of 1877 and 1878. They was at Bay Saint Louis, and I was receiving quite a large number of papers from various parts of the State, and especially along the Louisiana border, where the exodus commenced after the crop was laid by in 1877, and where it continued up to the planting time in 1878.

Q. I will ask you the general question: What, from the information you have on the subject, by means of your travel and your observation of the colored people and the operations of the laws that affect them, is the cause of this large emigration?—A. I should think it was a general feeling of insecurity. So far as my knowledge goes they consider the right to vote to be the principal right that a freeman possesses. I was once a member of the State convention—the Democratic convention—because I was a Democrat. That was the convention of 1868, when we were fighting the reconstruction. The general feeling of the Democrats, and it was mine at the time, was that there was no good sense in giving colored men the suffrage. The policy pursued by the Democrats at that time was to prevent their attending the elections. As the election laws prescribed that unless more than half of the qualified voters voted for the convention none should be held. The policy and practice of the Democratic party in that election was to prevent these people from voting.

Q. When was that?—A. In 1867 we tried to prevent the colored men from voting. So far as I was able I opposed that idea. I said the law gave him a right to vote, and that we were acting under that law. I was employing a good many hands in planting, and said I could advise them and get them to vote with me. I stated that we could keep them with us by permitting them to vote, as it was their first chance to prove themselves freemen; but the policy of the party was to keep them from going to the polls, and a good many of them were prevented from going to the polls, and the Democrats almost universally kept away from the polls during that election, except in Marshall County. That was during the election for the holding of the convention. In Marshall County they determined to nominate and elect the best class of men as their candidates, and did so; and it was that act in Marshall County that carried the convention; except for that the convention would not have been held. Now I wish to state, from this, the colored men became satisfied that the Democrats were opposed to them; and I think it was right there that the Democrats lost their grip on the negroes, and the race issue commenced.

Q. The colored men thought that they were against their right to vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Go on and give a history of the affairs which have caused this dissatisfaction and the opposition of the Democrats to the rights of the negro as a citizen and a voter.—A. In the next election, that of 1868, wherever we could get the colored men to vote we did so, and we defeated the State constitution. In 1868 they voted throughout the State. The military were there, and could be called on, and there was very little intimidation. A good many of them voted with the Democrats in 1868; but the constitution was carried, with some parts of it cut out. From 1868 the attempt was made, and especially along the borders of Ala-

Alabama and Louisiana and the Tennessee border, to keep the colored men from voting, and keep them away from the polls, or cheat them out of their votes, and things became worse and worse until 1875, and then the riots commenced. We had had them before, one at Meridian, one at Clinton, and Vicksburg.

Q. What was the character of those riots—the causes of them?—A. I wasn't at either one of them.

Q. What did the colored people think of them?—A. They thought there was a determination on the part of the Democrats to scare them away from the polls.

Q. When was what was called the Mississippi policy adopted?—A. It was in 1875.

Q. What do you understand to be that policy?—A. It is to carry the elections by fair or foul means. I made a speech in the Republican convention then, and told them the Democrats were going to carry the election, and that we must nominate no man who didn't have a fair record, and who could be defended; and the general candidates of the Republicans were fair men, both on the State and local tickets.

Q. When did you leave the Democratic party?—A. I left it from the commencement of this policy. I carpet-bagged down to Mississippi from Terre Haute, Ind., though I was not a resident of Terre Haute; I had some Indiana friends there. I went there in 1865 as a Democrat. I was abused as much as any carpet-bagger who was there. I thought I was abused as much as any of them, though I was a Democrat. But in 1869 the Democratic party of Mississippi came here to Washington City and picked up a man who never had any interest in the State of Mississippi, and never owned anything there, and made the canvass for the governorship with him.

Q. Who was that?—A. That was Judge Louis Dent, and they headed their ticket with him, and right there I dropped them.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Who was that that you speak of?—A. Judge Louis Dent.

Q. General Grant's brother-in-law?—A. Yes, sir.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. Tell us about that?—A. I was in the convention myself, with Colonel Kinlock Falconer and Mr. Mayers; we were regular Bourbons at that time, and wouldn't have anything to do with the movement of Dent.

Q. Were not you always in favor of the rights of the negroes?—A. Yes, sir; I think they should have their rights.

Q. How were you treated when you went to Mississippi?—A. I was treated like all Northern men who go South. If a man has money and keeps his nose out of politics he is treated all right until his money goes, and it will go too. After that they have no use for him.

Q. How was the State carried for the Democracy in 1875?—A. By frauds and intimidations everywhere.

Q. What do you mean by intimidation?—A. I mean that in some of the districts where there were a good many colored men they had cannons, which they dragged round with them. I didn't see them, but I heard so. They were hauled about in the evening, and fired off to scare the negroes, and when they passed the cabins of the colored people these houses were fired into; not, I think, with the intention of hurting anybody, but to scare the negroes. In many cases they were taken out and whipped, which other committees have taken testimony to establish the facts in hundreds and thousands of cases.

Q. Where was this done? Generally in strong negro counties?—A. Yes, sir; and in the eastern part of the State where they were not so strong.

Q. Who did these things? What class of people?—A. Well, sir, the Republicans would not have whipped their own men.

Q. What class of people did these things?—A. The Democratic party. Now I recollect seeing a dispatch in 1875 that General George published in one of the papers about twelve o'clock on election day, which said, "We have carried the election. We are three hundred ahead, and only had to kill one or two negroes to accomplish it."

Q. What county was that in?—A. In Chickasaw County.

Q. Who sent that dispatch?—A. I don't recollect the name of the person.

Q. What was the result in that county?—A. They carried it by a large majority.

Q. And the State went Democratic that year?—A. Yes, sir; by a large majority. In fact the State was fairly overturned.

Q. What was the general feeling among the Republicans, colored and white, as to how that change was caused?—A. The general feeling was that the election was carried by intimidation. The Republicans had read of the riots at Vicksburg and Clinton, and when the President was called on for troops no troops came. I heard a witness state at one time that the President refused to send any, but I understood that he would have sent them if he had been called on in the constitutional way. But they could not do so unless it was shown that there was insurrection, and the governor could not call the legislature together.

Q. Have you any papers—Democratic papers, for instance—which show anything upon this subject of which you are speaking?—A. No, sir; I have not; but I have papers here that speak of the exodus. I think that year, however, there was a riot in Satartia, Yazoo County. I think the Republicans had a majority of 2,000 there when the riot took place there. I don't know how it started, and have forgotten how the newspapers stated it; but the negroes assembled on a plantation above Satartia, and the statements were to the effect that large numbers of these colored men were driven into the Yazoo River and drowned. A good many were killed, and a number run into a river and drowned.

Q. Since 1875, what has been the treatment of the colored men there as voters?—A. Well, in 1876, as to the election in that year I heard the testimony here before a Senate investigating committee in regard to their voting in Hinds County. My recollection of the testimony is that they swore to having furnished the president of the election officers with duplicate keys. I don't think they were intimidated. Some of them were, but generally they were not. But with these duplicate keys the election-boxes were opened, and the votes changed.

Q. Then, since the Democratic party carried the State, through the shotgun policy, there has not been much intimidation, but it has been done in another way?—A. I think it has.

Q. Do you think there has been as much intimidation?—A. Yes, sir; I don't say there has, but I believe it.

Q. What do the colored people understand to be their chances of exercising their rights in the election in Mississippi?—A. They understand them to be very poor. For instance, I understand that they issued orders in Jefferson County that the negroes could hold meetings at night—I mean religious services at night. The story was brought in, and I have no doubt it was true, that one old colored man went to Jefferson County, and as it was so close on to the election they thought there

would be no trouble, and they held a meeting, and during the services at night two brothers named Darden, and a crowd with them, assembled at the meeting-house and surrounded it. I don't know, but I have heard it stated that they had a gun with them; but in the confusion arising at the time one of the Dardens was killed—shot—and then what was known among the Republicans as a negro hunt was commenced, and a great many of them were killed. One of the negroes went over to Louisiana, and was inveigled back to see his wife; he was arrested, and started with to Jefferson County, but in seven or eight miles he was met by a crowd of men and hung, and I understood that his bones were hanging there months afterwards.

Q. Do you know the relative strength of the Republican and Democratic parties in Mississippi?—A. We claim about 30,000 majority in the State of Mississippi.

Q. So far as you know, are there many colored men who are Democrats of their own free will and choice?—A. I have seen a few who would acknowledge that they were Democrats, but I would say that ninety-nine out of a hundred would vote the Republican ticket if permitted to do so.

Q. You gave us some intimation of how these intimidations were carried on. Now, how is it that the colored people don't defend themselves against it?—A. Well, sir, in 1874, I believe, I was at Holly Springs. I give this as I saw it there, and as I heard it, to give you an idea how it is done: I heard of an old colored man at Austin, in Tunica County, who was in the habit of holding religious meetings by himself, and singing and praying aloud. Some man near by who took too much tea, and who had an office near, determined to break up that religious howling. I don't know what was said between them, but the negro was shot at, and a little negro girl who was with him was killed. The white man was arrested and released on a light bond, and the negroes took exceptions to it, and assembled to order that he should be put back in jail. They got the news of it out in the country, and word came that the negroes were in a church and the white people were going to burn it, so the negroes collected there at Austin from the large plantations and began to make a demonstration. The news went over the State by telegraph, and into Arkansas and Tennessee, that the negroes were going to burn Austin, kill the white men, and ravish the women, and armed men came there from all over the State. I was at Holly Springs when the news came. The church bells were rung and a meeting was held, and I think Colonel Manning, who is now a member of Congress, took some active part in it. They telegraphed for a special train to take them to Grand Junction, where they would get a train to carry them down there to Austin, but the railroad company asked so much for a train that a card was issued denouncing the railroad company for asking such a sum of money for a train for people to go to help their fellow-citizens. I think a company was formed, but they didn't go that night, and they heard next morning from Austin that there was no danger there of a war of races. This I heard from the newspapers at the time, and it will show you that if the negroes of one community attempt to rise the information goes out that they are preparing to massacre the whites when they are only defending themselves. They not only get the white population of that section against them, but of the whole State. The same thing occurred at Clinton. The white men of Clinton didn't amount to much compared with the negroes, and with those who came from Jackson and Vicksburg and elsewhere, they were too much for the negroes to tackle.

Q. Your idea is that where resistance is attempted the white people are aroused, and companies of armed men come in from all over the State?—A. Yes, sir, and they would come from Virginia if necessary.

Q. Are the negroes generally armed?—A. I never saw a negro with a good gun in my life.

Q. How are the officers of the courts disposed towards them?—A. Not very favorably. I think they are now all Democrats. I don't know of a Republican officeholder myself, but I understand there are some in Mississippi. I don't know of any myself.

Q. Give us any more direct reasons for this exodus that you have.—A. Well, sir, the Democratic papers cannot, nor can I, understand why they leave some parts of the State. The only real reason is that they feel an insecurity in staying there.

Q. Insecurity as to what?—A. As to their life, and as to their rights. They are satisfied they will not be permitted to vote as they please throughout Mississippi. There are places where they will tell you that you shall not speak to a Republican crowd. In 1876 I was told so by a friend of mine, as I thought. I took him to be a particular friend. I had no disposition to make a speech, and didn't know there was going to be an assemblage at the place—I had occasion to go to Eastport, and on special business. When I got to Iuka, I sent round to engage a seat in the hack, and after a while a young man named Anderson, a nephew of the governor, came round, and said to me, "You can't make a speech at Eastport to-day," and I said "I had no intention of making a speech there." He said to me, "I mean business," and I said "I had no desire to make a speech; that I had business there." I also met two men, Oasy and Miller, and they took me out behind the house, and said it was dangerous for me to go there to Eastport. They offered to take me to their houses, but said to me to wait until to-morrow. It was Saturday and raining, and I had business at Eastport that was important, and I went there. Others have been told they could not make speeches, or attempt to organize Republican clubs in various parts of the State.

Q. Do you know of any others who were troubled for making speeches to Republican crowds?—A. I have heard of them. I know that the elector at large on the Republican ticket, George C. McKey, was knocked senseless on one occasion when he was making a speech, when the Democratic court officers were sitting all about. He was making his opening speech at the time. We heard many stories of such outrages that probably were not true, but the colored men believed them, and he hoped that when a Republican President was elected his rights and privileges would be secured to him. He believed it firmly. As soon as that President was seated by the vote of Louisiana, which gave the Republican governor 15,000 more votes than it did him, they found that he had sold them out, and sacrificed them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Avery, who is it that you are speaking of in that manner?—A. Of the man who occupies the office of President.

The CHAIRMAN (to Senator Windom). Don't you resent that?

Senator WINDOM. I only want the facts, and I don't care where they strike.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What do you know of the way in which justice is administered in the South and the way in which men are punished there?—A. My impression is that a negro man has as good a chance to defend himself as anybody else in court, if he has the means to employ counsel; but there are several laws on the statute-books of Mississippi that appear to me

to be a shame to the manhood of the State. One is that if a man steals anything with four legs, such as a lamb, goat, sheep, hog, or rabbit, or anything of that kind, he is punished by confinement in the penitentiary.

Q. For how long?—A. From one to two years, I think.

Q. What becomes of these colored people after they are convicted of these minor offenses?—A. They are sent to the penitentiary and leased out to work on the plantations.

Q. How are they treated when they are hired out in that way?—A. I have never been at a plantation in Mississippi where they were working convicts.

Q. How are they treated elsewhere?—A. I have seen them being worked on public roads in Georgia in chain-gangs, and I used to pass a pottery near Gordon on the Central Railroad near Milledgeville where they worked some of these convicts with balls and chains on their legs.

Q. Did you see any white people being worked in that way?—A. I don't remember to have seen any. The preponderance of blacks was so great that if I saw any white men I do not remember.

Q. You are speaking of Georgia now?—A. Yes, sir; of Georgia.

Q. And you have seen them frequently being worked in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the condition of the colored people as to the comforts of living and their prosperity generally?—A. I had occasion to investigate the claims of a large number of colored men in Liberty County, in Georgia. I do not say that what I saw was a fair average, but I went to the homes of perhaps one hundred and fifty different men. In all of these houses I found but two chairs—just two chairs in all of them. I do not mean two in each house, but two in all of the one hundred and fifty houses. I honestly believe that I could have put every solitary thing in sight in those houses and in and around those cabins—except the dogs—in a six-mule wagon. I thought I had seen poverty in the great cities of the country and elsewhere, but I never saw anything to compare with the poverty of those negroes there. Those negroes are generally engaged in working a little rice patch and a little corn, and I found but one of them that had any horses.

Q. What were these claims for which you were investigating?—A. The claims of the colored people were for property taken in 1865. They had more in 1865 than they have had since, and I think their claims amounted to more than the entire value of the whole county now.

Q. What do they live on?—A. They live on a little rice and things of that sort, and they have their dogs with which to catch "varmints," as they call it.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Do they have many dogs, Mr. Avery?—A. Yes, sir; they have from two to a family, on up.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What is the average condition of the negroes there; what can they make and what do they save?—A. I had a negro at Barnesville to tell me a pitiful story about his affairs. He said that he was in poverty and distress and was not able to make a living. I said to him, "Why don't you leave and go where you can?" and he said, "Great God, boss, I hasn't had \$2 since the surrender." In Butts County I went to examine the claim of a Mistress Tanner, out near what they call the "Cross Roads Church." I got to Mrs. Tanner's Sunday evening and I went to give her notice that I would examine her case the next day. Well, I was sitting there

in the buggy and an old negro man came up and wanted a chew of tobacco. I do not chew tobacco, and I said to him, "Why don't you spend less money for other things and buy tobacco?" and he said, "I have been working for \$10 a year and I can't save any money." He was a man who had grandchildren in the house; and I found that the colored people there were getting from \$10 to \$40 a year with rations. In talking with them I understood that the price of labor in Georgia was from \$10 to \$60 a year with rations.

Q. How was it in the cotton regions of Mississippi as to pay?—A. I don't know that I have been in a colored man's house in the cotton regions of Mississippi. As I told you, I was going around examining into these claims, and in Mississippi there are very few of them and none among the colored men.

Q. What do you think of the way in which the white people regard the rights of the negroes to vote? Do they think that it is a thing that has been forced on them, and that they have a right to prevent them from voting if they can?—A. I don't know that I can state that the general sentiment is that way. I think that they believe that the negro can vote if he votes as they want him to.

Q. That is, vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir; if the negro votes the Democratic ticket they have no objections to his voting.

Q. Can you give us any reasons for this exodus of the colored people from the South?—A. I can give you some reasons. I cannot tell why eight hundred of them left Clarke County, Mississippi, this last fall, because there were few negroes in that county, and I cannot explain why they should have left. I have noticed that where there are few negroes in a county, and they do not control the elections, they are more liable to go with their neighbors and generally get along better than other people. So I cannot tell you why these people left that county.

Q. Is it not true that this fear of their life and their liberty prevailed among the whole colored population?—A. Yes, sir, everywhere; and they will talk to you about it. A man told me that he heard a speech made at Huntsville last fall, where the principal charge made by a colored man against the white people was that they would not let their colored women alone. He said, "If they would let them alone we will stay; otherwise we must go away." That was the reason urged by him; and it is the reason urged by old colored folks who know all about it. They say that they want to go where they can raise their children and educate them. Now I have some papers here, which I would like to submit and have them go into the record, because they are extracts from Democratic newspapers.

Q. Please give them to us.—A. Well, sir, the first I want to introduce is this. I quote this from the New Orleans Times, of, I think, January 5, 1878.

Q. What is the politics of that paper?—A. The Times is an independent Democratic paper, a very fair and very honest one as I understand. The extract is as follows:

THE SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI LAWLESSNESS.—THE CITIZENS PREPARING TO SQUELCH THE DESPERADORS.

Because some time ago we denounced the then existing lawlessness in Amite County and neighboring counties in Mississippi, several newspapers in that State took occasion to lecture the Times for "interfering" in their affairs, and some of them denied that there was any disorder. The following proceedings of a meeting held in Amite County fully sustains the position of the Times, and is an encouraging evidence that the better class of citizens are determined that the desperados shall be put down and the laws sustained. The proceedings we clip from the Liberty Herald.

On account of the lawlessness and terrible outrages perpetrated by a few desperate villains and their miserable followers, a meeting of citizens was called on Sunday, December 2, 1877, near the residence of Jas. E. Lea, to adopt such measures as the urgency of the case demanded. The meeting was organized by electing Mr. E. Cockerham, chairman, and J. M. Brumfield, secretary. The object of the meeting having been explained, a committee of three, consisting of J. M. Lea, Z. L. Everett, and M. McDaniel, was appointed on resolutions expressive of the sense and determination of the citizens then and there assembled. The following preambles and resolutions were reported by the committee, and on motion, they were unanimously adopted.

Whereas for the last three weeks in this part of the county, an unusual degree of lawlessness has prevailed; and

Whereas these lawless men did perpetrate outrages, the most brutal and the most vile upon an inoffensive colored woman, and maltreated others; and

Whereas these abominable wretches have ordered all the negroes away from certain places, and have so intimidated the negroes that they are afraid to remain at their present homes, and have threatened the negroes not to give this information to the good white men of the community at the peril of their lives; and

Whereas these desperate villains have damned the law, defied the lawful authority, and laughed at civil prosecutions; and

Whereas these acts are opposed to all the interests of peace, order, and material prosperity; and

Whereas these well known desperadoes and their wretched followers must be regarded as a band of highway robbers and murderers; therefore

Be it resolved, That we, as good and law-abiding citizens, are willing to conform to all the requirements of law.

Resolved, That as regard the lawless acts recently perpetrated in this community, we are painfully impressed with the impotency of civil law to reach the case and punish these lawless men.

Resolved, That in the absence of military law, and in view of the impotency of the civil law, we propose to take the matter in our own hands, and, with fixed purpose, will mete out the full measure of justice to these lawless night marauders and enemies of peace and order—especially to the leaders.

Resolved, That we hold the well-known leaders responsible from this time on, for any death by violence, for any burning that may occur, and for any intimidation of colored men, directly or indirectly, to leave this community.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every good citizen to denounce lawlessness in any and every form.

Resolved, That it is the duty of every good white citizen to afford all necessary protection to every good colored man and woman in the county, and it is our purpose to protect them.

Resolved, That the citizens here assembled appoint a vigilance committee of five men, to whom all lawless acts shall be referred, which committee we will sustain with our persons, our means, and our strength.

Resolved, That the especial business of this committee shall be to afford protection to all good citizens, white and black, and if necessary, to mete out summary punishment to the lawless, and that this committee shall call upon the citizens for such help as the urgency of the case may require.

Resolved, That the foregoing preambles and resolutions be furnished the Southern Herald, at Liberty; Summit Conservative Times, and Jackson Clarion, for publication.

Resolved, That the secretary convey the foregoing to his excellency, the governor of the State.

Resolved, That the secretary procure fifty copies of the foregoing for distribution in this community.

The preambles and resolutions having been unanimously adopted, the chairman appointed, in accordance with one of the above resolutions, a vigilance committee of five good and determined men. Every citizen present offered his services to the committee.

Mr. A. J. Whittington, sheriff of the county, and deputy sheriff, Eugene Gardner, attended the meeting. Mr. Whittington expressed his determination to execute every lawful order and to do all in his power to suppress lawlessness in the country.

At his special request a general meeting of the citizens of the southeastern portion of the county was called to meet at Oak Grove, on Saturday, December 8, 1877, at 11 a. m.

The meeting adjourned to the place and time appointed by the sheriff.

E. COCKERHAM,
Chairman.

J. M. BRUMFIELD,
Secretary.

By Mr. WINDOM?

Give us, as briefly as possible, the facts that you have in your possession.—A. The Summit Times took strong ground against this bulldozing from the start, and I have several copies of that paper here. Summit is in Pike County, Mississippi. The Times admits that these things are actually going on, and that fact is evidenced by this extract from the governor's message, in which he calls for action on the subject by the legislature. I read:

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
Jackson, Miss., January 8, 1878.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

GENTLEMEN: As the legislative department of the government, you have assembled in regular session for the purpose of considering measures to promote the public welfare. Many questions of grave importance will come before you. Fresh from the people, you are their representatives in fact. Assured that you realize the weighty responsibility of your position, and that your session will be characterized by wisdom, prudence, harmony, and patriotism, I congratulate our great commonwealth upon the auspicious circumstances under which you have convened, and invoke the blessings of Heaven upon your deliberations.

During the past year, general peace and quiet have prevailed. With few exceptions, confined to one or two localities, no disturbances have occurred, the laws have been enforced, and the courts have protected the citizen in his life, person, and property. Local self-government has been sufficient to preserve the peace, and to secure to our people the blessings of good government. The wisdom of the legislation of your predecessors, enacted in the memorable session of 1876, and in the session of 1877, is seen in the prosperous and satisfactory condition of every department, and in the general content and satisfaction of the people of all classes and races. The finances of the State are in a more satisfactory condition than at any period during the past eight years, and ample opportunity is afforded to every educable child to receive a good English education in the free public schools. It is true, there is considerable complaint of prostration in business circles, but the prostration is due to other causes than that of public legislation. The history of the State during the past few years, is familiar to the country. It was not reasonable to expect that, within a few years, our people could entirely recover from the effects of events that prostrated every interest, and reduced to poverty, and oftentimes to absolute want and suffering, many of those who had before possessed plenty, and had the means to gratify every wish.

Much has been accomplished within the past two years. Taxes, for State purposes, have been reduced from 14 mills on the dollar in 1874, and 9½ in 1875, to 6½ in 1876, and 5 in 1877. Reductions equally as great have been made in the matter of county taxation, and within a short time, when the indebtedness of the State and counties shall have been discharged—indebtedness which existed prior to the 1st of January, 1876—the taxes to be paid by the people will be reduced to a rate which will compare most favorably with that of any other State in the Union. The warrants of the State are at par, and have been since the first day of January, 1877. As stated, taxation has been greatly reduced in every county, and where indebtedness existed two years ago, it has been either entirely extinguished or greatly lessened.

Frequent complaints have come to me of occasional acts of lawlessness in two or three of the southwestern counties of the State. The better class of the citizens—who are greatly in the majority in these counties—are opposed to lawlessness, but are powerless to prevent it in many instances. The lawless persons operate secretly and at night, and before their deeds have become known to those who might pursue them and bring them to justice, they have dispersed, and no trace of them can be found. These persons generally act in sparsely settled communities. Although in the minority and composed mostly of irresponsible persons, yet these lawless elements should be made to feel the strong arm of the government, and the guilty parties should be punished with the utmost severity. A few evil, lawless men can bring reproach upon the government, and cause more harm to its reputation than the entire law-abiding element can repair. I ask the attention of the legislature to the complaints from the localities mentioned, and suggest rigorous measures to bring the lawless persons to a sense of their duties. The ordinary remedies have, thus far, been inadequate to meet the emergency. It is due, not only to the State's fair name, but to the people in the immediate neighborhoods—who necessarily suffer in person and property—that the lawless bands be broken up, and that such punishment be administered as will force them hereafter to obey the laws and deport themselves as good citizens. It might be well to send a

legislative committee to the southwestern tier of counties, to personally investigate the condition of affairs, and to suggest such legislation as may be necessary in the premises. Unless the courts can punish, I am powerless, without additional legislation. The complaints are confined to a few neighborhoods in a particular locality. The laws are enforced elsewhere, all over the State and order prevails; it is a reproach to the entire State that in even one section the laws can be violated with impunity. And men should receive very slight consideration who openly defy the laws, and who are utterly indifferent to the reproach which their lawlessness may bring, not alone to themselves and their counties, but to the people of every portion of the State.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What is the date of that?—A. It is January 8, 1878.

Q. Is that the message of Governor Stone?—A. Yes, sir; and a committee of the legislature was appointed and went down there to investigate the subject; but I don't think their action was satisfactory. I think they learned, however, that these outrages were actually going on.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Was anything done to stop it?—A. It stopped itself. It stopped by these people going away.

Q. Where were these outrages committed?—A. In Pike and Amite Counties. There were twelve hundred families who went away from there. They went away, though, before the exodus. Somebody came down there and reported that Kansas was a land of milk and honey, and to-day, if you will give them the means to go away on, and tell them they won't have anything to do when they get there, the exodus of the Jews out of Egypt won't compare with the movement.

Q. Then they all want to go?—A. Yes, sir; they are satisfied they will not have their rights there in Mississippi. They are able to prove that these outrages were committed, and in many instances they will give you the names and tell you what the outrage amounted to. Now, I will read you this article to show you how it is.

[From the Summit Sentinel, January 16, 1878.]

DEPLORABLE STATE OF AFFAIRS.—It is a notorious, lamentable, and deplorable fact that the honest and hard-working class of negroes are daily leaving this section, seeking a clime more congenial to their future welfare. Only last Sunday we were informed by a reliable gentleman, residing in the vicinity of Bogue Chitto, Miss., that three houses, belonging to merchants of this place, Messrs. H. Hiller & Co. and Ben. Hilborn & Co., and which had been occupied last year by colored people, were totally destroyed by fire by some unknown parties, who, it is said, have sworn a solemn oath not to permit any freedmen to work the farms belonging to Summit merchants. And so this disreputable element have commenced their work of devastation by committing a crime which would, were they detected, send them to the penitentiary. How long, we would like to know, is this state of lawlessness to last? We have good laws, and unless they are rigidly enforced and a stop put to these outrageous proceedings, in a few years there won't be enough good men left to bury those who remain. Put a stop to this thing at once.

Q. What paper is that?—A. That is the Summit Sentinel, a Democratic paper. The grand jury met to investigate the subject, but said they could not get at the facts, because the witnesses brought before them would not tell what they knew. Some of the papers said that this grand jury ought to be sent to jail for not getting the facts about crimes that they knew were being committed. Some of the papers chastised that grand jury severely for their action and the admission that they could not get the facts.

Q. Have you anything further to state?—A. I have two extracts here, but I cannot give the dates of them.

Q. Are they from a newspaper?—A. Yes, sir; the first is from the Vicksburg Herald.

Q. It is a Democratic paper?—A. It is one of the purchased papers.

Q. What do you mean by that?—A. I mean that the President, who buys and sells, purchased the editor of that Vicksburg paper with the post-office at Vicksburg. He did not appoint the editor, but he appointed some of his relations. It says:

Over two thousand negroes have moved to Washington County this winter. There is no demand for labor there by land-owners whatever. In Issaquena a similar situation exists. Somewhere near a thousand have left Yazoo County, and the planters in Tensas Parish, La., find it difficult to get enough laborers on good terms. Washington and Issaquena Counties get nearly double as much rent per acre as Yazoo and Tensas. We state facts as given us by intelligent, reliable planters. The Yazoo Herald and Port Gibson Reveille will say politicians have nothing to do with this strange contrast, but, inasmuch as the counties where the Conservative policy prevailed are the ones well supplied with good, contented labor, we differ with our contemporaries. The Yazoo and Tensas plans may suit the desperate office-seekers and their friends, but if persisted in, they will prove destructive to material prosperity.

Washington and Issaquena have fully as large a preponderance of colored voters as Yazoo and Tensas, but none of the evils predicted by the Bourbons followed the elections in Washington and Issaquena. Civilization was not outraged, all men voted as they chose, no political widows and orphans were made, there was no fraud and no violence, and to-day we compare their situation with that of Yazoo and Tensas. The comparison teaches thoughtful persons wisdom. Honesty is the best policy. Those who have the moral courage to do right are really more brave than those afraid of the shadows that must at times obscure our political path.

This comparison defines the difference between Bourbonism and Conservatism better than we have yet seen it defined. The one recognizes all classes of citizens, and, standing on the Democratic platform as it is written, uses only legitimate means of success; the other, under one pretense or another, deserts the platform and forces a success that will prove worse than a defeat in the long run.

After that I read from the Comet, a Greenback Democratic paper, which says:

The chapter of the code in relation to registration of voters was considered in the house recently and adopted. Under its provisions every elector pays twenty-five cents for the privilege of exercising the right of suffrage.

The Friar's Point Gazette, which is Democratic, says:

We would advise those Democratic members of the house who voted for this clause to resign, then go to their homes and hide themselves before the fool-killer pays Jackson a visit. We can stand an overflow, an epidemic of yellow fever, and strict quarantine regulations, and never murmur, but O, Lord, deliver us from another Mississippi Democratic legislature like the present one is our sincere prayer. A law making every man pay twenty-five cents to vote; another, making it a penal offense for emigration agents to visit this State; and another, requiring every applicant for teacher in a public school to show a certificate to prove that he is a Democrat, are some of the beauties of Mississippi Bourbonism. A few enactments of this sort would very naturally tend to the question whether Mississippi had a Republican form of government or not? No wonder the Republicans are trying to reorganize their party.

Q. If you know anything further tending to throw light on the cause of this emigration from those States, please state it.—A. I do not know that I do. I think it very likely, because the Democratic papers say so, that the exodus really started in December, 1877, and continued on during 1878. I don't think it was politics that caused the movement.

Q. Have you reason to suppose that any political considerations were brought to bear to induce these people to go away?—A. I don't think I ever heard anybody intimate that it would be of any political advantage for them to leave. The Republicans have generally advised them to remain, and told them that times would get better. The Republicans generally believe that this is a nation, and that after awhile State laws will be so far abrogated that if a man is interfered with and cannot get justice in one State he can through another; that the man who com-

mits a crime in Mississippi can be taken to Maine or California and punished for it. They believe that the government will take charge of all such things as that, and change the venue whenever it is necessary to get justice.

Q. Do you think that this emigration is their last resort to secure their rights?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think that the feeling is pretty general among them?—A. Yes, sir; it is.

Q. What do you think would be the effect on the exodus of electing a Democratic President?—A. The negroes will get away from there as fast as they can; and all who can't go on the trains will walk away. By the way, I saw some exodusters walking down in Arkansas. There was a man and his wife, with seven or eight children. He said that he could make seven or eight miles a day, and when he got out of money he would stop and pick cotton. He was from Mississippi, and said that he could make nothing there; that he had some cattle which he sold in order to come away.

Q. What did he say he left for?—A. Well, he did not pretend that any outrage had been committed on him, but he thought that Kansas was a good place to go to.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Kentucky, sir.

Q. Where did you go from there?—A. My parents went, before I knew anything about it, to Illinois.

Q. To what part of Illinois?—A. Vermillion County.

Q. How long did you remain there?—A. I remained there till 1853 or 1854.

Q. Where were you when the war broke out?—A. I was in Chicago, helping to edit the Chicago Times as a reporter.

Q. You went into the service awhile, did you not, Mr. Avery?—A. Yes, sir; I was in a good while.

Q. What branch of the service?—A. In the first place, myself and a young man named Kennedy raised a company, Mulligan's regiment, but the War Department would not take it, and we divided. I went to Wisconsin, and went into an Irish regiment.

Q. How did you get into Col. Bob Stewart's regiment?—A. By being drunk; and I staid in there until the 17th of June, 1865.

Q. And that was the reason you came to Terra Haute?—A. Yes, sir; by reason of my association with him I came there in 1865, and went back in June, I guess.

Q. Well, Mr. Avery, since you speak of it so freely, I will ask you if you lost your rank and position in your first command?—A. I resigned, or rather was discharged, at Corinth, because I was sick.

Q. What I want to know is this: how you got into Colonel Stewart's command? I don't see how your getting drunk got you into his command.—A. Well, sir, I was requested to make a speech at Lafayette; Dan Mace requested me to do so, and I went and made the speech. And while making it I was telling them to go into the war and fight for their country and all that sort of talk, you know, when one man said "Why don't you go in yourself?" I said to him that I had been in; and then I went on and said to him that if there was a mustering officer there, and "you will come up there with me, we will both be mustered in to-night."

Q. And you were mustered in?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you mean to say that you would not have done that if you had

not been drunk?—A. No, sir; I would not have done that unless I was drunk. I would have stuck to first principles and kept out of it.

Q. You said you went as a Democrat down to Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you made red-hot Democratic speeches down there?—A. Yes, sir; I made Democratic speeches and unwittingly advocated Democratic doctrine.

Q. You were not still drinking mean whisky at that time?—A. No, sir; when I married in November, 1865, I took the pledge. I went South and got married; but I was backwards and forwards several times between the South and North. I went there to stay some time after November, 1865.

Q. You commenced as the editor of a paper down there?—A. No, sir; I moved from Eastport to Bay Saint Louis in 1874.

Q. You remained at Eastport until 1874?—A. Yes, sir; I was farming there.

Q. Did you buy a farm there?—A. Yes, sir; at Eastport, in Tishomingo County.

Q. How long did you remain a Democrat?—A. I remained a Democrat and made some peculiar Democratic speeches until the campaign for Dent. I voted for Dent, though I did not like his nomination. I voted for him because I was the Bourbon candidate for Congress in 1869.

Q. In 1869?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You call the Democrats "Bourbons"?—A. Yes, sir; I mean Democrats. There were two candidates; the Dent party met at Jackson and nominated J. L. Warford on the Dent ticket.

Q. What kind of a man was he?—A. He had been the Republican candidate the time before.

Q. He was not Bourbon enough for you?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you, you were the Bourbon candidate?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you one of the regular Jacob Townsend sarsaparilla kind?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You made the canvass in that campaign?—A. Yes, sir; I canvassed it as well as I could.

Q. Then you were beaten?—A. Yes, sir; but, honestly, I did not go into it to be elected. I honestly went into it to defeat the Dent ticket. I was sick of being called a carpet-bagger, and I did not want to join those people who were getting a carpet bagger from Washington City to make governor and represent us. They came here and picked up a man who never lived in Mississippi, and who left there before the canvass was over.

Q. He was beaten, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; pretty badly.

Q. Did Alcorn beat him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Alcorn was a Republican, was he not?—A. Yes, sir; but Dent was not. I voted for Dent, but every speech I made was against him.

Q. You put your knife under his fifth rib?—A. I did, every time.

Q. Then how long did you stay with our good old Bourbon friends?—A. I told them then "I have been with you in the conventions, but you have declared that you are opposed to all these amendments to the Constitution, and laws passed to enforce them, and to the right of the negroes to have their votes. I take up your platform and that of the Republican party. I have read them, and if you leave out the words Republican and Democrat there is no difference between them. The Democratic platform with the word Democrat left out could be adopted as the Republican platform." I said that I would drop out

of politics. A year before I was elected in my district to the senate against my wishes. I was a member of the Democratic State senate.

Q. You got mad at the Democrats because they would not go as far as you against negro suffrage?—A. No, sir; I went out of politics at that time when they started the Kuklux.

Q. Did not you say that the Republican platform was as good as the Democratic?—A. Yes, sir; I said they made promises which they did not intend to keep. They make these promises in order to gain power.

Q. Is it not true that from 1865 to 1869 nobody in Mississippi made more violent speeches against negro suffrage than you did?—A. Yes, sir; and I will say further that I am opposed to it now. I have not changed a particle in regard to the wisdom and policy of that measure. I think we have got too many voters in this country by half. If I could have my way, I would require an educational qualification, and it would take a long time for the negroes, after two hundred years of slavery, to qualify themselves as voters.

Q. Then you would cut off the most of the negroes and some white people?—A. No, sir; I would want those to vote who are qualified. Some of them are qualified now. I have heard some of them testify here who are as smart as I am.

Q. We have had a good deal of intelligence from them?—A. I think a man who cannot read and write, and who cannot tell when a man is shoving a Democratic ticket on him, has no right to vote. I don't think any man ought to vote who cannot do it intelligently.

Q. Then you think a good deal of this trouble has grown out of the unwise policy of the government in giving the negroes the ballot?—A. I think so; a great deal of it.

Q. What year was it when you say you saw your way plain into the Republican party?—A. I think the first time I acted with them was in 1873. I do not think I took any action or had anything to say in politics for several years before that. I voted for Greeley, for I rather liked old man Greeley.

Q. Then for eight years you were a Democrat, and for seven years you have been a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

The following additional extracts were submitted by witness and ordered to go upon record :

[Summit Times.]

We would beg to call the attention of the representatives in the legislature from Pike, Lincoln, Amite, and neighboring counties to the alarming exodus of the negro laborers from this section of the State. We learn of more than eleven hundred of our ablest hands who have already emigrated in a few weeks from this immediate section, and still they flee in droves. Representatives, can you not devise some law to protect and secure this labor, until white or superior labor supersedes it? Messrs. Ben. Hillborn & Co., of this place, we are informed, have had the buildings on several of their places destroyed by fire to prevent their occupancy by negro tenants. The public safety requires immediate action in the premises; let us have it.

[Summit Sentinel, February 6, 1878.]

MORE ATTEMPTS AT BULLDOZING.—In times past it has been a matter of impossibility for our authorities to discover the parties who were engaged in bulldozing in this county and warning negroes to pack up and leave; and up to the present the parties remain unknown to our authorities. We were in hopes that all such lawlessness had ceased; that our county was about entering upon a new era of peace and prosperity; but alas! our fond expectations were in vain. Here is another one of these atrocious instruments. A notice of warning, handed in to us for publication, and which will go before the legislature, who are now determined to ferret out these rascals and bring them to punishment :

"NOTICE.

"CALVIN OSTIN:

"This is to notify you that you can't stay here innay longer than fifteen days; its nothing that we have against you, as for you have a good name with white and black. Now, if not gone within fifteen days you will receive buckshot soop."

The above is directed to an honest, hard-working colored man residing on Mr. L. R. Alford's plantation, who takes the right view of such matters, and below gives warning to all such disreputable parties to keep away from his place. His warning has the ring of true metal in it. He is determined to defend his laborers with his life, and we would advise the bulldozers to make themselves peculiarly scarce in his immediate vicinity. Listen to his manly notice:

"I hereby warn the authors of the above notice not to come about my premises without my consent. If they do, they do so at the risk of their lives, as I am determined to protect my laborers, and will, if necessary, use a little buckshot myself.

"L. R. ALFORD.

Our representative, Mr. Causey, is taking a lively interest in this matter, and has expressed a determination to exterminate and to rid our county of these bad men. He is on the right road to succeed, and we shall hail with joy the time when they are brought to justice and properly punished for their many crimes and misdemeanors.

[Summit Times, March 15, 1878.]

OUR JUDGE.—We understand that his honor Judge Chrisman, in empaneling a grand jury for Amite County, had rejected some of those appointed, who stated that they had been connected with the political bulldozers of 1875, which proves that his honor intends to do all that the law will permit in removing every possible obstacle to the good work of bringing the present lawless element to justice, by excluding any one from the grand jury that could be suspected of tolerating the evil.

We commend his course: at the same time we know several gentlemen who were connected with the political organizations that are the most active and relentless in prosecuting the present lawless men, who continue the practice without a shadow of justification, and for personal revenge or other nefarious purposes.

The public have entire confidence in Judge Chrisman and know that he will do all that the law justifies to rid the country of this terrible curse.

[Summit Times, March 15, 1878.]

The Fayette Chronicle publishes the resolutions adopted by a large meeting of prominent citizens in the county of Jefferson, expressing their determination to suppress the lawlessness now prevailing in that county, by prosecuting the guilty parties. They requested the Franklin Banner, Fayette Chronicle, and Jackson Clarion to publish the proceedings of the meeting.

[Summit Times.]

PIKE COUNTY LAWLESSNESS.—We have not spared our sister county of Amite the public record of the lawlessness committed in her borders, and with equal justice we record an act of the lawlessness committed in her borders, which we have heard of as occurring on Magee's Creek, in this county, which tends to prove the fact that the defenseless negro is to be driven from the premises of his landlord whenever his absence is required by any white man of sufficient popularity or influence to raise a mob.

Mr. ——— has rented to a negro man of very good reputation a piece of land for several years; a white neighbor wishes to get rid of the negro, so he goes to the landlord and proposes to rent the premises occupied by the negro. The landlord says, "Certainly, I will rent it to you for one bale of cotton, the rent paid me by the negro;" the neighbor insists that he will pay the rent in improvements on the houses, which landlord does not deem desirable, or at least not necessary to rental value. Neighbor goes away without renting. Negro tenant comes forward promptly and agrees to pay the bale of cotton rent again for 1878, and the bargain is closed. Now the neighbor says hard things both of negro and landlord, and swears the negro shall not remain on the place he has rented, and turns his cattle into the negro's field, or they get in of their own volition. Negro has them turned out; neighbor comes to negro and demands an account of the turning out, which negro tells him was by his orders. An angry discussion arises between the negro and the neighbor, when a son of the negro shoots neighbor through a window wounding him and his horse; neighbor returns the fire through the window and then leaves.

This occurred Christmas week. On Sunday night of the 30th of December the negro house is approached by a white man, he does not know, who insists on assistance from

the negro in pointing out the road to some place; negro declines opening his door or showing himself and stranger leaves. Some little time subsequent a crowd of white men ride up, dismount, and open fire on the negro's house, filling his door with shot holes and wounding a son of the tenant in the arm. After firing a number of times into the cabin they pile up straw and trash in the chimney corner and set fire to it, with the view, it is supposed, more to frightening the occupants out than to burn the house.

Not succeeding in driving the occupants out of the house, they set fire to his stack of fodder and leave by the light of it.

This satisfies the old negro that he must get away, and he abandons the place at once. Now all these particulars have been learned, and we suppress the names, because we do not know that they are important to the object at which we aim, which is that the present Democratic legislature of the State of Mississippi, now assembled at Jackson, may take some early action to enforce the execution of the law, or may if necessary pass an act that will secure to the negroes now fleeing the land as if from pestilence and certain death that security which we promised before the election last year by every thing sacred and binding on the honor of men, and also to protect the property holder in his right to employ laborers, without the danger of having their houses burned and their laborers driven off. They pay taxes for this protection and let it be given.

[Summit Times, March 28, 1878.]

They have no acknowledged lawlessness in the county of Wilkinson, and yet we find the proceedings of two public meetings denouncing it. In one issue of the Republican the following resolutions were adopted at the meeting in Woodville; they refer to the shooting of a man named Bailey week before last:

We, the citizens of Wilkinson County, in mass meeting assembled, desire to express our utter abhorrence of such acts of lawlessness as that of the recent shooting and probable murder of William Bailey: Therefore,

Resolved, That we regard the shooting of said Bailey as a cold-blooded and cowardly murder and assassination, and we hereby pledge ourselves to use our utmost exertions to assist the civil authorities in finding out and convicting the guilty parties. We are determined that lawlessness shall be put down and crime be punished, to the end that law and order, peace and quiet, may prevail in our community.

Resolved, That we must and will, in good faith, carry out our pledges so often made to the colored people, to the effect that, now the State and county governments are placed in the hands of the white and Democratic citizens of the State, all their rights of person and property should be protected, defended, and guarded the same as our own, and that the time has now come for us to show that those promises were not mere empty words and vain talk.

A CARD.

ED. TIMES: I see in the last issue of the Summit Sentinel, Mr. Vidette, alias Billy Bowlegs, has a great deal to say about the good qualities of Ike Duncan, and wants to know how it happened that I had anything to do with arresting him, and wants to know my authority. I can answer that by saying I am by election a constable and a bonded officer of the law, and had a proper warrant for my action; and, further, that if I was not an officer, and a warrant is at any time placed in my hands, I will go to execute the laws of the State against parties charged with violation of its laws. I do not know anything about Ike Duncan's good or bad qualities. Vidette, or Billy Bowlegs, ought to know more about them, as he is his cousin. But I do know he and his unknown confederates are a terror to his neighbors and the surrounding country, white and colored. When I was there the negroes were lying out in the woods from fear, and some white men were even afraid to travel the neighborhood roads, and took to the woods to pass from one place to another. This I know myself, and can, I think, sustain what I say from Vidette's own statement, who I think must be, from his language, one of Ike's clan.

He says Ike Duncan was acting in self-defense when he shot Augustin Love, William Love's son, and goes on to say Ike Duncan rode up to Love's House and opened a conversation. When the shooting took place he got off of his horse and slipped behind a bag-pen and waited until Austin came out, and then shot him (Austin) in the shoulder. Now I ask Vidette if that was in self-defense? Vidette states or intimates that I had taken the militia, of which I have the honor to be the captain, to arrest Ike Duncan. I regret to have to say the statement is untrue, the parties who accompanied me to make the arrest were Henry C. Lyster and William P. Gleaves.

P. E. CAUSEY.

We have nothing to say about Ike Duncan, as he is better known to the community

generally than to us. We do not at any time propose to single out any particular trespasser, and discuss him individually, but to condemn the acts of outrage committed by one, one hundred, or one thousand men.

[Summit Times, March 22, 1878.]

LET US HAVE PEACE.

"Let us have peace," says the Kemper Herald, and devotes considerable space to the lawlessness of this county, and as usual seems to have overlooked the fact that all the lawlessness that ever existed in Pike County is as a mere speck compared with the massacre that occurred in De Kalb, and the murders and assassinations which preceded that horrid tragedy. Yet, although the Herald does not make the application to its own, but rather to our "southwestern counties," others will do so, and endorse its application to the general necessities of the times. It says very pertinently:

"Does history anywhere tell of a country that was prosperous while its peace was being destroyed by outlawry and its law-violators going unwhipped of justice? We think not. Yet peace in 1875 was promised the tax-payer. It was written all over the Democratic platform. It was stuck up on every cross-road store-house. The little boys wore it on their caps. The leaders could see it in the ashes of their cigars and in the whisky they drank. It was written on the wings of the locusts. It was reform and peace and peace and reform, until in our imagination we could see huge mountains as large as the whole State formed entirely of peace and reform, here and there peeping out a little knoll on which was written retrenchment. Where has all that peace gone?"

Where is that peace? we ask again. Do the dockets of our magistrates' courts show? Do the columns of the daily papers inform us? In this conjunction another important question arises: Will the people—we mean the honest, law-abiding, tax-paying people—longer submit to these false and rotten promises of peace? We are in full accord with the Democratic party so long as that party will promote the best interests of the *people*, but when the county and State officials, who were elected under its banner, become so corrupt and defiled as to disregard the welfare of the people at large in promoting the interests of personal aggrandizement, it does us good to the sole of our boots to denounce them as traitors.

Give us peace, even if it threatens the annihilation of the whole Democratic party.

[Summit Times, March 15, 1878.]

OUTLAWRY.—The comments of the Vicksburg Commercial and other State journals on the report of the grand jury of Pike County are very scathing, and we fear are, in some degree, justifiable. We will not reproduce them, however, as it is a painful subject for us to discuss.

The Clarion teaches the policy of keeping these outrages to ourselves. We hold a different opinion, and believe that they should be discussed calmly and reasonably, and some remedy applied, since the courts have declared publicly their utter inability to reach the outlaws.

On Monday we interviewed two *white* men, Jno. Lawrence and Wm. Rayburn, from the eastern part of Pike County, who had both been visited by a band of bulldozers (not notified by a poster), and ordered to leave the places they then occupied.

Rayburn says they informed him that no man, white or black, should occupy lands owned by a merchant. Jno. Lawrence reports that they broke into his house by breaking down the door, and ordered him, on pain of a terrible corporal punishment, to leave the place in ten days.

Jas. Tickle, a white man, who rented land also from a mercantile firm of this place, was ordered to leave his home, and, not complying, we learn was severely beaten. Mr. Wm. Parker, one of our most respectable farmers, a man of means and high standing, one who pays cash and owns the property he occupies, was also, we understand, driven from his home by a band of desperadoes, who learned that he had testified before the late grand jury. Now, we call on the governor of the State for protection in the right of all persons to rent out and occupy by any tenant they choose the lands on which taxes have been paid to the State, presumably for this protection, and for the protection of our peaceful citizens in their homes from the danger and death which, by a formal declaration, the court has declared its utter inability to reach or punish by existing laws.

We ask our brave and generous governor if there is no power in the executive, or laws now in force, to follow the suggestion of the Vicksburg Commercial, to call the legislature together and recommend that they abstain from political pronouncements and disclaimers, and give us an act securing protection to citizens, even if it be necessary in doing so to admit that politics has had something to do with the evils from

which we are suffering. Reports of all the committees and grand juries in the State will not change the mind of a single man, woman, or child on this subject, and has nothing to do with the fact and its remedy. It matters naught to the victim in his death agony whether bulldozing is the result of extortionate merchantry or of the terrible means we were compelled to resort to in some sections in achieving the emancipation of our State from political harpies.

Adjourned to Thursday, March 18, 1880.

T W E N T Y - S E V E N T H D A Y .

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Thursday, March 18, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 a. m. Present, Messrs. Voorhees (chairman) and Blair.

CROSS EXAMINATION OF R. B. AVERY.

R. B. AVERY recalled.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. I believe you stated yesterday, just as we were concluding that from 1865 to 1873, after you went to Mississippi, you acted with the Democratic party ?—Answer. Yes, sir.

Q. During that time you were elected to the State senate and were a candidate for Congress, a " Bourbon candidate," as you describe yourself; now, were you a candidate for any other office during that time ?—A. No, sir; I was a candidate for the senate against my wishes, but I was nominated as probably the only man who could take the oath under the constitution; we were trying to defeat the constitution at the time.

Q. When was that ?—A. In 1868.

Q. In that canvass you took ground against negro suffrage ?—A. I expect I did, for those were my sentiments.

Q. Who ran against you ?—A. There were four candidates, but Eugene Whitfield was the most prominent. He was a Democrat. He had been at my house many times and we had talked together and agreed *in toto*. We had made speeches together, but a few weeks before he was announced as a candidate on the reconstruction side for the senate, and I opposed him.

Q. Then you were against reconstruction ?—A. Yes, sir; I was against reconstruction.

Q. In what year was the constitution of Mississippi framed and adopted under the reconstruction laws ?—A. It was framed in 1867, I think along in 1867 or 1868, and it was adopted in 1869.

Q. What year was the election held for members to the constitutional convention ?—A. In 1867, I believe; that is my understanding and belief about the matter.

Q. Who voted at that election for members of the constitutional convention ?—A. The friends of reconstruction mainly, as I stated yesterday. Marshall County broke off from the recommendations of the committee to call themselves the executive committee of the Democratic party. We met at the State capital and issued a circular calling on the Democrats of the State to keep away from the polls. The policy of our party then was to keep the voters away from the polls, and by polling less than a half of the vote of the State to defeat the constitution, or the call of the convention to frame the constitution.

Q. Were not a large number of the white people of the South disfranchised and rendered ineligible to office by the reconstruction acts prior to the adoption of the constitution?—A. I am not aware that that is so; I think only that class were disfranchised who are mentioned in the fourteenth amendment.

Q. Did not that embrace nearly everybody?—A. O, no; only those fellows who swore upstairs here and elsewhere to support the Constitution of the United States and then opposed it and fought against the Union whenever they got the chance.

Q. Why were you the only person in your district who could take the oath of office?—A. The oath required by the new constitution was iron-clad and stronger than anything that you have got here. That oath was emasculated by President Grant, and others, and the one which was put in there by the Republican party in favor of Dent was different altogether. It was one which would have swamped the State with all sorts of schemes that were calculated to take among the people. These things were put before the people by a separate vote, and a conservative delegation came on here to see General Grant and get him to resubmit them; but they had been voted down once; the requirements of the oath were so strong that while a man could vote he could not take the oath under the constitution. There was a provision that by a two-thirds vote any of these parties could be relieved of their disabilities.

Q. You spoke of the first constitution; do you mean there were two?—A. No, sir. I speak of the one that was defeated.

Q. That was the first one?—A. Yes; and it was resubmitted after it was emasculated by General Grant.

Q. By whom?—A. Well, I don't know whether it was by Congress or by the President, but all the objectionable features were stricken out and some that were objectionable were submitted to a separate vote.

Q. Were you in favor of or against the adoption of that constitution?—A. I did not believe in any of them; I was a bigger fool then than I am now.

Q. I see there has been a radical conversion.—A. Yes; very.

Q. You were opposed to the whole thing then?—A. Yes, sir; I did not believe in any of it; I expressed then my honest sentiments as I believed, and the honest sentiments of the majority of the Democratic party South then and now; I do not believe that they have changed one particle in fifteen years.

Q. But it took you eight years to find out that you ought to change?—A. Yes, sir; it took me from the time I went there until they picked up a carpet-bagger, to make the governor of Mississippi. They were opposed to carpet-baggers, but they took him and they took negro suffrage when they swore that they would not, and all that showed me that the pledges which they took they did not intend to keep. I believe that I am honest not only in my sentiments but in every other way; and right there I dropped them. Another reason was that the Ku-klux were starting in Georgia and extending over the whole South. They had called at my house and told me not to make a light, while they asked me certain questions. I was told by the master of my lodge of Masons that I belonged to, that I was in danger and must look out. They proposed to come and take me out and hang me.

Q. Let us see now if we understand it; you were a Democrat, but you went down there to Mississippi and stood up with the Democrats and opposed negro suffrage and all that, and yet the Ku-klux came and wanted to hang you?—A. I say they proposed to do so. They had only one reason. I had a colored man on my place and I would not permit

the Ku-klux to interfere with him. They went to his house, took his gun and tried, or made out, to break it on the fence but did not do it; they just stole it—that is all there was about it. I determined to protect these men that I had hired, and that they should not be bothered. West Perdue, a member of my lodge, told me that he opposed the whole thing, and that he would die with me, before it should be done.

Q. Your grievance against the Democratic party was that they took up General Grant's brother-in-law for governor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was that?—A. In 1869.

Q. You opposed him because he was a carpet-bagger?—A. Yes; not because he was a carpet bagger alone, though, because I was one myself; but I opposed him because he did not have a dollar of property in Mississippi.

Q. Because he was not there as long as you were you did not want him to come in at that late day and fare better than you did?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. The Democrats were opposed to negro suffrage, and yet they accepted it; and then you got mad at them, because they did not stand up on high Bourbon ground?—A. In words, they accepted it, but in acts they did not.

Q. And you got mad at them on that account?—A. I got mad at them because they were not honest.

Q. You left them?—A. No, sir; they left me.

Q. That is the old story; it always comes that way; if they left you, then you were still standing where you were those eight years that you belonged to the Democratic party and opposed negro suffrage?—A. That is pretty nearly it; facts become law and I submit to the law; I am a law-abiding citizen. When I see a colored man who has the right to vote, I say, "all right, let him vote," and I understand that he should be allowed to vote as he pleases.

Q. I understood you to say yesterday that if you had your way you would not let them vote unless they could read and write?—A. Yes, sir; and that same thing would cut off a good many people in the Democratic party.

Q. And no Republicans?—A. Yes; it would cut off a good many of them. I believe in intelligent suffrage, and I would let all of them vote who can vote intelligently.

Q. You said that you believed this was a nation, and that after awhile State laws and State lines would be so blotted out that a case could be changed from one State to another; that a wrong committed in Mississippi could be righted by a law in Maine?—A. Well, sir, I think Maine would be a bad place to take it.

Q. Well, state it again as you meant to say it.—A. I meant to say that I believe the time will come when violations of the national law will be punished; that where I was prevented from the exercise of the privileges guaranteed to me by the national law, and where men were murdered for attempting to exercise these privileges, then if justice was not meted out to the criminal in the State of Mississippi, there would be a provision to take him to California and give him justice if necessary; that is my idea of a nation.

Q. You say you first settled in Mississippi at Eastport?—A. At Eastport, yes, sir.

Q. And there you say you were farming?—A. I was farming to some extent, and merchandising.

Q. That is a white portion of the State?—A. Yes, sir; very largely—almost entirely.

Q. At what time did you go to Bay Saint Louis?—A. I went there in 1874.

Q. You commenced editing a newspaper there?—A. Yes, sir; in four weeks, I think, after I got there, I began to edit a paper.

Q. What kind of a paper was it?—A. It was a paper not particularly liked by the Republicans, and yet I attacked everything that I thought wrong, and I called myself a Republican.

Q. Did you leave Eastport and your politics both behind you?—A. No, sir; I was honest in my politics as I am in everything else.

Q. I asked you if you left your Democratic politics about the time you left Eastport?—A. No, sir; for several months before I left there I was acting with the Republican party and helped to elect Ames governor.

Q. In what year was that?—A. In 1873.

Q. In what year was Alcorn elected governor?—A. That was in 1869.

Q. Then you have had eight years of Republican administration in Mississippi out of the fifteen years since the war; you have had two Republican governors?—A. Six years. Alcorn took charge in January, 1870, and Ames went out in January, I think, or about that time, in 1875.

Q. Ames went out in 1875?—A. Yes, sir; I think it was in 1875.

Q. Who succeeded Ames?—A. Governor Stone.

Q. Was not Ames elected Senator when he was governor?—A. I don't know that he was.

Q. Did not he certify to the fact that he was elected Senator and signed his name as governor to his own credentials?—A. I think that was when he was military-governor; he was not governor then by election.

Q. I do not think he was ever governor by election.—A. He was not by election until he went back there.

Q. Well, you have had two Republican governors besides the military governor, and Ames was ostensibly elected once?—A. Yes; and he was.

Q. Then he was military-governor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Alcorn was governor?—A. Yes.

Q. You have had one military and two civil governors since the war?—A. Yes; Ames was military-governor, Alcorn was elected governor, and then was elected Senator, and probably it was he who signed his credentials.

Q. No, I remember perfectly; I think it was Ames, who, while military-governor, signed his own credentials.—A. I do not know about that, I only know the order in which they came, but I was not paying much attention to politics at that time; I was trying to keep my head above water financially.

Q. What is the population of Bay Saint Louis, colored and white?—A. They are mostly white; there are fewer colored people on the coast than any other part of the State; in fact there are scarcely any there; it is very thinly populated and there are very few people there.

Q. You spoke yesterday of being an agent of the Southern Claims Commission; when did you become such agent?—A. I cannot state the day of my commission or appointment, but I think it was about the 3d of April, 1877.

Q. Who appointed you?—A. The commissioner of claims.

Q. Who was he?—A. I think the commission was composed of Judge Aldis, Judge Ferris, and Judge Howell, but my commission was signed by the clerk of the commission.

Q. What did they do?—A. They examined into claims—rebel claims—from the South against the Treasury of the United States.

Q. Did they allow some of them?—A. Yes; they allowed some of them when well supported by the evidence.

Q. These claimants are all Republicans?—A. Yes, sir; they claimed to be.

Q. And the commissioners were Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you say were their names?—A. Aldis, Ferris, and Howell.

Q. I understand you to say that they allowed some rebel claims?—A. Yes, but I think unintentionally, and only when well supported by the evidence.

Q. When they were well supported they unintentionally allowed them?—A. Yes; when they were not examined by the agents on the ground.

Q. You were one of the agents; did any such claims pass through your fingers?—A. I think I reported on about one in a hundred, and I believe I will give bonds to pay any claim that I reported against that this committee will say was unjustly reported against, or any claim that was allowed on my recommendation, that was unjustly allowed.

Q. Yet this commission allowed some rebel claims unintentionally?—A. Yes, sir; when they were well supported by the testimony; some of the claims that I reported against were frauds.

Q. Did you ever report in favor of paying a rebel war claim?—A. I have reported in favor of paying the claims of people down there whom I believed, or rather knew, were loyal during the war, and who gave no aid of any kind to the Confederate Government.

Q. That would not be a rebel war claim, would it?—A. No, sir; that would not.

Q. What I want is some of those that they let pass that were war claims and unbeknown to them—could you specify any such cases?—A. I think if I had a list I could specify several. I think I could specify several against which I reported, and which were afterwards reported as allowed, but which I believed were the claims of men who were terribly disloyal.

Q. Then the commission did not take your word for it?—A. I do not think it got to them.

Q. Then of what use was your examination if your word did not get to them?—A. I will tell you. I had the case of a man named Holder, at Chattanooga, and I examined him, and his claim was allowed; he was an honest man and he said he was a Confederate soldier until after he was taken prisoner. He was wounded at Murfreesborough, and went back to Chattanooga. He was taken prisoner there; and he had his claim which had passed the House with an appropriation to pay it, and had gone to the Senate. I reported as soon as I could and requested that it should come back to the commission, but the man's testimony and my report were *non est* and were lost before they came to the commission.

Q. You say that you were appointed in 1874?—A. No, sir; in 1877.

Q. Who got you that appointment?—A. I got it myself, I think.

Q. Did you come on here yourself?—A. Yes, sir, and I got it myself. I had been a long time connected with them as a special commissioner before I got the last appointment.

Q. When were you first connected with them?—A. In 1873.

Q. Was that the year you left the Democratic party?—A. I was appointed afterwards. Let me tell you that on the question of politics I want to place the commissioners right, and it is my privilege to do it. Friends of mine, who were Radicals, in Iuka, gathered up all my letters published in the Iuka Gazette and sent them to the commissioners and

asked to have me removed because I had written these letters in the interest of the Democratic party. They wrote to Judge R. A. Hill, United States district judge, about my integrity, and to Judge Reynolds, and I think Boone. There were about a dozen names signed to the petition, and they sent on all the charges that were made against me. The commissioners said that this was not a question of politics, but they wanted to get an efficient man. These agents have to write down the testimony, and all the commissioners wanted was the testimony properly reported to them, and to be satisfied about that. They agreed that I could do that and they kept me.

Q. Are you a short-hand writer?—A. I at one time practiced it a little, but I am out of that now.

Q. Your explanation is not satisfactory about your appointment, and your leaving the Democratic party in the same year.—A. No, sir. Maybe I was appointed special agent in 1874.

Q. You left the Democratic party in 1873, you say?—A. I did not leave it. I had nothing to do with it after 1869; nothing at all.

Q. Haven't you stated repeatedly, yesterday and to-day, that your connection with the Democratic party was sundered in 1873?—A. I said that I voted with my neighbors and gave the reasons on the stump; I gave the reason for voting for Dent, and while it was a very cowardly reason, I would never give any other; and then I went to the election in 1872 and voted for Greeley.

Q. He was the Democratic candidate for President?—A. Yes; they took him up as a sort of swindle on the people.

Q. As you volunteer to say that he was a swindle on the people, I will ask you if he was any greater swindle than Hayes?—A. Well, Senator, would it not be well to let him go through without any remarks?

Q. I simply asked your opinion.—A. Well, sir, I do not think it is possible in the providence of God to have there a greater swindle than Hayes.

Q. Well, after that expression, we will go on. Now, as special commissioner from 1873 or 1874, you were acting with this Southern Claims Commission, and in 1877 you became what is known as a special agent?—A. Yes.

Q. And as special agent, your business was to take proof in claims cases?—A. Yes, sir; such as the claimant introduced; that was all.

Q. When you became special agent you traveled over the country considerably?—A. Yes, sir; a great deal.

Q. Did you travel over Mississippi?—A. Not a great deal in Mississippi.

Q. You spoke of being in Georgia?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what other States?—A. South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

Q. What is your pay?—A. Six dollars a day and my expenses; but toward the close of my term it was reduced to \$5 a day and expenses. The pay is fixed by an act of Congress making it the law.

Q. You spoke of the negroes in Jefferson County being notified not to hold religious meetings. Can you specify any one who was thus notified?—A. I am a poor hand to remember names, but there is a negro there who was considered a very reliable negro; he is in the city now. He was sheriff of the county and a very intelligent man, and I think he would be able to tell you, because he was living there at the time. I did not see this notice myself.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Do you mean Mr. Howard ?—A. Yes, sir ; I mean Howard. I think he will know all about these things, and I believe him to be perfectly reliable.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I think you mentioned something about a riot in Coahoma.—A. I said Tunica. There was one in Coahoma, but I do not know what it was about.

Q. Do not you know that on one of these occasions in Coahoma County Governor Alcorn took his place in a company and carried a gun ?—A. Yes, sir ; Governor Alcorn told me that himself. There was a man there named Brown who cut up a good deal and became troublesome, and they tried to put him down.

Q. Then you think that, in one instance at least, there was trouble gotten up there by the negroes ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I do not think there was much necessity for trouble even then. I think he could have been taken care of without it, but I may be mistaken.

Q. I believe that you stated that in the courts the negroes fare well, provided they have the means to employ counsel ?—A. I believe so, generally.

Q. Is not that your experience in general everywhere ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I might call attention to my own experience. I think a northern man and a negro would not always get justice in a court at the South. I do not think that even Senator Voorhees, who has been most abused by a drunken man down there from Memphis than anybody I have heard of, would get exact justice.

Q. Do you remember the trip I took to Oxford, Miss., when I argued and won a case in court there ?—A. Yes, sir, I remember that ; and I remember that you raised them very high on the subject of carpet-baggers.

Q. Do you remember that I got a verdict in that case ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think you bulldozed them. I do not think anybody but you could have done it.

Q. I appeared in that case for a Northern man, didn't I ?—A. At Oxford ?

Q. Yes ; a man who was charged with burning his own property at Aberdeen ?—A. Yes ; I heard of it.

Q. It was brought here and reversed, and I took it back to the State court and tried it at Tupelo and gained it, and made the company pay the money ?—A. Yes, sir ; and it was your speech in that case that I heard of.

Q. You say that a man can be sent to the penitentiary for stealing a small amount of money ?—A. Things of little value, I say.

Q. Do you know that in Indiana (that you seem to think are the Elysian Fields), a man can be sent to the penitentiary for stealing seventy-five cents or a dollar ?—A. I was not aware of it. I did not think there was a place in the world or in the bounds of civilization outside of the South, where they would send a man to the penitentiary for that. If that is so in Indiana, there is not much difference between Indiana and Mississippi. Well, sir, I think I would rather go back there ; I would rather be there than in Mississippi. I think of going back now ; and I have only one objection to Indiana, and that is, it is next door to Ohio.

Q. You stated that these men that were sent to the penitentiary had to work on the public roads ?—A. I read it and observed it and heard

the negroes speak of it. There are very few except the negroes who are convicted and sent to the penitentiary, and they believe that this felony law was passed, not to strike at the white man, but to get the negro.

Q. What do you think they were passed for up in Indiana?—A. I don't know; I suppose they think their people are so honest up there that they would not steal twenty-five cents but go for higher piles. Then they have a law there making the Providence of God unable, and I think that is rather wrong.

Q. Has Ingersoll been there to get any such law as that passed?—A. No, sir; I wish he had.

Q. How is that then?—A. They have a law that a man shall work out his fine if he cannot pay it, and for every day that he is sick he has to work two days to pay for his keeping. Whenever he is sick, and God Almighty smites him with illness, he is fined two days' more work for every day that he is sick.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you know in what book that law can be found?—A. I cannot tell you, but it is there; I am stating it as it is.

Q. I don't think it is that way exactly?—A. Yes, sir; it was passed in 1876, and is now being incorporated in the code of the State.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You spoke of a dispatch that was sent to Colonel George; is that the same George who has been elected senator?—A. Yes, sir; and he could not have been elected without being at the head of that bull-dozing ring.

Q. Where did you see that dispatch?—A. That was in a paper.

Q. Do you believe all that you see in a paper against the Democratic party?—A. I believe all that I see in a Democratic paper against the Democratic party.

Q. And all that you see in a Republican paper?—A. Yes, sir; most all of it. I certainly believe all that I ever wrote against it.

Q. Did you ever see Brick Pomeroy's paper or the Okalona States abuse the Republican party more than you did?—A. No, sir; I fought them straight out and I signed my name to all I wrote.

Q. Now, Mr. Avery, you would run away from all that you have said if you could see it here in print now, would you not?—A. Well, sir; I don't know about that.

Q. You have cited here some newspaper articles and resolutions denouncing outrages and lawlessness in Mississippi and cited them from Democratic newspapers and stated that the Democrats were engaged in these movements; you do not consider it discreditable to these Democrats in denouncing it?—A. No, sir; I think that is a fine thing, and I wish they had commenced it five or six years before.

Q. What is the condition of affairs down there now?—A. I don't know. I have not been in that part of the State for some years; but there are witnesses here who can tell you. I have only passed through on the trains for the last two or three years.

Q. Are there any violations of the laws, or any lawlessness of the character you speak of in Mississippi now?—A. Yes, sir; there is always something of the kind, but they are individual cases generally.

Q. Do you know of any State where there are not just such cases?—A. I do not; but there is a difference, however, in Mississippi. If you were shot down in Mississippi by anybody, and particularly for a political reason, I don't think there would be any severe prosecution of the case.

Q. Has there been a price set on your head down there?—A. No, sir; but I have been told by Democrats to watch out for myself. In one case my house was attacked, at Bay Saint Louis, and I think the intervention of a slat saved my life and that of my daughter. Democrats came to me, and I say it to their credit, and sympathized with me in the matter, and promised to see me righted. I have as strong friends among the Democrats as any man, and they are as good men as any people in the country. They said they were going to protect me, and if it was necessary they would take those five or six men who attacked me and hang them to a tree.

Q. Well, you are going back there, are you not?—A. I am; yes, sir.

Q. And you think it is a good place to live in, don't you?—A. Well, sir, I have not sat in a window or a door in my house since then, after my light was lit at night—I mean in the evening.

Q. It is best not to sit in a draft in a malarial country, is it not?—A. Well, not for me, as I tell you.

Q. Where was that slat that saved your life?—A. Well, sir, they have double doors down there, and where the two doors come together in the center there is a slat. The brick struck this middle slat, and if it had not done so it would have come into the house, broken the lamp, and thrown the coal-oil on me and my daughter.

Q. Was it a brick that was thrown at you?—A. Yes, sir; two bricks; one of the Democratic papers gave an account of it.

Q. Whom had you been abusing just before that?—A. Nobody. In fact I had not been there for a year before.

Q. You had not denounced anybody as a swindler or a thief for twenty-four hours before that, had you?—A. No, sir; not for a long time before that.

Q. You don't know but what they were negroes who did that?—A. No, sir. I would give a hundred dollars to know who did do it; and Mr. Whitfield, the Democrat who ran against me, said to me that if the brick had gone in there and burned me and my daughter up, nobody would have inquired anything about it after the first excitement.

Q. You say Governor Stone called the attention of the legislature to the necessity for preserving peace and order in the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he a Republican?—A. No, sir; he is a Democrat.

Q. And he has called the attention of the legislature to the necessity for peace and order in the State?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then he is on the side of law and order?—A. Yes, sir. I think he is one of the first men I got acquainted with in Mississippi; and a nobler or braver man I never saw.

Q. He tells the people that the laws must be enforced?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say a committee of the legislature was appointed to investigate the subject?—A. Yes, sir; I don't think I was there when the committee was appointed, nor when it reported. They went down and tried to discover the perpetrators of these outrages, but I don't think they did so. I think they made a report that they were not able to discover the causes of the trouble. I have no doubt but that report could be gotten if necessary.

Q. Who is the editor of the Vicksburg Herald?—A. C. E. Wright.

Q. He is the gentleman whom you complimented so highly yesterday?—A. I don't think I meant what I said for a compliment.

Q. You say he was bought up by the present administration with a post-office?—A. Well, sir, there is a suspicion in the public mind that he was bought up.

Q. Most of the postmasters in this country are Democrats, aren't

they?—A. No, sir; but I know some of them are. I know he does not speak in his paper like he used to. He came on here and had a man appointed postmaster who did not amount to much, and who was kin to him.

Q. Who is he?—A. I don't know his name; he could not make the bond, and the Herald took charge of the office and made the bond, and they pay him six or eight hundred dollars a year for the use of his name.

Q. Then it is a sort of brokerage business, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you don't remember the name of the postmaster?—A. No, sir; I ought to, but I do not. It was one of the things that I considered most outrageous in this administration; because the man who had the post-office had staid there with his family through all the epidemic. They all had the yellow fever, and after they got well they went around and worked and labored with the sick, and helped all they could; and then he said to the citizens: "You select some of the widows made by this epidemic and they shall have places in the post-office." And all the business men of the city, even C. K. Marshall, signed a petition for his reappointment; but because he did not agree with the vacillating, huckstering policy of the so-called President, he was not reappointed.

Q. Then, the editor of the Herald got charge of the office by using another party's name?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think these things are known to Key and my friend Turner?—A. I don't know, sir; I think they have the recommendations of the preachers and the best people in the country down there in favor of the other man.

Q. Then you cannot expect to have a very satisfactory state of affairs with such an administration as this in office?—A. No, sir; we cannot have much satisfaction with this sort of an administration.

Q. You said if a Democratic candidate were to be elected President, the negroes would all leave the South. Don't you think if they could stand Hayes they could stand a Democrat?—A. Well, sir, the Republicans think that the lightning never strikes in the same place twice, and that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will ever stumble into Ohio again for a President.

Q. Now, Mr. Avery, give us any reasons that you have for thinking that affairs are changing for the better in the South?—A. Well, sir, I do not know that I can say that they are changing for the better. There are a great many reasons why I think things have not improved. I believe education is absolutely necessary to good government. I don't think that we have, as a general thing, any public schools in Mississippi. I have my own children in a convent because we have no public schools fit to send them to. We have not had three months public schools in our town since the Democrats took charge of the State in 1876, and I think that is the rule throughout the State.

Q. Did they have any public schools in the State during those eight years that you were acting with the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir; they did. They had a school fund in the county where I lived that was called the "Chickasaw school fund." The teachers would teach, and were paid for it; but that fund is now added to the State fund and is not used.

Q. Are you editing a paper now?—A. No, sir; I wish I was.

Q. When did you quit?—A. I think my paper died a natural death in 1876 or '77.

Q. How long do you think this Southern Claims Commission will last?

—A. Well, sir, they were wiped out and ceased to exist on the tenth day of this month.

Mr. VANCE. I felt morally certain that the fact could not be as stated by the witness about the law on the subject of working out fines in Mississippi. I see by examination that it is not a part of the statutes imposed by the court, but is an arrangement between the hirer and the convict.

Mr. WINDOM. It makes no difference, however, to the defendant.

Mr. VANCE. Perhaps it does not; but it makes it different as to the statement made by the witness. I will read the clause:

SECTION 4. *Be it further enacted*, That when any prisoner shall be convicted of a misdemeanor by any court or justice of the peace, if the fine and costs are not immediately paid, or secured to be paid within sixty days to the satisfaction of said justice of the peace, or the sheriff, in case of conviction before the circuit court, said convict shall be committed to said contractor, who shall keep and work him at the rate of twenty-five cents per day, not including Sundays and days in which said convict shall be unable to labor, or for any cause by his consent shall not labor, said contractor shall pay the said fine and costs, and be liable on his bond for the same; and he shall not be excused therefrom unless said convict shall die without working sufficient to pay the same; or unless said convict shall be or become from continued ill health unable to work. In such a case the president of the board of supervisors may order his discharge without payment of costs; but unless so discharged, said convict shall work two days for every one lost by sickness, one of which days shall be for compensation of keeping him during a day in which he was sick; and whenever said convict shall be sentenced to jail as a part of his punishment, he shall first serve out said term and shall then commence to work to pay said fine and costs; but in all such cases if the fine and costs be paid or secured as aforesaid, before the expiration of the term for which he was sentenced, he may at the end thereof be discharged.

Mr. VANCE. Of course the object of that law is to prevent the defendant from getting sick as soon as convicted, and trying to keep from doing his work after the contract is made and the hirer has paid the money or his fine to the court.

Mr. WINDOM. In other words, he is sold out to the contractor for the amount of the fine and he is required to put in two days' work for every day that he is sick; that being the understanding, I think our friend here is right.

Mr. VANCE. It is a debt that he owes to the contractor.

Mr. WINDOM. For instance, a justice of the peace can fine him five hundred dollars, and can put him out to work for two thousand days, and then he shall pay the contractor two days' work in excess for every day that he is sick.

Mr. VANCE. Unless it is Republican doctrine that a man can pay his debt by going to bed and playing sick, that is the effect of the law.

Mr. BLAIE. Then it is not likened to a case where a convict in a State penitentiary gets sick and it is not charged to him. In this case, at the end of the time, the days that he is sick are taken from him and charged to his time. It seems to me that in a case of this sort the law should excuse the contractor from payment to that extent corresponding to the loss of time.

Mr. VANCE. Nobody would hire a man with that understanding.

Q. Do you know whether that is the law of several of the Northern States?—A. I do not know, but I hope to the Lord it is not. I do not want to feel an extreme contempt for the civilization of the Northern States. I do not want to be fined for any infiction I may suffer, nor bear of anybody else being fined on account of sickness.

Q. Did you never hear of a man who has been sick, and who had to be fed and taken care of, having to pay for it?—A. I have, unless he was at home, when it is a love service to his family. I think that law was passed in order to get as much work out of the negroes as possible.

It comes as near making them old slaves again as they can be under the law.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You have said that you would not let the ignorant colored people nor the ignorant white people vote. I want to ask you whether you mean that you would have such a law applied to everybody?—A. That is what I mean. I think intelligence should be allowed to vote, but at the same time I would not deprive anybody of a thing that the law gives them. If it gives them the right to vote and they vote ignorantly, it is not my lookout. I am responsible for my vote to God and myself, and to nobody else.

Q. You say that the governor of Mississippi tells the people that the law must be enforced; but do you think he tries to enforce it?—A. I think in several cases he has not done what he ought to do. In the Chisholm murder, I think I would have forced a prosecution there if I had been in his case. I do not know whether he has been advised of the Page atrocity or not, but in the face of such as that the Chisholm massacre makes no comparison.

Q. I wish you would give us some idea of an atrocity that surpasses the Chisholm murder.—A. I do not know it sufficiently to tell it.

Q. But as it lies in your mind you think it was worse?—A. Yes, sir; when that old man Page had nursed back to life in 1878, in the yellow-fever season, some of the very men who killed him and burned him up on his own door steps.

Q. What was the charge against him?—A. I think his son was charged with killing some party; in fact, I think he did kill a deputy sheriff.

Q. Was he a colored man, this man Page?—A. Yes, sir; he was a colored man; but I do not want to try and tell the story, for I do not know it.

Q. Mr. Voorhees laid some stress on the outcome of a suit that he had somewhere down in Mississippi against an insurance company. Do you know where that company was from?—A. I think it was a carpet-bag affair from the North; as I understand it, it was a case of gallantry on the part of the Senator in favor of a lady.

Q. Then it was a suit between Northern persons and a Northern insurance company?—A. Yes, sir; and I think if he had not put his brains to it and worked as he did, the case never would have gone that way.

Q. You spoke of some licentiousness down there, and interference with the negro women?—A. Well, sir, it is not a subject to talk about, but the mottled condition of the colored population down there shows that the colored women are interfered with; and it is objected to by all the respectable colored women and men. The speech I referred to was made by a colored man at Huntsville. They are treated very badly there. They have lots and are rather prosperous, and he said to the white people, "If you will let our colored women alone, we will stay here among you." That speech was made at an exodus meeting, and he complained that the white people interfered with their colored women.

Q. What did he mean by that?—A. He meant that they had sexual intercourse with the colored women; that their daughters were seduced, corrupted, and prostituted, and that if a colored man attempted to resent it he would be killed. One colored man, who was indignant about it, said that he knew of thirty young men who were sleeping with colored women as regularly as if they were married to them.

Q. Who was that?—A. That was Mark Mullen, living near Oxford, Mississippi, in Lafayette County. That was several years ago. When I spoke to these colored men of Nashville, they gave that as a reason for leaving. It was cold weather, and I said to them, "You are going where you will freeze, for it is very cold in Kansas; I do not think I would go there, but stay here." They said they would go—that they were going where they would be somebody—where they could educate their children, and where their girls—daughters—would grow up to be virtuous women; that they wanted to get away from the South, where colored girls were never respected by white men.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. When was this Page matter that you spoke of; was it after the Chisholm murder?—A. Yes, sir; it was in the fall of 1878. I was told that a crowd went down there and committed the deed. I was at Fort Gibson on one occasion, and in the hotel I saw a lot of needle-guns, and I did not go into a store in the place without seeing two or three guns, and at night they were drilling in the basement of a church. You could hear that tramp, tramp, tramp, as they were drilling a company of young men. I called on the editor of a newspaper there, and there were guns in his office also. I called on him because he was a brother editor; and my paper, when I published it, was respected by the Democrats very much.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You made the statement, yesterday, that you got into the war because you were drunk. Now, since you came out of the Democratic party, or rather since you were married, you have changed your habits, have you not?—A. I did not say that I got into the war because I was drunk, but that I got into that regiment. I went there to the place drunk and made a drunken speech. I think every man who drinks is in a fight with himself against it. But when I got married, I had some help in letting the thing alone, and pretty soon I took up the temperance movement with the Good Templars. I spent much money in furthering that organization, and got Mr. Hickman, of Atlanta, Georgia, who was at the head of the organization, to come to Mississippi. We organized a grand lodge and went to the legislature and got laws passed which nearly made that a temperance State.

Q. You have changed your habit, then, about drinking?—A. Yes, sir, I have.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Mr. Windom wanted to know if you changed your drinking habit when you joined the Republican party?—A. No, sir; that was before.

Q. Well, I was in hopes that you effected that change while you were in the Democratic party?—A. Yes, sir, I did; but perhaps I was preparing for the political change then, as well.

Q. You have seen Republicans who would take a drink?—A. O, yes, sir; a good many of them.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You have made some pretty savage criticisms upon the present administration, criticising it as great a swindle as the Democrats perpetrated by nominating Greeley. I want to understand you on that point; do you mean to say that?—A. Yes, sir; and I cannot modify it one particle.

Q. Do not you think that if this Southern policy of the present ad-

ministration which you have criticized has failed in the way you say, that notwithstanding it was adopted from a good motive, and under the belief that a conciliatory policy would have its effect for good on the Southern people—that this bulldozing, and all that, would cease, and that if it was an error at all, it was an error of the head and not of the heart?—A. I do not know. I believe that when the President was pursuing this policy he went to Atlanta, which is largely made up of carpet-baggers, as every city in the South is that is not absolutely covered with the dry-rot, and he was surrounded there almost entirely by ex-rebels, and companies of ex-rebel soldiers escorted him, who had flags, and one of them carried a rebel flag, while not one of them carried the national flag. They had these fancy flags with rebel flags crossed upon them. And the President said to these people in his speech that we were entitled to no special credit for having whipped in the war, that there was no principle involved in it, but that it was simply a question of Greek meeting Greek, and we had the most Greeks, and that, therefore, the South got licked.

Q. You do not think he said that there was no principle involved in it, do you?—A. Well, sir, that was the reasonable inference from his remarks.

Q. Don't you think that what he said was said from a very good motive?—A. I don't want to do him injustice, but I have no respect for him or for any act of his since he has been President. I think he is a traitor to the men who fought for him and made him President; and I feel the greatest sort of contempt for him, and never said a good word for him, and, so help me God, I never will.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Are you acquainted with Agnes Jenks?—A. I do not know that I am.

Q. Were you here as a witness when she was examined about that celebrated Sherman letter?—A. I was not, sir; I was subpoenaed once, but never examined, except by this committee.

Senator VOORHEES. My client in Mississippi, Mr. Avery, was John R. Francis, of Illinois, and the way that you got the idea that a woman was mixed up with it is, that there was a widow of a Federal soldier, who was assailed very bitterly by Colonel Richardson and others in the progress of the trial, and I defended her so strongly that the boys of the college who were there in the court-house cheered the speech wildly, and nearly took charge of the court-house.

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; I believe that is the way of it. The Senator wiped them out, and we cheered him very much.

Adjourned to Friday, March 19, 1880.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY.

• WASHINGTON, D. C., *Friday, March 19, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment, and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES SPARKS.

JAMES SPARKS sworn and examined as follows:

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. What is your name and residence?—Answer. My name is James Sparks, and I reside near Shelbyville, Shelby County, Indiana.

Q. What is your business?—A. Dealing in live stock.

Q. State if you know anything about the arrival of any colored people in your county from North Carolina.—A. I know of one squad stopping there; I think there were twenty-five of them. I saw them in the depot directly they got off the train.

Q. When was that?—A. The 12th of December, 1879.

Q. What became of them?—A. They went into quarters with a colored man who has been there, and then they left and went to work somewhere.

Q. They scattered out of town?—A. Yes; that is what I say. I only know one man who hired any of them; I know one who took them on a farm, but I don't know where the others are.

Q. Were you present at the time that some of them were expected to arrive there, and when there was some demonstration made at the depot?—A. I think it was the night of the 17th of December. The report that came was that some two or three car-loads of colored people were on the train, and a number of people went down to the train to see them come in.

Q. What was the purpose of their going there?—A. A number of people went through curiosity to see them, and others in the crowd remarked that they did not want them to get off.

Q. How did you come to be there?—A. I was waiting for my partner from Cincinnati to take off some stock.

Q. What time did you go down there?—A. About half-past nine o'clock.

Q. At what time was the train due?—A. Ten o'clock and five minutes, I believe.

Q. How many people were there down there?—A. That is a matter of guess work. They were in the depot and on the platform, and I would say there were fifty of them.

Q. Did you hear any threats made against these colored people?—A. Not a bit of it. There was only one man, named Capp, who was the coroner of our county, who said anything. I said, "Jim, what would you do, suppose they were to get off?" and he said, "I would knock them in the head."

Q. Do you regard that as a very friendly-sentiment toward people coming into your county?—A. I cannot say that it is, but he was the only man who said anything like a threat.

Q. What did the rest of the people do?—A. They waited there. The first train that came was the express and there were none on that, and five or ten minutes afterwards the other train came in. That was the one on which these people came, but I did not see any of them get off.

Q. Were they just going through?—A. That's my opinion, but I do not know that certain.

Q. Did you talk with many of the persons who were about there?—A. No, I did not; I was standing waiting and watching like other people.

Q. You were waiting for your partner?—A. Yes, sir; I had no business only that.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. And that is all the riot there was?—A. That is all I heard.

Q. You heard the coroner say he would knock them in the head if they got off?—A. Yes, sir; he is a sort of a roust-about of a fellow.

Q. He sort of says things that he does not mean?—A. Yes, sir; I pay no respect to what he says in that way.

Q. Shelbyville is a town of about five thousand people, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And there came news that two or three car-loads of colored people were coming through that night, and about fifty people went down to the depot to see them come?—A. Yes, sir; they just went down there to see them.

Q. There was no particular noise nor trouble?—A. No, sir; people were just talking about in squads.

Q. You asked the coroner what he was going to do if they got off, and he said he was going to knock them in the head?—A. Yes, sir; and I considered the source, as he was not a very reliable man, and I paid no attention to it. In fact there were several of the officers of the county there.

Q. You would not consider it unusual, if something novel was passing through, for that number of people to go down to the depot to see it?—A. No, sir; I would probably go myself.

Q. You and I, Sparks, never exchanged a word about this matter, but I know that you are a man of character, and in business at home, and respected by all who know you, and I want to ask you if you think there is a call for this kind of labor in the State at this time?—A. I do not think there is, as far as I am acquainted.

Q. That is my opinion also.—A. I know of no such demand. I am in the stock trade, and am backwards and forwards in every township in the county. We have a number of Germans there and they do not hire much help. What the men cannot do the women do.

Q. Then there is no demand for these people in Shelby County?—A. I do not think there is.

Q. You spoke of twenty-five coming there, and stated that so far as you know they got employment.—A. I saw them there and men were talking to them about work. There were three men and five grown women and the rest were children.

Q. So it would not take much trouble to supply the persons in that party who are able to work with labor?—A. No, sir; it would not be hard to find that much.

Q. I do not know what your politics are, but you may state it.—A. I am a square Republican.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You say that all of these people got employment as far as you know?—A. Yes, sir; and since I have thought of it, I think there is a man by the name of Wright who has one or two employed, and he lives towards Indianapolis from our town.

TESTIMONY OF J. H. JOHNSON.

JOHN H. JOHNSON (colored) sworn and examined as follows :

By Mr. WINDOM :

Question. Mr. Johnson, where do you reside?—Answer. Saint Louis is my place of residence.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I was born and raised there.

Q. How old are you?—A. I am thirty-four years of age.

Q. What is your business?—A. By profession I am an attorney at law, but at present I am clerk to the disbursing agent of the new custom house at Saint Louis.

Q. Have you given special attention to the arrival of colored people at Saint Louis on their way to Kansas or elsewhere?—A. I have.

Q. Have you been connected with any committee looking after these emigrants?—A. I belong to the colored refugee board of Saint Louis. I have been secretary of it from the day of its organization.

Q. State if you had any conversation with these people?—A. I have had frequent conversations with them, after their arrival in our city.

Q. How many times did you converse with them?—A. At almost every arrival of them I have had conversations with them.

Q. When was the first arrival?—A. I think in the latter part of February, 1879.

Q. Where did they come from?—A. A. They came from Mississippi.

Q. Do you remember from what part of the State and what number of them there were?—A. I do not remember what part of Mississippi they came from, but I think there were seventy-five or one hundred emigrants.

Q. How did they come after that?—A. After that they came in parties of twenty-five and fifty, and on up to two hundred and fifty and three hundred.

Q. From what period did they come?—A. From the first of March up to almost the time that I left the city to come and answer your subpoena.

Q. Is the exodus continuing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what parties are they coming now?—A. They are coming in small and large parties both, principally five and ten at a time.

Q. What time did your relief board organize?—A. The latter part of March or the first of April.

Q. In 1879?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the object and purpose of that board?—A. Ours was a work of humanity, to relieve distress.

Q. Was there anything political in its object?—A. No, sir; nothing whatever. It was a work of humanity, for they arrived there almost destitute. The first arrival came when it was dry, cold weather. They arrived in one of the packet boats and camped on the levee. Information came that a number of these people had arrived from down South, and several of us got together and went down there and saw them. We went around among the people, white and black, and raised some money and went down there and gave it to the emigrants.

Q. Where were they destined to go?—A. To Kansas. The Sunday following there came a shipment of two hundred and fifty. That Saturday there was a heavy fall of snow and it was sleeting. It was a regular winterish day, and several citizens went down there and found them in their destitute and helpless condition. They took them and marched them up in procession and distributed them in the churches.

Q. That first arrival you sent off?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do with the second?—A. We distributed them in the churches and took care of them the best that we could.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What time was that?—A. That was some time in the month of March. We raised what funds and provisions we could, and then made an arrangement, I think, with the Northern Star Company to take these people to the nearest point to Kansas, up the Missouri River. We kept them one or two weeks in the churches and we shipped a second cargo; then another shipment came, and most of those from Mississippi, and they were sent on, and subsequently others came from Louisiana.

Q. About how many have arrived there altogether?—A. There must have been of those who passed through the hands of the board between fifteen and twenty thousand, men, women, and children.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You say they were destitute. Now will you give us an idea of how they were clothed and their condition generally?—A. Their clothes were very poor, indeed; some of them had nothing but rags and some had on old clothes very much worn; they were very poor for the commencement of the fall down South, let alone the winter in Saint Louis. Some of them had clothes, and had three or four pair of pants and coats on at the same time.

Q. They had to put that many on in order to keep warm?—A. Yes, sir; some of them had on nothing but rags and the women had on calico dresses, and their condition was such as to excite the sympathy of any person who saw them.

Q. Did any of them have any money?—A. Some of them had some money and others had none.

Q. Had they paid their fare to Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir; some of them said they had sold their crops for little or nothing and sold all their goods, and some had sold a portion of their clothes in order to get to Kansas, which was their objective point.

Q. Was that the destination of all of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They had nothing to live on and were dependent upon the charity of the people?—A. Yes, sir. Our own people there in Saint Louis collected food for them.

Q. Whom do you mean by our own people?—A. I mean the Saint Louis colored people. Some of the commission merchants helped us and sent us beans and pork, bread and crackers, and we raised also donations of clothes and money.

Q. What was the arrangement between that boat line and your board?—A. It was that they would take these people for from two dollars and a half to three dollars a head to their point of destination, either Topeka or Kansas City.

Q. Will you tell the committee what reasons they gave for coming under these adverse circumstances?—A. Well, sir, their arrival there in that condition and at that season of the year was a thing that we could not understand.

Q. Did they come on you suddenly?—A. Yes, very suddenly; and we naturally desired to know why they were making for Kansas at such a time, and we asked one and another of them, and they stated that it was owing to the treatment they received down South. They stated that they had no security for life, limb, or property; that they worked year in and year out, and, notwithstanding they raised good crops, they were at the end of the year in debt; that they were charged exorbitant prices for provisions, and all these things kept them down and in debt. The high prices charged them for lands and the denial of their rights as citizens induced them to leave there and seek a genial spot where they could have an opportunity to build up themselves and their families. Some of them stated that they had been on plantations alongside of theirs where men were shot down for political purposes, and the women stated all the impositions practiced on colored women in the South.

Q. What were they?—A. One old lady stated to me, when I saw her at the levee, that she was from Louisiana, and that while she and another colored woman were on their way to the boat to come to Kansas some white people met them and asked them if they were going to Kansas;

they said that they were, and this white man said, "God damn it, you will get there some time or other." One of the women was seven months gone in a family way, and she said she was going to join her husband, when the white man pulled out his revolver and shot her; and the child came to life there and he took it and mashed its brains out. There were other cases of the same kind which were stated to me by various parties.

Q. If you know of any others please state them.—A. Some of them stated that they were not allowed the freedom of voting as they pleased; that men commanded them to vote, and being Democrats, compelled them to vote the Democratic ticket and they had to do it or lose their employment; others stated that they had brothers who were shot for political offenses or else offenses in the shape of a quarrel with a white man.

Q. What did they say as to the expense of making a living in the South?—A. They stated that they endeavored to live as economically as possible, and notwithstanding the fact that they did that and raised good crops, at the end of the season they would have nothing left except probably five, ten, or fifteen dollars.

Q. Did they state anything as to the charges made against them for provisions at the stores?—A. Yes, sir; I jotted down some of their statements on that point. Some of them stated that they were charged for tobacco 50 and 60 cents per plug for ordinary chewing and smoking tobacco.

Q. Can you give us some of the prices charged in Saint Louis?—A. Yes, sir; in our place I should say that 15 to 20 cents per plug would be the price.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Did you see what kind of tobacco they had?—A. Yes; it was black Navy tobacco, I think they call it. For flour they were charged per barrel—and small sized ones, fourth grade flour—eight to ten dollars per barrel, the same flour which could be bought in our city for three and four dollars a barrel. For corn meal they paid five and six dollars a barrel, which could be bought in our place for two dollars and a half or three dollars. Ordinary bacon was 30 and 40 cents per pound; in our place, 8 or 9 cents, while in larger quantities it is cheaper. Molasses was a dollar and twenty-five cents to a dollar and a half per gallon; in our place it is 50 to 60 or 75 cents. Whisky, the ordinary farm whisky of the commonest kind, was from 75 cents to a dollar a pint; up in our place it is 25 cents or cheaper. Coffee was 50 or 75 cents a pound; only 12 or 15 in our place. Sugar was twenty-five to fifty cents, while in our place it is eight to twelve. For the rent of land they would pay from seven to nine and ten dollars per acre. I do not know the value of the land, as I have never been south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Q. Where were these people from?—A. Some were from along the river and some back in the back counties.

Q. Did they state what they paid for transportation?—A. They told us from Vicksburg to Saint Louis they paid three to four dollars a head for deck passage.

Q. I mean, did they say to you what they paid for the transportation of flour and meal?—A. They charged from 75 cents to a dollar per barrel from our town to Vicksburg.

Q. That is the point to which provisions for these people would have to be taken?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About how many of these people do you think you talked to?—A.

Well, sir, at very nearly every arrival I have had conversations with persons among them. In our board rooms, at the office, we talk with them in the presence of several members of the board, and also in the presence of the vice-president and corresponding secretary. Generally I would go down to the river and correspond for them and act with the committee on transportation and arrival. I questioned them with a view to finding out the causes of their leaving their homes in the South.

Q. How many have you talked with?—A. I should say between six hundred and a thousand.

Q. Please state if there were any discrepancies in their statements to you.—A. Their statements were singularly unanimous, bearing to the same point, and notwithstanding their coming from different sections of the South, in Louisiana and Mississippi, it was always a repetition of the same statement.

Q. When they were suffering on the wharf from cold and hunger, did they express any desire to go back to the South?—A. No, sir. In our capacity as a board of relief we had received letters from different places in the South asking us if we could supply farmers with hands, as they were scarce. We tried to get some of them to return, and consulted with them on the subject, and they said they would rather go into the open prairie and starve there than go back to the South to stand the impositions that were put on them down there; and every member of them went through, with some few exceptions. I do not think there were two hundred of them who went back South.

Q. Efforts were made, however, to get them to go back?—A. Yes; there were. There were several firms there dealing in the cotton brokerage business, and several members were active in trying to get them to go back; but they did not succeed very well. At the meetings held in the churches when we were trying to raise contributions, they came and made speeches, endeavoring to advise these people to return to the South, but they could make no impression upon them.

Q. Were there any efforts made to help them return?—A. Yes, sir; they offered to pay their fare if they would return South.

Q. What was the answer given to such offers?—A. They would not go. They said they were in a land of freedom and were going to stay there.

Q. And the cold and hunger had no effect to change their minds?—A. No, sir; they were not considered anything in comparison with the injustice they suffered in the South.

Q. Did you talk to any of them who were returning home?—A. There was a statement that some of them were returning. They were stated to be going on the James Howard, and I went on the boat, but did not see any of them there. I did learn, though, that several families had passed on their return down South, but I did not meet any of them.

Q. I understood you to say that your committee had tried to induce them to go back to some points in the South?—A. You understood me correctly. We did. We said that we could refer them to certain business men who would pay their transportation to any point in the South, in Mississippi and Louisiana, where they wanted to go. In fact we wanted to test their sincerity. Seeing their condition, and that they were enduring the same hardships that the fathers of this country endured in discovering and settling this country, we desired to test the honesty of their statements, and the real truth of their determination.

Q. What was their answer to your endeavors?—A. They said whoever wanted to go could go; but one of them said he was about to bounce me for suggesting it to him; but I laughed it off, and gave him

a quarter. He said to me that he would not return South under any consideration. He said, they were suffering, it was true, but not more than they did in the South. I should say from their experience at the time of their arrival in our city, and what they endured in Kansas, it led me to believe that whatever suffering they might encounter in getting away from Louisiana and Mississippi, they were fully prepared to meet it.

Q. Did they say anything about political motives involved in their moving?—A. No, sir; there was no political movement in it. We understood that the press had circulated things in the South trying to show that it was political; also circulars were distributed in the South saying if they would go to Kansas they would find themselves in possession of forty acres of land, a mule, and farm utensils. Out of the number that I talked to they all said that nothing of the kind was said to them, but on account of the injustice and political wrongs they were subject to, they had decided to leave. That was their unanimous statement.

Q. Do you know what became of them after leaving your city?—A. The moment they began to arrive in such large numbers, Governor St. John, and others, organized a board of relief, and it worked in harmony with our board; and the emigrants that we shipped them they received at the nearest point, and from there scattered them out through Kansas. From the communications we received from Kansas we were informed that the farmers in the neighborhood of Leavenworth, Topeka, and elsewhere, would come in, in their wagons, and take from one to fifteen families out on their farms to work; and in that manner they were scattered out through Kansas. At the last reports they were doing well, and receiving their regular monthly payments, and nearly all of them were satisfied. Some of them purchased lands, and some established colonies. The board in Kansas, like that in Saint Louis, received contributions from elsewhere; from Boston, New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and other States; receiving contributions in clothing, money, and provisions, which were given to them when they were started on their way from Saint Louis.

Q. From your conversations with them what do you believe to be the feeling of the other colored people in the South, on the subject of moving?—A. Those who arrived there stated that the banks of the Mississippi River, in Mississippi and Louisiana, were lined with people who were anxious to get away; that there was a very large number of them; and this was confirmed, and we received communications from those people in Louisiana and Mississippi requesting us to send boats down there to bring them away from that country. A communication stated that the banks of the river were lined with people anxious to get away. A number of them learned that a government boat, or United States boat, was coming to take them away, and they flocked to the banks to get on that boat. Their disappointment at the boat not coming, and the refusal of other boats to bring them, caused great destitution among them on the banks of the river. Adding to that the action of the planters, who were driving them from their property and back into the country, their suffering was extreme. It increased their terror, and many of them got on the boats going down the river and then came back from New Orleans. Others footed it to Vicksburg, and then came on.

Q. And that was done to avoid the opposition to their coming.—A. Yes, sir; some of them stated that their wagons were burned, and their animals taken and driven back into the country; and some of them

were compelled to go to work for those people on whose plantations they were waiting for the boats to come.

Q. From your somewhat extended information on this subject, do you believe that this movement is likely to continue?—A. From the information I have gleaned, and from their actions, I am of the opinion that as soon as the spring opens, all of those who are not under contract with the planters in the South will leave, if they can get away at all. I think they will leave by thousands.

Q. What, if anything, is the remedy for this state of affairs, and what, if anything, is needed to stop the movement?—A. That brings me to the causes and effect of the exodus. From the conversations I have had I am of the opinion that the cause of their leaving is the inhuman treatment which they receive from the hands of their former masters, the land-owners. The impositions put upon them, the insecurity of their lives and limbs; their inability to secure lands there by purchase or to rent them on reasonable terms, and the deprivation of their own political rights and privileges; in fact all the injustice and atrocities perpetrated on them by their former owners are the causes that led to this exodus. As to their statements that there is no political cause for it, I am forced to this opinion: that the white land-owners or planters at the South, who were their former masters, owing to the change in the condition and relationship of the negroes from that which existed formerly between the master and slave, are not willing to give up all control over them. Their inhuman treatment of them in their new position as freedmen and citizens is an additional cause of the exodus. Hence the only solution of this condition of things is the total emigration of every negro from every one of the Southern States of the United States of America.

Q. Do you think the movement would be stopped if the rights of these people as citizens were respected?—A. If they were treated as human beings, to say nothing of their citizenship, they would remain. The South is the home of the colored man. He has been there since 1620. He has improved that part of the country, and done more to advance the material interests of the South than any other race or nation can do. He is the only person who can safely work in the cotton-fields and endure the heat and changes of climate, and if he had that treatment which his fidelity to his former masters entitles him to, he would remain. If he had his rights under the Constitution he would remain. If he were allowed the opportunity of purchasing a homestead in the South he would remain. If he were encouraged in his efforts to get along he would remain. But it is beyond the patient endurance of any people to stand the impositions that this people have endured, and which are being practiced upon them even now.

Q. Do you think of anything else you would like to say upon this subject?—A. I think of nothing beyond this: In my capacity as secretary of this board, I have received communications from nearly every section of the country, north, east, and west, requesting us to supply hands to farmers, and also to other professions, and we have been supplying, as far as we could, the demands made on us in those respects.

Q. Were those demands numerous?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any of them from Indiana?—A. We had very few from Indiana, but some from Illinois and Ohio, and some from New York.

Q. On what grounds did these people put their request? Did they state any reasons for wanting these people?—A. They said that they were anxious for good farm hands, and knowing that these people from

the South had experience in that direction, and that they could rely on them, they wanted them; and as we were receiving large numbers of them that they trusted us to send them on, and if we should send any they would furnish them transportation.

Q. Were there any political motives suggested in these applications?—A. No, sir; none at all. In fact we always avoided anything political in the matter. Our board was founded on principles of humanity, to take care of these people and send them to their destination.

Q. Did these six or eight hundred representatives of the whole number with whom you talked express any feeling of hopefulness for themselves in the South, or was it a feeling of general and utter desperation?—A. It was utter desperation, sir. They were done with the South under the present existing condition of things.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you know anything about a certain Mr. Turner, a colored man, who has been connected somewhat with this exodus?—A. Do you refer to ex-minister Hon. J. Milton Turner?

Q. Yes, I suppose so.—A. I think you have reference to him. If so, I have known him from boyhood.

Q. Have you seen it reported in the papers that he is opposed to the exodus? Tell us something about him, anyhow.—A. He was a member of our board in March and April. He served in the capacity of secretary to the financial committee. For some reason or other he severed his connection with our board and started an organization of his own, which he called the Emigrants' Aid Association. He had it incorporated, articles of incorporation were taken out and he continued the existence of his board. I think it is still alive, but not in active operation. It was about two months ago.

Q. What was his expressed opinion of the exodus when he was a member of your board?—A. At that time he was in favor of it, but since that time he has been opposed to it.

Q. Did he state why he had changed his opinion?—A. Because, he said, he believed the South was the home of the colored people, and that the commercial interests of the country demanded that the negro should remain there; and that in the course of time these matters of complaint would right themselves.

Q. How recently did he state this?—A. That was some five, or probably seven, months ago.

Q. Up to that time he had been in favor of the exodus?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did he do in promotion of it?—A. He attended several of the meetings in the churches, and spoke in favor of it; and I think I have got a memorandum of his ideas. He wrote an appeal to the people, and, also, as secretary of the finance committee of our board, he wrote a card in relation to an article in a paper, in which he stated that our board was doing all it could to promote the exodus. It was headed "In dead earnest"; and I heard that the board asked him to write a card denying it and explaining. He did, and signed the card as secretary. It is in the Globe Democrat of April 4, 1879. It stated that the ministers were not encouraging and favoring the exodus, and that their positions were like those of the board, simply those of humanity.

Q. Where does this Mr. Turner reside?—A. Up to within seven or eight months ago he lived in St. Louis. He was born there and lived there, like myself, until sent on his mission to Liberia.

Q. Has he ever been a resident of the Gulf States?—A. I do not think he has; but I think he has paid several visits there.

Q. He has very little practical experience, then, of the suffering of the colored people?—A. About as much as I have; and that is only what I have seen in Saint Louis. His object in the organization of his society was, to incorporate the society and assist the needy by raising contributions for them when they arrived, and by purchasing lands in Kansas, which lands shall be sold to the emigrants on the installment plan, and it was to be called the Colored Emigration Aid Society.

Q. When was it incorporated?—A. It was organized April 13, 1879. In the *Globe-Democrat* appears the names of the incorporators: Hon. J. Milton Turner, president; Jas. B. Thomas, Richard Smith, John Turner, W. R. Lawton, C. H. Tyler, J. W. Wilson, and Albert Burgess, secretary. The articles of incorporation are dated April 16, 1879, as I get it from the files of the *Globe-Democrat*.

Q. That seems to be an organization to collect money from the charitable and invest it on their own account for the purpose of speculation on the negro?—A. It struck me that way. It looked like a scheme to raise funds to purchase lands in Kansas that are to be sold out afterwards on the installment plan.

Q. Did this society appeal to the charitable for help?—A. Yes, sir; they issued a circular in opposition to ours, and received clothing and money in return. They made one report, the Turner board did, of the amount of subscriptions received by them, and also the amount expended, and also the balance of cash they had on hand.

Q. What was the balance?—A. I think it ranged from ninety to one hundred odd dollars. That report, I think, was in the month of May, or possibly June, 1879.

Q. Have you heard anything from it since?—A. I have heard nothing from it since, sir.

Q. What sort of a scheme was that which was broached; it did not seem to be popular?—A. No, sir; it was not.

Q. Is that sum of ninety or one hundred dollars still in their pocket?—A. That was the balance they had on hand then, and I do not know what became of it.

Q. When was it that Turner became opposed to the exodus?—A. It was after he found out that his board could not sail through.

Q. The speculation failed, and he changed his opinion?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What you have been detailing here, I suppose, is what you got from the emigrants yourself?—A. Yes, sir; I never was in the South, outside of two trips on the Mississippi River.

Q. You don't know, then, that any of those things are true that were told you?—A. No, sir; I know only what they said to me, and their statements were made in the presence of the president and corresponding secretary of our board.

Q. In reference to those prices of articles of subsistence, did you understand that they were charged to the negroes alone, and not to white people?—A. Yes, sir; I understood they were charged to them, and them alone. You see the negro, after he became a freedman, was left in a condition of utter poverty. Emerging from a state of slavery, nothing else could be expected of them; and when they undertook to work for themselves, they undertook it in the best way known to them—on the plantations, under the management and control of their former masters. These masters either themselves retained the privilege or gave to their friends the privilege of keeping a sort of sutler's store on the plantation; and these storekeepers would advance provisions or

clothing to the negroes, and keep an account of the purchases; and after the crops were made, and ginned and sold, either by the land owner or the party who kept the store, the poor negro would have a five or ten dollar bill left; and some of them would be actually a few dollars in debt.

Q. That was the system for supplying the hands on the plantations?—A. Yes, sir; it was not so in the towns, however. In the towns very few purchases are made by them. They have no money and no credit, and none of the merchants would take the risk of crediting them without knowing on what grounds they were doing it.

Q. You have stated your own opinion as to why these people leave the South, and among other things you have stated they would stay if they were treated like human beings.—A. That is correct.

Q. Now I want to ask you if the negroes in Mississippi and Louisiana hold office?—A. Yes, sir; so I see in the newspapers.

Q. Do they hold office in those States?—A. Some of them have done so.

Q. There have been colored Senators, members of Congress, and lieutenant-governor?—A. Yes, sir; some of them have.

Q. That is treatment like they were human beings, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir; but I spoke of the masses. I have myself enjoyed privileges and rights that many of my friends could not enjoy, though as free as I am.

Q. Because every man cannot be a lieutenant-governor, senator, member of the legislature, or judge, that is no reason why they all should leave the South, is it?—A. No, sir; but I do not agree with you that that is the cause for their leaving.

Q. It is the same thing with the whites, is not it?—A. Yes, sir; but it is the treatment that the masses receive that is making them do or not do certain things. While these people who were elected to office enjoyed all the privileges they could desire, there were many of these people who could not get their slightest rights, and there were among these refugees even, some who had been members of the legislature and who said they could not return back home.

Q. You learned that from what they said?—A. Yes, sir; and I know the facts from the statements in the newspapers, and know those to be the same parties.

Q. Do not you know that colored schools are supplied to these people the same as to the whites?—A. To a certain extent they are.

Q. Probably they were not sufficient in number, but were not they the same kind and grade of schools?—A. Yes, sir; with this exception, that the whites were in better condition to avail themselves of the opportunity than the negroes, for they had more wealth and leisure to expend.

Q. The unfortunates of the colored race, the deaf, and dumb, and blind were provided for the same as the whites?—A. So far as my knowledge goes they were.

Q. The courts were open to them for the protection of their rights the same?—A. Under certain restrictions. In certain cases there were juries which were exclusively of white people, and their prejudices would not allow them to do justice to their colored brothers.

Q. Did you know that colored jurors do the same things sometimes?—A. I have heard of it. I have heard that they convicted men on circumstantial evidence alone.

Q. Is not that the very best kind of evidence sometimes?—A. Well, sir, natural knowledge is better.

Q. Well, if the witness is corrupt, cannot he make out a case by false swearing and perjury, and still the circumstances are fixed and point directly to the conclusion?—A. But if the witness is corrupt he is subject to cross-examination and that thing may be developed.

Q. You say another reason why they would remain in the South would be permission to purchase homesteads. Do you mean to say that they cannot buy lands in Mississippi and Louisiana now?—A. From the statements they made to me they cannot. Their only way to get it is by lease; in fact their condition is that of peonage.

Q. Do not you know it to be a fact, as much as you know anything about a country you have not visited, that thousands of colored men do own real estate in Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If some of them can buy lands why cannot the others, if they have money?—A. Well, sir, fortune has favored some of them while it has not favored others. Some of them have saved their money and others have not. Some of them had inducements and fine opportunities offered them while others had not. In my opinion it is those who, some through the kindness of their masters own their own lands, and some who, saving their money, purchased the lands for themselves. Yet others will not save their money and therefore cannot acquire. Yet others tell me that as soon as they have purchased lands they find out that they have not a title to it. Those who have land and homes come to about the same condition and feeling as the white people.

Q. Then the colored land owner is opposed to the exodus as well as the white owner?—A. Naturally he is, for he is trying to take care of himself, and he is ready to aid those who like himself are interested in the material condition of the country.

Q. Do I understand you to mean that the people in these States will not sell them lands?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I understand.

Q. Well, from the fact that many of them do own land there, do not you think that story is not true?—A. Well, no, sir; I cannot say yes to that.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you say that you are a lawyer?—A. In a certain sense I am.

Q. Do you practice your profession?—A. I did for a time, until I accepted a position in the Post-Office Department.

Q. When was that?—A. It was in the year 1873. No, it was 1874.

Q. Then when did you become disbursing clerk for the post-office building?—A. The 5th of August, 1878.

Q. You have been in the government employ since 1874, under Mr. Filley?—A. I had the honor to be his messenger.

Q. How long did you stay there?—A. About three years.

Q. Who are you clerk for now?—A. Gustavus St. Gem; he is collector and disbursing agent of the new custom-house and post-office, and the collector of the port.

Q. That position you hold now?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Still you have found time to attend to the duties of secretary of the board for the relief of these refugees, and have passed from 15,000 to 20,000 people to Kansas since last February. Well, what were your duties as such secretary?—A. To keep official and correct minutes of the refugee board. The meetings of the board were generally held in the evening from seven to ten or twelve o'clock at night. The board rarely ever held any day sessions. This was on my part a work of love, and my office hours in the custom-house were from nine to three. Sometimes in the morning (for we generally breakfast at seven at my house)

after breakfast I would go to the rooms of the board and stay there fifteen or twenty minutes. I would be at my desk at the custom-house five or ten minutes before nine o'clock, and leave after three o'clock. I would then go to the office of the board, and if there was to be a meeting I would go home to my supper and after supper come back and attend the meeting. My position in the board did not interfere with my duties and position as disbursing clerk.

Q. During what hours of the day was it that you were occupied talking with that six hundred or one thousand people?—A. Sometimes in the evening from three to six o'clock, after six o'clock, as long as these people remained in the board rooms.

Q. Before whom did you generally have these conversations?—A. Before Rev. Moses Dickson, President John Turner, Robert Kimbro, Financial Secretary Daniel Prince, and C. W. Prentice, members of the committee on arrival and transportation.

Q. You were careful, it seems, to have these conversations always in the presence of somebody?—A. No, sir; but they were generally there at the time.

Q. You say you were born in Saint Louis?—A. In 1845, on the 27th day of December.

Q. You have never lived any further south than that?—A. No, sir; unless you can call Washington further south.

Q. You have only floated up and down the river?—A. I went to New Orleans and staid there 24 hours.

Q. When was that?—A. I think that was in 1878. I was then third porter on the Howard Ames.

Q. By what data do you make your estimate that from fifteen to twenty thousand people have gone from the South to the North through the hands of your board?—A. From the statements furnished the board by the committee on reception and transportation. The board would have meetings two or three times a week, and at every meeting there would be a report, and I should judge, or rather say, from the reports and my own observations of the work of the committee of reception and transportation, that that number had passed through our hands—full fifteen to twenty thousand—and the amount of cash-money contributions disbursed by us was somewhere in the neighborhood of seventeen to twenty thousand dollars, which we paid to the North Star Line Company for transportation.

Q. What proportion of those people went to another place than Kansas?—A. Some were sent over into Illinois. I think we sent some over into Indiana—probably two or three families. Some were sent into Nebraska, and some into Missouri.

Q. About what proportion of the fifteen or twenty thousand really went into Kansas?—A. I do not remember. I should say three-fourths of them went into Kansas.

Q. Where did you get the seventeen or twenty thousand dollars?—A. From New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and from various portions of the East and North, and also from the West—even from Indiana.

Q. Did I understand you to say that some portion of this money you paid to steamboat men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You paid the fare of some of them up the river?—A. Yes, sir. We paid it from Saint Louis, and sent them on to Kansas.

Q. When they got through to Saint Louis, you sent them on to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this money was in a large measure raised for that purpose as well as to supply their necessities?—A. The President of our board,

when he saw such a large number of them coming and heard their statements of the others who would come, got Mr. Tandy, I think, at the request of the leading citizens of Saint Louis who signed a petition and memorial, to go East, and authorized him to make the statements of matters and things in their exact condition concerning these emigrants, to the kind-hearted people of the North and East, and as the result our board was the recipient of thousands of dollars. After his return, and encouraged by his success, the board authorized Rev. John Turner, president, to go on the same mission, and he came back with the same success, and contributions came in by postal orders, and some in cash, clothing, and provisions; and these things we distributed to the boatloads of emigrants as they came in.

Q. You say you received letters from Indiana asking for negro laborers. Do you remember who they were from?—A. I think I have some of them here.

Q. Have you received any from Minnesota?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Did you supply them?—A. Yes, sir; I think we made several shipments.

Q. I wish you would find those letters from Indiana.—A. I will try.

Q. Did you have any applications from New Hampshire?—A. I do not remember. We sent some to Iowa, I know. Here is a letter received from Terre Haute, dated—

TERRE HAUTE, IND., *August 29, 1879.*

Rev. Mr. TURNER:

SIR: Can you not send me about four or five families of those refugees? I must have some by the middle of next week, as I have got places for them, and if they are not here by that time I will catch "Hail Columbia." The people at Rockville say they must have them by Wednesday evening. Gather up 15 or 20 head and send them over by next Wednesday.

That letter was signed by Mr. Walker.

[Confidential.]

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., *September 9, 1879.*

SECRETARY COLORED EXODUS COMMITTEE:

Saint Louis, Mo.:

DR. SIR: What is your programme for sending colored people out through the country homes? Let me hear from you at once, as I can provide homes for about fifty (man and family wanted, and able-bodied).

Respectfully,

D. W. BROWNING.

Answered September 11.

MICHIGAN CITY, IND., *May the 9, 1876.*

DEAR SIR: On this day in a small assemble I was request to write you to find out if it would agreeable in accordin to your Sistom of douing Bissnes to send som of our frends to this city. our inhabint hear is small of colord pepel we want some hear we have been told by som white frends to see we could get some to come to this city and the would gave them work heare is 8 fanelays that will take girls or woman with children and there ar plenty of work of men we will meat A gan on the 16 for the propors of contribution if posible please let us hear from you as soon as you can and what will be the chance for 8 good house girls that can wash, iron and cook the colord pepel wish famleys to com our color poplation all to gether is 40. All from the South the whits say if the com the shall have shelter and close please address gorge Talor or Willam Miner. I hamon or Mrs. Kenur the leading member of the littel meatinge. May the 9, 1879.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Are those specimens of the applications made to you?—A. Yes, sir; from Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. There was also a demand from some part of Indiana to supply laborers to work on the railroad there. I think some demand was made on Mr. Turner's committee, and that he sent some.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. For whom did they ask ; for men and their families ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They did not ask particularly for voters ?—A. No, sir. It was for men and their families.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you remember what railroad that was that wanted the negro to supplant the Irish ?—A. I do not, sir. I think Mr. Turner sent some over there.

Q. You told a monstrous story here about a woman telling you that several families were going away, when they were halted on the road, and some conversation ensued between her and a white man, whereupon the white man shot her, and some other woman standing by, seven mouths gone with child, was delivered of the child, and it was taken by the white man and its brains dashed out.—A. Well, sir, it was a woman that she said was in her company. It was the woman who was pregnant that was shot, and this woman that was with her saw her shot.

Q. Did she say that thereupon the child was born ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Immediately after the mother was shot ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These men staid around until it was born ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And then took up the naked child and beat its brains out ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think she said they beat them out on a wagon wheel.

Q. Where was this supposed to have been done ?—A. Somewhere in the parishes of Louisiana. I cannot say where ; but this statement was made six or seven weeks ago, in the presence of Mr. Prince and several other male refugees.

Q. Did you know what her name was ?—A. No, sir ; I did not ask it.

Q. Do you know where she went to ?—A. She went, I think, to the Nicodemus settlement.

Q. And you did not think it important enough to get her name ?—A. No, sir ; I did not think to do so.

Q. Can you give the names of any of those refugees who were standing around at the time ?—A. There was a man named Johnson, a name-sake of mine, who came up the same morning with them, and it was he that gave me the prices of provisions charged them.

Q. Can you ascertain for us where he is ?—A. I can try.

Q. Now, Mr. Johnson, do you believe her statements about that tragedy ?—A. From her manner of stating it, it led me to believe that she was telling the truth.

Q. Do you expect anybody else to believe it ?—A. Well, people differ in what they will believe.

Q. That she saw this woman killed ?—A. Yes, sir ; she was right there.

Q. And the child came forth and was killed immediately afterwards ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you believed it ?—A. From her statement, I did.

Q. And you do not know where this happened, except that it was in Louisiana ?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you did not take her name ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can you find out her name and where that tragedy occurred ?—A. I will inquire of Mr. Prince, who was the man who called my attention to it.

Q. Speaking of the price of food, whereabouts did these negroes live in the South who told you that they gave a half a dollar for a plug of tobacco that they could have got for 15 or 20 cents in Kansas ?—A. They said it was in certain portions of the South.

Q. And you, as an official of the exodus movement, cannot tell us anything better than that?—A. Well, sir, in our labor of love I did not have time to take down the places.

Q. Did you have time to take down one place?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you do not know of one place where these exorbitant prices prevailed?—A. No, sir.

Q. You stated here, with a memorandum, that they were charged two prices for flour, pork, coffee, and meal; having that memorandum in your hand, you can say that you cannot locate the places where these things occurred?—A. All I can say is that some of them told me they were charged in Mississippi, and some said in Louisiana.

On motion, the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Saturday, March 20, 1880.

TWENTY-NINTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, *Saturday, March 20, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE J. LANGSDALE.

GEORGE J. LANGSDALE sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Langsdale, where do you reside?—Answer. At Greencastle, Ind.

Q. What is your occupation?—A. I am publisher of a newspaper and postmaster at Greencastle.

Q. What is the name of your paper?—A. The Greencastle Banner.

Q. State, Mr. Langsdale, whether you have given any special attention to the emigration of colored people from the Southern States, or from any of those States, into Indiana?—A. Yes, sir; I have give some attention to it.

Q. State whether you have seen any of these people, and conversed with any considerable number of them.—A. Yes, sir; with quite a number, I have.

Q. State, if you please, what reasons, if any, they give why they came there.—A. The invariable answer they give is, that they come to better their condition. I have asked a great many of them and always got that answer.

Q. What did they say of their condition in their former homes; how did they speak of it?—A. Their general complaint is that they have not a chance to make a living as other people.

Q. Do you speak of North Carolina, now?—A. Yes, sir; but I have seen a number from Kentucky passing through to Kansas. Quite a number stopped at the church in our town from four o'clock to eleven, and I conversed with these, and they said the same as the others—that they had no chance to make a living or to get an education for their children. They have an aspiration to be better in their condition and circumstances than they can be in the South, and they heard that the West was a place where they should seek it.

Q. Did they complain of ill treatment on the part of the Southern people?—A. Not particularly. They say that they are not particularly deprived of the right of voting, but that their ballots are not counted.

Q. Is that in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; they say that they have

a majority of the votes in that State; but after the election is over they always found themselves represented by Democrats.

Q. State about the employment of these people in Indiana.—A. They have—all that came out there to our locality—found employment.

Q. How many do you suppose have come there?—A. Between three and four hundred.

Q. If you have any statements throwing any light upon this question, please put them in, in your own way—anything that you have that will give information on this subject.—A. I have prepared, since coming here, the statements of the men themselves.

Here is the statement of Willis Bunn:

STATEMENT OF WILLIS BUNN.

This man represented Edgecombe County, North Carolina, in the State legislature for eight years, and served as a justice of the peace for ten years. He says that life has become almost intolerable to a negro who wants to be a free man in North Carolina, and that he could not stand it any longer. I asked him in regard to the origin of the idea of leaving there, and he said that it began in 1877, and took definite shape. As a member of the legislature, he presented a petition from citizens of Edgecombe and Nash Counties, asking Congress to set off a part of the public lands in the West for a colored colony, but it was not acceded to. This was in the house journal, session of February 8, 1877. On it he prepared a speech, but Mr. Williamson, of Franklin County, got the floor and made a speech which he, Bunn, said represented his sentiments, and which I will read. He said that he and his people had come to the conclusion to try Indiana, and if that did not better their condition, they would go to Liberia; and that conforms to my understanding of the sentiments of the people.

The New York Sun, of a month ago, said that twenty-five of these people had arrived there from Kansas, going to Liberia; and I saw in this morning's dispatch a telegram from Memphis, stating that one hundred and fifty negroes had passed through there on their way to Liberia. Mr. Bunn told me that that seemed to be the prevalent idea with their race—that they would go to the North, and if that did not suit, they would go to Liberia, as many as could.

These, now, are the remarks of the Hon. J. G. Williamson, delivered in the house of representatives, in favor of the resolution of instruction to our Senators and Representatives in Congress relative to colonization:

REMARKS OF HON. J. H. WILLIAMSON.

Henry Clay, the statesman, the orator, and the greatest political prophet who ever lived, said in advocacy of his emancipation policy, that if the negro race continued to increase at the rapid rate which it was then increasing, that in several of the Southern States they would outnumber the whites; and in case emancipation should follow, the other requisites belonging to freemen would naturally ensue; and he intimated that a struggle would arise between the two distinct races as to which should rule, and the whites having all the advantages the negro would be the victim. It seems to me, sir, that these words are being verified.

We live under a government with a constitution and laws recognizing no man on account of his race, color, or previous condition of servitude. But, sir, how are they regarded? Why, sir, in many of the Southern States the colored people are denied these rights. The constitution and the laws are a mere sham. The shot-gun policy, rifle-clubs, and bowie-knives reign supreme; no free expression of sentiment averse to that entertained by those who are the champions of the shot-gun policy is permitted.

In the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi the colored peo

ple do not, in many portions of those States, exercise their rights under the laws. What the Democrats cannot do by persuasion they do by the shot-gun and starvation. If they cannot induce the negro to vote the Democratic ticket by petty talk and promise, they resort to violent intimidation and murder, as at New Orleans and Hamburg. We have seen under the operation of the white liners a Republican majority wiped out in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and our race murdered by thousands because they dared to exercise the rights of American citizens and vote with the party that gave them their rights, and yet the gentleman from New Hanover is for staying here.

The resolution asks Congress—as we properly should do when we find that we cannot live together as we should—to set aside one or two of the Territories for the benefit of the colored people. But the gentleman from New Hanover says, “The ice is there nine months in the year, and for forty thousand square miles there is not a stick of timber with which to build a log cabin.

I am told that the same statement is made to them now in regard to Indiana and the North.

He proceeds:

He either, Mr. Speaker, made use of that expression to deceive and divert your mind from the tone, intent, and purpose of the resolution, or for the lack of a true knowledge of the geographical situation of that beautiful country. There is not a member on this floor—there is not a school-boy, who does not know that some of those Territories compose the finest soil, the healthiest climate under the sun. There is no one who knows anything, who does not know that the climate is as mild, and milder, than that of North Carolina.

The emigrants who have come to my county say, that so far as their experience goes, it is pleasanter there than in North Carolina. It has been an unusual winter, though, with us.

He goes on to say:

The gentleman from New Hanover says that he is unwilling to leave behind our little homes, school-houses, churches, and also ministers of the gospel, to go to that wild and barren country among the bears and wild Indians, and be put upon the “extermination order like the poor Indian, who is compelled to keep his face towards the setting sun or be shot down like the wild buffalo.”

I take the ground that I had rather go there in that rich country, where the finger of scorn will not be pointed at me and my down-trodden race, where the cry of relief from “negro rule” would not be heard, where the passing of laws stripping the negro of the last vestige of manhood would not be tolerated. Yes, I had much rather be there and run the risk of being devoured by the grizzly bear and being scalped by the wild Indian than to remain here in a civilized country among civilized people where my race is being, in many of these Southern States, murdered because of their political opinions; because they dare vote with the party that raised them from vassalage and clothed them with citizenship. I had rather go there and incur all of those difficulties than remain here amid prejudice and hatred, where our color is alluded to in terms of derision; our early lack of education and the physical peculiarities of some of our race are often thrown into our faces during political excitement to such an extent as to convey the impression that we are by nature the inferior of the white race, our manhood insulted, our ambitions curbed, free speech stifled, all liberties banished to the four winds. Never, never. Before I would be willing to submit to these indignities, I would go anywhere.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution is not perfect. I confess that the resolution as it is now is unconstitutional; but there never was any measure that was perfect upon its first introduction. I don't know that I am willing particularly to go to the Territories, nor am I willing to go, but rather than remain here and be made the subject of ridicule, I had rather be far out upon the prairies or in the forest of New Mexico, and breathe the air of a freeman unmolested and untrammled, to carve out my future destiny under the shining sun of heaven.

That seems to be the ambition of all those men with whom I have talked.

The record proceeds:

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. HILL. Does not the gentleman know that the Indians once owned all that country, and that they have been pushed back by the white people, and are now fed by the government?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir; the Indians did at one period occupy all the Territories, I believe, and the government entered into a negotiation in which the Indians agreed to give up all the Territories except what is called the Indian Territory, west of the Red River, known as the Indian reservation. At the same time a treaty was made between the government and the Indians, in which the Indians were to be fed by the government. It was an agreement solemnly made, and I am for sticking to the contract.

Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, the Indians are savage and will not work. We, the negro race, are a working people. Should we emigrate we would endeavor to clear the forests and drain the low lands, build houses, churches, school-houses, and advance in all other industries, and work out our own destiny.

This country three hundred years ago was a vast wilderness, inhabited only by the Indian and wild beasts of every kind. The first settlers at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock encountered difficulties. Disease, starvation, and death met their every step, but it was all overcome.

In the time of the Revolution, when Patrick Henry dared to raise his voice against the British oppressions, he and those who sympathized with him were styled traitors. The petitions sent to the British Government representing the evils complained of by the colonies were treated with scorn. But the colonies shook off the British yoke and achieved their independence, and to-day this is one of the foremost nations of the earth.

We, the colored race, are presenting our petitions asking Congress to consider our condition and adopt some law or plan that will place the President of the United States beyond the necessity of having to keep standing armies to protect us in exercising the rights of American citizens.

Fifty years ago Ohio, Iowa, Michigan, Illinois, California, and other Western States, I believe, were mere forests, with no inhabitants but the wild Indians and animals, but now they form the brightest stars among the States of the American Union.

We are told by the gentleman from New Hanover, that it is our "duty to stay here and abide the laws and demand our rights." We have done that, sir, and what has been the answer? The Democrats say, in reply, that they will give us all the rights we are entitled to—they mean we are entitled to none. For years they opposed the incorporation of those amendments to the Constitution of the United States conferring the rights upon the negroes, and no gentleman upon this floor knows better than the gentleman from New Hanover that the campaign made on the part of the Democrats last fall was the unconstitutionality of the acts of Congress conferring these rights. Yes, we have demanded our rights and they have regarded our demands by passing charter bills demanding property qualifications for negroes: by passing laws cutting up cities into wards, giving the minorities control over majorities; by passing amendments to the Constitution requiring three months residence in a county before a poor man is allowed to vote, a thing unheard of before, repugnant to free institutions, unparalleled in all State legislation; no State in this Union has before ventured to pass such a law. And yet, the gentleman is for staying here to "abide the laws and demand his rights."

Look at the bill now before us looking to the reorganization of county governments; the bill itself and all that has been said in its behalf, acknowledge that its sole purpose is to deprive the colored man, to a great extent, of the elective franchise. Does the gentleman indorse that?

Mr. HILL. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him another question?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Certainly.

Mr. HILL. Did not he and Governor Vance both speak from the same rostrum on the 2d day of January last, and did not he on that occasion indorse and commend what the governor said on that occasion as being true as to what policy should be pursued with regard to the future of the colored race?

Mr. WILLIAMSON. Yes, sir; I indorsed it because it was Republican in sentiment, and even on that occasion he admitted that he drew the color-line to subserve political ends. And more than that, he made declarations that he will be unable to carry out, and gave vent to expressions that he dare not carry out if he expects to remain at the head of the party to which he now belongs. The liberality manifested in his speech has not been pursued by his party in this House. Perhaps the gentleman does not wish me to go further and give other reasons why I am wanting in faith on that subject.

Now, Mr. Speaker, we are asked to stay here and submit to all the hardships I have mentioned, and more. We see the grangers in consultation, devising plans to reduce the poor laborer's wages so low that an honest laborer cannot live and honestly support his family. Even the Raleigh News is forced to rail out against such reduction. And yet we are told to "stay here and demand our rights." The gentleman speaks bitterly against going West, and says we all will perish, or be devoured by the bears. My opinion is if we stay here we will either be made the victims of the shot-gun, or be starved out by the grangers.

The Irish leave the green fields of Ireland to come to America to be free, and the

poor down-trodden and oppressed come by thousands from all portions of the world, fleeing from oppression, and the resolution simply asks that Congress take into consideration this question and do what may seem best.

I don't wish to leave here myself, I like the white people, and in the county that I have the honor to represent, I have always used my influence, both upon the stump and upon the rostrum, both in private and in public, in favor of peace and good-will between the two races, I have never appealed to color-line, and could I see the millennium of which the gentleman from New Hanover speaks, I would be the last to leave. Should the Democrats recognize our rights when we demand them to do so, when the farmers give us living wages, when they cease flaunting into our faces the words, "white man's government," it will take all the horses in Sherman's army to carry me to the Territories.

I introduced the resolution in good faith, and was actuated from no sinister motives whatever, hoping that by the discussion of it the attention of the friends of the colored people throughout this country may be called to it. My opinion is that something will have to be done to better protect us in our rights, or else we will be driven to vote the Democratic ticket, or not vote at all, and thus surrender all rights of a freeman.

The WITNESS. Mr. Bunn said that these were the sentiments of the colored people then, and are their sentiments to-day. He said that he and his people had come to the conclusion to try Indiana, and if they did not better their condition, they would go to Liberia. He says that the whites, the colored Republican politicians, and the Democratic negroes are opposed to their leaving, and do all that they can to keep them from going away, but the mass of his people are determined to leave, if they can only raise money enough to buy tickets on the railroads.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say that is Williamson's speech that you have just read?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The speech was made by whom?—A. By the Hon. J. H. Williamson, of North Carolina.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What county was he from?—A. From Franklin County. Mr. Bunn had a similar speech prepared, but he did not get it off.

He, Bunn, goes on and says that it is becoming more difficult each year for a colored man to acquire real estate in North Carolina, and gave numerous instances in which they had been refused titles after having paid for the property. The courts, he says, afford them little redress, for the reason that lawyers decline to prosecute their cases, for fear that their white clients will abandon them. He says that there seems to be an understanding with the whites that they will stand by each other in imposing upon the blacks in every possible way.

Bunn and a companion have secured work with J. H. McCoy, on a farm in my county. They each receive \$18 a month cash, a good frame house of six rooms to live in, a garden, fire-wood, team to haul it, all free of charge. The last thing he said to me was that he had found everything better than he expected, and that, from what he could see and hear, Indiana was just the State for his people to go to. All his statements and opinions were corroborated by his companions. He brought a party of 98 in all—24 men, and the rest women and children.

STATEMENT OF MAJOR GRAY STOKES.

Major Gray Stokes made this statement. He seemed to have been in better hands than the others, and, as a consequence, brought some money with him. One of the first things he did after arriving at Greencastle was to buy a house and lot. He is now working for Granville Peck, some five miles south of town. He called at my office last Saturday and said: "They treat me just like I was a white man. They pay

me \$20 a month cash, every week if I want it, and I board myself. They also furnish us a house, garden, and fire-wood free. I am well satisfied, and don't intend to go back to North Carolina. The best thing my people can do is to come North. I left there to better my condition, and have done it. Nothing has been said to me about voting. My people can't make a decent living in North Carolina, and that is the cause of their coming here."

STATEMENT OF CHARLES WOOD.

This man came to my office Saturday in company with Stokes. In answer to my questions, he said: "I live with William Brown, several miles south of Greencastle, and am treated well. He pays me \$13 a month in cash, and board, and he charges me nothing for house, garden, potato-patch, or fire-wood, and when grass comes I am to have a cow free. I have had nearly as much given to me since I came here as I could have worked and bought in North Carolina in the same time. I am well satisfied, and my folks are all happy. From my own experience, I know that my people would do a great deal better to leave North Carolina and come here. I have found everything better than I expected."

WILLIAM CROOM.

This man is working for Daniel Evans, near Russellville, Putnam County. He has a nice brick house to live in, has a nice garden spot, fire-wood, and a team to haul it, a milch-cow and food to feed her, and \$15 in cash each month; in all, equivalent to about \$24 a month. He is delighted with Indiana, and urges that all his people come to our State as soon as they can get there. In an interview with me, he said: "Neither you nor any other Republican in Greencastle ever said a word to me about voting, nor asked me how I was going to vote; nor have I known of your asking any of our people how they were going to vote. All that has been said to us was about finding us homes and work, and taking care of us. They have done all for us they could, and our people are grateful to them for it. None of us want to go back to North Carolina; neither does any man who is honest and has sound judgment. I would take my oath on that. Most of our people who have come here are religious. I belong to the Missionary Baptist church, and am a licensed preacher. I came here to better the condition of myself and family, and to raise them respectably. I have found it better than I expected. Indeed, I don't think that I hardly deserve as good treatment as I have received and am still receiving. From my own experience, I know that my people in North Carolina could greatly better their condition by coming here, and if they knew the facts they would come."

In a subsequent interview Croom said:

"I came from Wilson County, North Carolina. Have been here several weeks. I came because I had heard that colored men could do better here than in North Carolina, and I find that it was a true statement. There is as much difference between there and here as there is between chalk and cheese. It is altogether different. Here we are men just like the whites, get good wages, have good homes, and there are good schools for our children. The climate is no worse for us here than there. I have not yet seen as cold weather in Indiana as I have seen in North Carolina. And then the people are so different. They are just as kind to us as they can be. It seems as though they can't do enough for us.

I live with Mr. Evans, near Russellville, and have a good brick house to live in. It is all nicely plastered inside, and is a good, comfortable house. I have done had meat enough given me to last a fortnight, and now have it in my smoke house. Mr. Evans also furnishes me three-bedsteads and a cook stove free of charge, and I am to have a cow when my family comes. And he furnishes me all the fruit that I want to eat, and bed-cover for two beds until mine comes. I am to have as good a garden as there is in the country when spring opens. My fire-wood don't cost me anything; it is hauled free of charge. Mr. Evans also furnished me money to send back after my family, and I am now expecting them on every train. All my people who have come are doing well and are well satisfied. I want to say to all the colored people still left in the South: "Come one, come all, for Indiana is the place, for here they are free, and have the same chance in everything that white men have."

Croom and his brother-in-law left their families behind. The latter secured work with Fred Gardner, in the neighborhood of Russellville. They both did so well as to secure the favor of their employers, and after a few days Mr. Evans and Mr. Gardner advanced them the money, \$45, to send for their families. They have done so well that other gentlemen in that vicinity, irrespective of politics, are trying to secure colored help. Mr. Dryden, a Greenbacker, employed one of the last families that arrived. He gives them a good home and good wages, and insures them good treatment. He seemed as delighted to get the man as the latter was to get a home.

S. L. HEPLER, A WHITE MAN.

Mr. Hepler came to Greencastle from North Carolina, shortly after the first arrival of negroes. He called on me and said that the condition of the poor people, both white and black, was fully as bad in his State as had been represented, and that the poor whites were leaving as rapidly as they could, as were the blacks, for the Western States. He thought that there would be suffering before the next harvest. He admitted the truth of all that the blacks said about their condition there, but said they were better off there than the poor whites, for the reason that the wealthy whites always hired them in preference to men of their own color, and that a negro could get work when a white man, equally needy, could not. He thought that the condition of both was about as bad as it could be, and that the only remedy was emigration.

NATHAN WADE.

I have been well treated since I came to Putnam County, and am working at \$12 a month, with lodging, board, and washing. I have a good home. I don't intend to live in North Carolina again; this county suits me if I can get along like I have so far. I want all my race to come from the South.

A white man, named Fields, said to be an uncle of Wade, afterward came for him, and by representing that his mother was sick, and probably on her death-bed and wanted to see him before she died, induced him to go back. This I learned from the other negroes.

WILLIAM ECTON.

I was born and raised in Kentucky. I left there thirteen years ago,

and when I got to Indiana I had seventy five cents in money, and a family of eleven persons to feed and clothe. I now have a good house, and fourteen acres of excellent land, and am treated well by all my neighbors, and have exactly the same chance that white men have. No one ever disturbs me or my family. My children go to the white school, and receive the same treatment that white children do. I can't understand why my people stay in Kentucky when they can come here. I wouldn't live there again for the best farm in the State. Several North Carolina colored men have found good homes in my neighborhood, and are doing well. The white people are pleased with them.

JOSEPH ELLIS.

I am from Wilson, N. C.; I have been here three weeks. I found employment readily, and a good home. I live and work with Mr. F. B. Gardner, a good farmer in Russell township, Putnam county. He pays me \$13 per month until spring, and then he will give me more. I find him a very kind and good man to me in the way of accommodations. Mr. Gardner could not get possession of his own house for me until the first of March, but he procured from his brother-in-law, Mr. D. Evans, a good and comfortable house for us until he can get the use of his. I am well pleased with my situation, and like this country finely. I would not go back to North Carolina for any consideration, and I would advise all my friends in that State to come to this county, as they can better their condition. But they should not come unless they expect to do good work, as loafers are not wanted here.

ALFRED NEWBERN.

I came with the first party from North Carolina in October, and have been living with Mr. Riley Springer, near Greencastle, ever since. He treats me well. No white man in the South ever treated me so well. He has built a house for my family, and I am now ready to send back for them. They are very anxious to come. Mr. Springer has been paying me \$11.70 a month, in cash, and board. When my family comes I am to get \$19.50 a month and board myself. This is for ordinary farm work. During harvest I am to get \$2 a day. I am to have some corn land free of rent. I am not to pay any rent for my house or garden, and nothing for firewood. After a while I am to have a cow to milk. Mr. Springer and his family have been very kind to me, and also to Bennet Haywood, another colored man who lives with him. He pays Haywood the same that he does me. I have found Indiana to be all I expected, and I would rather be almost hung than go back to North Carolina. I left there because wages were so poor, and I was cheated so much that I could not make a living. No one said anything to me about coming here to vote; but since I have been here several Democrats have tackled me on that subject. I brought myself. I paid my own way. Nobody made any attempt to deceive me. I begin to feel now like I am a man among men, and that I have some chance. I have made enough money since I came here to send to North Carolina for my wife and children, and when they get here I will be happy.

Haywood and Newbern afterward sent for their wives, sending them each \$17.50 to pay their way. Haywood's wife came promptly, but Newbern's remained behind with her husband's parents. Mingo Simmons, the man sent back by Lewman, had told her that Newbern sent her word by him not to come, even if he sent her money; that he was

not satisfied and wanted her to stay in North Carolina till he got back. Last week he had a letter from her saying that she was lately getting better wages than ever before, and that his father wanted him to come back. He answered that if she ever wanted to see him she would have to come to Indiana, for he would never go back to North Carolina again, and to say to his father that he hoped to be able soon to bring him to Indiana, where he could be a man.

WILLIAM HILL.

I came at the same time with Lewis Taylor. Paid my own way. I came here to better my condition. Nothing was ever said to me about voting. I am living with James Torr, four miles west of Greencastle. He pays \$12 a month in cash, and board. I am treated about the house the same as though I was a white person. There seems to be no difference here because of color. No man attempts to control me in what I say, and when I write back to my people I write the truth. Indiana is a good place for colored people, and I want all my friends to come.

Since sick at Mr. Torr's.

ELIAS CHURCHWELL.

I came from Greene County, N. C., on the 18th of December. I was on the train that was surrounded by a mob at Shelbyville, but they didn't do us any harm. All they did was to shoot off their mouths at us. They acted like drunken Democrats, and I guess that is what they were. We were too smart to stop in any such a hole as that. There are too many good places in Indiana for us to have to stop and live among rowdies. We came right on to Indianapolis and Greencastle. Those who came to Greencastle got good homes just as soon as they reached here. I live with Dr. A. Moudy, east of town; wages good. I board with the family. They treat me as kind as can be, and I think a heap of them. I have just as good a home as I wish to have. So far it hasn't been as cold here this winter as it has been in North Carolina. From what I have seen and know my people can do four times better here than they can in North Carolina. Here the white folks want to see us get along and do well, instead of taking from us. They pay us good wages in money instead of orders. They appear to have some feeling and tender hearts, and have sympathy for us.

Churchwell's mother, aged about sixty years, came with the family. She had been sick for some time, they said, with something like consumption, and died shortly after reaching there. She received every possible attention. White friends furnished a handsome coffin and a hearse to convey the remains to the cemetery, the funeral taking place from the colored church. They said that no colored person ever had such a funeral in their part of North Carolina. The father, son, and daughter now have one of the best homes in the county.

SHEPHERD HOOKS—WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

SIR: I came here to this place November 22, 1879, and I am very well satisfied. I am treated well, and am doing well. I am staying with W. M. C. Blake & Son, and I can say, beyond all unreasonable doubts, that I have been treated by them just as well as I could be treated anywhere, and I can say again that the treatment that I have had since I have been in this country is better than any treatment I ever have had

before. I am treated so well in this country by white people that I want all of my friends in North Carolina to come to the Northern and Western States, where they can be thought something of by white people. And I can say again I have been very sick since I have been out here, and Mr. George Blake, and Mr. W. M. C. Blake and family, tended to me and waited on me just the same as if I had been one of their own children. They bought medicines for me, and never charged me anything for it at all. If I had been staying with a white man in North Carolina I would have had a great doctor bill to pay. Well, all I can say is, I expect to stay with them just as long as I can, and do all I can for them when they want me, because I feel as if it is my duty to do so. I say, come one, come all, of my color, and as many others as want to do so.

SHEPHERD HOOKS,
Late of North Carolina.

LEWIS TAYLOR.

I have been here nearly two weeks, and have traveled on an average about eighteen miles a day since I came. I have been doing this so I could write back to my people whether there were any inducements for them to come here or not. This is the best State I ever saw. It is like Heaven compared to North Carolina, the place I came from. The soil and everything is better, and the white people are not like any I have ever been among before. They have all treated me with the greatest kindness, except once I met with some Democratic loafers at the water tank on the railroad just north of town. They called me all sorts of names, but I thought too much of myself to stop and talk with such fellows. I prefer to associate with gentlemen. All the white people here who amount to anything are down on such scallawags as they. It has been reported that the Republicans sent for us and brought us here to vote the Republican ticket, and would have nothing to do with us after the election. I can testify that all of this is false. No one sent for me or said anything to me about coming here to vote, and I paid my own way. It cost me \$16 for railroad fare. I thank the Lord that I was able to come here where I can have my rights and get what my labor is worth, and be treated like a man. From what I had heard I thought I would stop here a few days and then go on, but now that I am here and see the country and people I don't want to go any further. I expect to stay right here until the Lord calls me home, when I hope to go where peace and plenty will forever reign. Everything here is better than I ever expected to see. Wages are from \$10 to \$15 a month, and board, and from \$15 to \$26 a month where they board themselves, with house rent, firewood, and garden free, and sometimes they have a cow to milk without charge. Everything we have to buy here is cheaper than in North Carolina. Flour is two and a half cents a pound, corn meal sixty cents a bushel, and pork three to four cents a pound out in the country. I find my people who are here doing well. Even the little children say that they would like to go back to North Carolina just long enough to tell them what they are enjoying here, and then come right back. The three or four fellows who have gone back there with dismal stories were too lazy to work and couldn't get along anywhere. This isn't the place for that kind. Everybody here, white and colored, work, and they have no use for lazy people. They had better stay away. To all my old friends in North Carolina I wish to say, come by the first of March and

with me enjoy the jubilee ; this is a religious country, where the Lord's mercy is free.

He afterwards called on me and unbosomed himself in this way :

I came here from Nash County, North Carolina. I was bred and born there in 1844. Was a slave until 1865, when the victory of the national armies set me free. I rejoice greatly at being a free man, but I never was really free until I struck the State of Indiana. I have been in Indiana almost six weeks, and never enjoyed life so well before. This is the richest country I ever saw, and the most liberal people. It is a sad thing for a man to speak against his own home, but it is worse to hear a man speak against his country. I hereby testify that a colored man is not a free man in North Carolina. His privileges are restricted there. Indiana is the place to educate poor children. School-houses are plenty, with good teachers, and the schools run from six to nine months each year, white and colored children going together the same. Wages are good here. I am offered \$19.50 a month, with house, garden-spot, and a milch cow free, my pay to be in cash instead of orders. They don't pay with orders on stores here. No Republican has asked me to vote, or said anything to me about voting. I am living well, and am just as happy in Indiana as a jackfish in Roanoke Brook, Ireland.

It was on his representations that the party of ninety-eight, headed by Burr, came.

THOMAS BYNUM.

I lived in Wilson County, North Carolina. I have a wife and eight children. It cost me one hundred and twenty-three dollars to get here. I never heard any thing about politics until I got to Indianapolis ; then I was asked by a Democrat if some Republican did not go South and make fine promises to me, and did they not bring me here to vote ? I told him, no, that I brought myself ; I came on my own money ; and that I came because I could not get pay for my work, nor could I educate my children there ; and now that I have seen the difference between the North and South I would not go back to North Carolina for anything, and I never expect to go back in life nor after death, except the buzzards carry me back. Mr. Turnbull, of Toisenot, N. C., a white Democrat, told me that I was coming out here to perish, but so far from perishing I am faring better than I ever fared before in my life. I wish to say that cases like the following is what brought about the exodus : A colored man rented a farm, for which he was to pay three bales of cotton, weighing 450 pounds each ; he raised on that farm eleven bales of cotton, each weighing 450 pounds, and 25 barrels of corn, which left to the tenant eight bales of cotton and 25 barrels of corn, pease, &c. The tenant bought nothing but a very small amount of very coarse food and clothing, using all economy during the crop season to make no large account, thinking thereby to have something coming to him at settling day ; but when settling day came the laudlord had so enlarged his account as to cover everything—the eight bales of cotton, the 25 barrels of corn, pease, and all, and then said that the tenant lacked a little of paying out, although cotton sold at ten cents per pound. This and numerous other things is the cause of the exodus.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Did anybody do anything for that white man Hepler whom you say came there?—A. He took care of himself. I said to him that if he wanted I would give him a home, but he was a distiller and preferred to engage in that business. He called on me and said that the condi-

tion of the poor people, both whites and blacks was fully as bad in North Carolina as represented, and that the poor whites were leaving as rapidly as they could, as were the blacks. He thought there would be suffering before the next harvest.

Nathan Wade was a white negro—as white a man as I ever saw in Greencastle—so white that there was no curl in his hair; and I saw another man named Fields who was said to be his uncle.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Who was this man Fields?—A. He was a man from North Carolina.

Q. Was he a white man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he was Wade's uncle?—A. Yes, sir; I asked the negroes about it and they said so. He came after him and took him home. I asked about it and they said Fields told that his mother was on her death-bed, and he must go back.

Q. Could you not tell whether a white man was a black man, or a black man a white man?—A. I suppose I could, but not in that case. This man Fields came to my office and said that the emigrants were all doing well that he had seen. I afterwards saw a letter published by him in which he said that they were suffering and dying, which was just the opposite to what he said to me.

Q. Did this man Newbern's wife come on to Indiana?—A. Not yet; that was only last Saturday or Friday that the correspondence was begun.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Was that Mingo Simmons that told her that her husband said not to come?—A. Yes, sir; he also went down and deceived his own wife. When he went away she said that if she caught him she would whip him.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. This correspondence has not closed, then?—A. No, sir; Newbern is expecting his wife. She said she was keeping the money, and if he was going to stay, she would come to him. Mingo-Simmons, when he came there to Greencastle, had his feet on the ground, and the colored minister went and got him a pair of shoes. He came into my office with them on and said he was doing well and getting good wages. I learned that Newbern said that if his wife would not come on to him, he would have to go back. I learned that in the case of Simmons, Sheriff Lewman had the money to pay his way back, and he took advantage of it and came back. I asked some of the negroes what sort of a man he was, and they said he was a wandering fellow and not liable to stay anywhere, and that the reason his wife did not come was that she was afraid she would have to support him.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Whom did he ask for?—A. One of the O'Hara's; I don't know which.

Q. Do you remember what he got?—A. I remember the general fact that he said he was satisfied. I told him that O'Hara was wanting a man, and he went out there, and said it was all right.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Did you hear Mr. Spark's testimony as he gave in here yesterday before the committee?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now this man Bynum had \$123 when he left North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he say how he got the one hundred and twenty three dollars?—A. He worked for it. He was a man of more than usual ability. He said that he worked in mud and water and had gone nearly naked, and sold all his goods at a great sacrifice to get this money.

Q. Did he have any when he got to Greencastle?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. This sum represented all that he had been able to save since he had become a freedman.—A. He said that the rags that he had on represented his life work. He had a wife and eight children, and I think he brought with him two young men whose way he paid. I think they were adopted sons or something of that sort.

Q. Do you know anything of any political influences at work to extend this exodus?—A. I did not hear anything about politics in it till I got to Indianapolis, when a Democrat asked me about it.

Q. Can you tell anything about the reported sickness among these immigrants?—A. Well, sir; almost all of the children were attacked with measles; one man's child died with it; but he is now with Mr. Conine, and I learn he is doing well.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Which Conine?—A. I think J. C. or William Conine. When his child died Mr. Conine was to let him have the money to bury it. He said for Bynum not to be uneasy; and that as the hand of affliction was on him, he would wait until it was passed, and when he would come back they would be ready to receive him. When Bynum arrived with his party at the depot they staid all night there. It was either Christmas night or Christmas eve; I am not sure which. Some of the boys were around having a little fun, and they called down at the depot. They were young Democrats. Some of them represented themselves to be farmers in search of help, and they had rather a pleasant time there interviewing the colored people. After they went away the colored people discovered that their hats had been cut with knives so as to be ruined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You had better give the names of those young men who you say were young Democrats, and were in such bad business?—A. One of them was named Bevans, the other the grandson of Judge Echols—Billy Echols we call him there. The other, I think, was one of the Van Crief boys; but I am not sure about that. Some one down at the depot gave Bynum some names on a slip of paper, and he brought it up to me the next morning at the office. I took him before the mayor and had him make complaint against them. He had some of the names wrong; I think, but one was right. They succeeded in finally arresting three, and brought them before the mayor and had a trial. They were found guilty of trespass; I believe that was the charge they made against them. The fines and costs amounted in each case to \$26. Young Echols paid his fine. The other two boys had not then the money, and were sent to jail. Gentlemen present at the trial made up a purse, and bought the men hats who had lost their hats; and Bynum said to me he never was so astonished in his life as at the result of that trial, to see white men fined and sent to jail for an offense against colored men. He said if that had been in North Carolina he would have been the man who would have gone to jail. All the North Carolinians who heard of it and knew the facts corroborated that statement.

HENRY BOLDEN.

"I reached Greencastle Saturday, having left my father and his family at Crawfordsville" (he came by way of Crawfordsville), "where they had secured a good home. I was kindly received here, and was much surprised to find such clever people. I was never treated so well in my life before. I had long heard of the promised land, but this is more like it than anything I had ever hoped to see in this world. My treatment by the whites here is so different to what I was used to in the South that I am overwhelmed with joy. There is plenty of work to do, at good wages. I find that here they don't pay for work in orders, but pay the hard cash. I find my people doing well here. They are happy and contented. They all tell me the same story of kind treatment and good wages. They are doing better than ever in their lives before. My mother says that she was never free until she came to Indiana, and that she never before enjoyed life as she does now. She says that she has but one more thing to do, and that is to get to heaven. She says that she wants all her old friends in North Carolina to come and, with her, enjoy real freedom and happiness. We came from Goldsborough. If the colored people there could only know exactly how it is here, that we have the same chances that white people have in schools and everything, and that we have the same protection by the law, they would come to Indiana as fast as the cars could bring them. My advice to them is to come as soon as they can."

Bolden was offered a place as cook, at \$18 a month and board, but a gentleman in Indianapolis offered him \$28 a month, and he went there.

SAUNDERS JONES.

"I came with the first company from Pitt County, North Carolina. I am living with Mr. Browning, on a farm near Greencastle. He furnishes me a house, a garden spot, and fire-wood, free; pays me 75 cents a day when I work by the day, 40 and 50 cents a cord for cutting stove wood (I cut two and three cords a day), and 75 cents a hundred for making rails. We are doing a great deal better than I expected before I came. I don't have to pay near so much for what I have to buy as I did in North Carolina, and I get more for my work, and am paid in money instead of orders on stores. Only one man has said anything to me about how I was going to vote, and I reckon he was a Democrat. I left North Carolina to better myself. I couldn't live there, and thought I would come here where I could have some chance. We had worked there all our lives, and were still as poor as when we began. I find it very different here. We are treated like men. My children are not going to school yet, but I am going to send them as soon as I can get ready."

They seem to have a commendable pride about having their children fixed and everything right before they send them to school.

WILLIS STATIN.

"I live with Mr. John Sellers, in Warren Township, five miles from Greencastle. I have a good plastered house to live in."

They always emphasize the "plastered"; which is something they say the white people do not all have down South.

Q. They do not need it there?—A. I presume not. By the way, they say the houses in North Carolina are extremely well ventilated.

Q. All through the South?—It is diverting to see their surprise and their

want of understanding about stoves, particularly cooking-stoves. One of them went into a house the other day and attempted to pass behind the stove, between it and the wall, and got stuck. He had never seen a stove before and did not know what it was. He was surprised to find it hot. At least that is the story that came to me. The statement of Willis Statin continues:

"It is a fine house, with five rooms. Me and my family have plenty to eat, and never had such good times in our lives. I wouldn't go back to North Carolina for \$500. I'll never go back unless I die and the birds eat me and carry me back—no, sir, they'll never catch me back there any more. I get sixty cents a cord for cutting wood, and cut from a cord and a-half to two cords every day, besides doing other work. Mr. Sellers furnishes me all the milk I want for nothing, besides doing me many other favors. They are just as clever and kind to me as they can be, and are so good to me that I can't help but work for them. My wife worked for one of the neighbors yesterday, and got seventy-five cents in silver for it, and the ladies gave her several yards of cloth and five chickens. I have already had more things given me than I lost in leaving North Carolina. From my own experience I don't think there is as good a place in the world for colored people as here. I have been in a heap of counties, but I never found such a good county as this. My family is better satisfied than they ever were in their lives. I pay no house rent, my fire-wood is given me and I am given a team to haul it, and in the spring I am to have a garden spot and a cow to milk, all free. I have great encouragement to work, and I expect to do it as long as health and life lasts. I never met as good white friends in my life. The teacher of the white school was at my house Sunday, and she told me to send my children to school and she would do the best she could by them. I have three children and they will start to school next Monday. They will be the only colored children in the school. I am surprised to find so much difference between the white people of the North and those of the South. I want all my people to leave the South and come here; they can do so much better here, and be free men."

Statin, who makes this statement, was at my office again last week. He said that his children are now going to school and are treated the same as white children by both pupils and teachers, and are getting along nicely.

Here is the statement of P. C. Williams, written by himself:

"I have found Indiana to be the place for the poor, hard-working men of my race. All of our men who have come to Indiana and gone upon farms are doing remarkably well. Some state that they have had more given to them, gratuitously, by their employers than they could have got for months of hard toil at their old homes in the South. Furthermore, they are kindly treated, in many instances their children being admitted into the public schools on the same terms that the whites are. The schools are better and of longer duration than schools in the South. The condition of the immigrant and his children is improved in a high degree. I have also observed and tested the difference between Indiana courts of justice and those of the South, and from my own observation can say positively that though Democratic politicians and newspaper men indirectly encourage riot and outrage, the courts of Indiana will not tolerate it, nor leave it unpunished. On the whole a negro is made to feel here that, though poor and ignorant, yet he is human, and therefore a man and not a beast, as he has been stigmatized by Senator Hill of Georgia.

"My advice to the colored people now in the South, who desire to leave,

is to hitch up their teams, either of horses, mules or oxen, to such vehicles as they may have, and come across the country in large bodies so as to be safe from molestation. They should not sell their teams for nothing, but should bring them overland. Let them put their wives and little ones in the vehicles, and let the men and older children come afoot. A large number of the white people who first settled Indiana and who came from the South, walked here. My people can come the same way. At any rate let those who haven't money to come on the cars manage to get to the North and West some way. They shouldn't all flock to any particular locality as in the South, for it can't well be done; nor is it necessary or wise. They should scatter out among the intelligent whites, and learn from them. Many thousands of farm hands and housekeepers can still find houses in this State, in the various counties where their labor is needed."

This man Williams is now working in the Clay County coal mines and writes that he is doing very well. When he came he brought an eight months old babe that had been sick ever since its birth. It either took cold or the measles the same as other children are apt to do, and died. I am relating these deaths because it has been charged that there has been a great deal of sickness and many deaths among them, and I want to give all that occurred. He told me himself that the babe could not have lived long. He thought, however, either the cold or the measles it took hastened its death.

Next is the statement of Lewis Flemming. He says:

"I am working for William M. Tarr, not far from Greencastle. I have a good home; get good wages, and all sorts of favors, and am treated well every way. You won't catch me going back to North Carolina. I have my mother, wife, and children with me. They are as well satisfied as they can be."

He said that to me repeatedly. He comes to the office on an average once in two weeks, I think, and when I ask him if he wants to go back to North Carolina, he invariably laughs at the ridiculousness of the idea. I ask him why he laughs and he says he laughs at the idea that I should ask him such a question.

ALLEN JOINER.

"I have just come from Edgecombe County, North Carolina. I have a wife and seven children with me. I left North Carolina because I couldn't get pay for my work there. I was obliged to go somewhere. I heard that this was a good country, and so I came here. I saw it in the Greencastle Banner. I got some papers from Kansas, too, saying Kansas was a good country. I didn't come here to vote; but the Democrats down there said that was what I was coming for, and that I would get here too late, and would get cut off. They tried to keep me from coming. They said that there were thousands on the road starving, and that they couldn't get here because the trains had been stopped. They said that the snow and ice was eighteen inches deep, and that my people who had come were dying like sheep with the rot. Some said that they were dying with the yellow fever. But I didn't see anybody stuck on the road at all, and I looked my best. As far as I have seen I like the country first rate, but I can tell more about it a month from now. I wanted to get some place to educate my children. If some good farmer around here will give me a chance, now, I will show him what I can do. I am not afraid but that I can satisfy any reasonable man. To get here I sold a horse and two mules for \$150 that cost me \$415. I would have come

through with a wagon, but I was afraid. I wanted to be in the cars, where I would be safe. The night before I started, about fifty colored people were at my house to tell us good-bye. They all cried when they saw us leave. They wanted to come with us, but didn't have the money. They intend to come just as soon as they can. It cost us \$182 to bring our two families here. We had 644 pounds of baggage. Several places are already open to me at good wages. I find that all I had heard about Indiana being a good place is true."

Joiner had the same difficulty that the Clay families had. He had a large family. It is a little difficult for men with large families to get places, more so than the others, but last Saturday a gentleman came over from Park County as an agent for a gentleman having an extensive farm there to get just such a man as he. I recommended Joiner to him, and he saw him; and Joiner told me afterwards that he was going over with him Monday to look at the place to see whether it suited him. He is a little particular, and does not want to go unless the place suits him. In the mean time he is getting work around, as you see. He brought a sick wife and a sick daughter with him. The daughter has fits. We hear of sickness being reported, but, so far as I know, they all brought the serious cases with them.

ALLEN SMITH—WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

"JANUARY 30, 1880.

"I came from North Carolina, and have been living on Mr. C. C. Sims's farm, one and a half miles west of Belle Union, ever since."

This is in Putnam County.

"He treats me well"—

This came to me as being written by Allen Smith; I presume it was:—
 "He treats me well. I never was treated better. He furnishes me a house, and I am to have a garden. I get thirteen dollars a month while the days are short, and the customary price through the crop time. Mr. Sims has taken great interest in treating me well, and his family is good to us, and I am well satisfied with them so far. My purpose for leaving my old country was to better my condition, not for political profit, but to earn a living, humble and honorable, with my own hands. The people of this neighborhood appear to be willing that I should prosper. They have said nothing to me to the contrary. The most prudent relation"—

They use some peculiar language, as here:

—"of us colored people is to love God, and always be ready to acknowledge His goodness, and the kindness of His people. I bid you all God speed.

"ALLEN SMITH."

Hezekiah Howell says:

"I came with Allen Joiner. I have a wife and one child. One of the best white men in North Carolina, to tell the truth, told me that if he was a young man like myself he wouldn't stay there five minutes; that Indiana was the place for us, because here we could have our rights. He said we ought to come if we had to come afoot, because here we could get better wages, be well treated, and have schools for

our children. He and his brother were the only white men who ever told us anything of that kind."

I think he further said they were Democrats, but I am not sure.

"From what I see and hear Indiana is all I expected to find it. It took us two days and nights to get here. We got through without any trouble. All we had to do was to buy our tickets, lay in some provisions and then get aboard the cars. There is no trouble about getting here if you only have enough money to buy a ticket and something to eat. My advice to my people is to come here as soon as they can. As soon as I got here I was offered a place on a man's farm six miles from this town at \$15 a month in cash, with house-rent, firewood, and a cow to milk, all free. He is a brother of the man that Willis Statin lives with. I think that I shall take the place."

He took the place. His employer was Joseph B. Sellers, former county treasurer of our county. I had a statement of Isaiah Best, but I seem to have misplaced it. Isaiah Best is one of the men working for Mr. O'Hare. His statement is of the same tenor as these others, saying that nothing would induce him to go back to North Carolina. I have here a letter from James A. Stokes, which I believe has been previously read to the committee, and I will not read it. He is working for James H. Harrison at Ladoga. He says that nothing could induce him to go back to North Carolina. He and a brother of this Statin living with Sellers are living with Mr. Harrison. He gets \$12 a month and board. I do not know what wages his wife gets. Mr. Harrison told me he would pay her, it occurs to me, \$2 a week, but I am not sure; at any rate it was whatever she was worth.

The statement was put in evidence, and is as follows :

LADOGA, IND., *January 5, 1880.*

GEO. 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 permitted 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 Greencastle

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 strange land.

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.

John L. Gregg, of Morton, says:

Several weeks ago Mr. Gragg sent me word that he wanted a man to drive a team. I found a young man who had just arrived from North Carolina, and he said he would take the place, but before he got off, a gentleman living near by offered him a place and he accepted it. By Saturday Mr. Gragg came to town himself to see what he could do, and in a few minutes he had secured a man and his family, and when he returned home that night he took them with him, having brought a wagon for the purpose. He said that there was a great demand for labor in his neighborhood, and that several Democrats were now ready to take negroes, and more would be were it not for fear. Several negroes had already gone to that part of the country, and they were getting good wages and good treatment.

Samuel Dent, of Quincy, was in my office last week and said:

There are not enough men in our part of the country to take care of the next harvest.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) That is in Owen County?—A. Yes, sir; adjoining the lower part of our county, in the vicinity of Quincy. He says there are not enough laborers there to take care of the next harvest. He continues:

We need more labor. No colored North Carolinians have come to my part of the country, but we need them.

The next is the statement of Daniel Evans, of Russellville. Last week Mr. Evans said:

Every man hired in our part of the country was hired because he was needed. There is no politics in it. Labor is needed. The colored men in my neighborhood are getting from \$15 to \$20 a month. They are all working well, and giving good satisfaction. The men who hire them are well pleased with them. They are good and useful citizens, every one of them. William Crook works for me. I pay him \$15 a month in cash, and enough other things to make it about \$24.

Mr. Evans is one of the principal citizens up there in that county. The next is the statement of John L. Sellers, of Warren Township. I saw Mr. Sellers last week. He says:

I hired a colored North Carolinian because I needed him.

The CHAIRMAN. These are statements of men who, as you have already shown, have employed these emigrants.

Senator WINDOM. But we want to get their statements as well.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) Is Sellers's post-office Greencastle?—A. No; his post-office is Putnamville. He was a soldier in my company. He says:

I hired a colored North Carolinian because I needed him. I didn't know at the time whether he was a Republican or Democrat. He does me good work, and I am well satisfied, and he seems to be, too. I pay him \$13 a month, cash, until harvest, when

I am to pay him more. I also furnish him a house, garden, potato-patch, wood and team to haul it, and milk, free. Will let him have a cow as soon as grass comes. A great many such men could be employed in this county to the benefit of our farmers. If I have another good crop next year I would like to hire three or four more.

D. S. Dryden, of Russell Township, was in this office last week and said :

I am a Greenbacker in politics. I have just hired one of the North Carolina negroes with his family. I want him to do my work, and have hired him for no political purpose whatever. I have no idea what party he belongs to; have never asked him. I need him to work on my farm. I think he will suit me, and do me good service. Am to pay him \$14 a month, cash, for the first two months, and after that will pay him more. He is to have a house, garden, wood and team to haul it, and the use of a cow, free. Those who have come to my neighborhood have established good characters, and our people are well satisfied with them.

I would here say that these men would all get more wages at the beginning were it not for the fact that the mode of farming in North Carolina is essentially different from that in Indiana, and they have a great deal to learn, particularly in handling horses and teams. They find a very radical difference in the mode of farming in Indiana, and our farmers are not sure at first about how well they will suit them and what work they can do. Their idea is to pay them first what they can afford, and if they prove to be good hands to increase, their wages as some have already done.

By Senator BLAIRE :

Q. What do your farmers say as to their readiness and capacity to adapt themselves to your farming methods?—A. They say they take hold with wonderful facility and a good deal of skill. I have heard complaint of but one colored man who went there to work, and that was because he did not get up early enough. That is the only complaint I have heard, although I have asked the question frequently, for I was anxious to know how they were getting along.

The next statement relates to J. H. McCoy, of Cloverdale. You know the McCoy family, Mr. Chairman ?

The CHAIRMAN. O, yes.

The WITNESS. A barn belonging to Mr. McCoy's father was burned recently because he had given work to a negro from the Brazil coal mines, but formerly from Kentucky. The contents of the barn belonged to the son, and his loss was near \$500. The McCoy's at once had the rest of their property insured, and the younger came to Greencastle and hired two men and one woman of the last arrival from North Carolina. He said: "There is a demand for more labor in my township. Men of both parties would like to hire colored help if they were not afraid. A Democrat told me that if it were not for their votes he would hire four or five families on his farm, and that if he thought he could make them vote his way he would hire them. I will pay my men \$18 a month each, with house, garden-spot, wood, and milch cow free." A cousin, James McCoy, came up at the same time and hired a woman, and was to send to North Carolina after her husband, if she suited him.

The next person is J. J. Shields, of Marion Township. This is the man I was trying to think of a while ago. After repeated trips to Greencastle, Mr. Shields succeeded in hiring a man and a boy and a woman and a girl. He told me that he would treat them precisely as though they were white people; had been paying \$1 a day, the hands boarding themselves. He said there was a demand for more labor in his township.

Rev. T. B. McManis says :

Labor is in great demand in Benton and Tippecanoe Counties.

McManis is stationed at Mount Morency. Edward Moon, of Otterbein, and Mrs. Dr. Godfrey, of Lafayette, each sent by him for two colored girls.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. What is McManis stationed there for?—A. He is a Methodist preacher.

Q. I suppose he is familiar with the labor of the county?—A. Many colored emigrants came down to see his son, who lives at our place, recently, and they made that statement. He said there was quite a demand for their help.

Mat. Rea, an Irishman, at Bainbridge, says :

Last summer farmers would ride through our town offering \$2 a day for anybody who would help in their harvest fields, but were unable to get any one. They were not particular whether the men were used to farm labor and could do a full day's work or not, so they could get them.

A. H. Pickel, of Carpentersville, says :

When out buying logs for my saw-mill last summer, I saw several fields that were uncultivated, and presume it was because of inability to procure laborers.

G. W. Perry, of Putnamville, says :

In October a man named Rogers came from Saint Louis to build a bridge across Walnut Creek, on the I. D. and S. road. He told me that he couldn't find men in this county to do the work, and had to go to Saint Louis for them, and pay \$1.75 a day for common laborers. They worked until January 1. He also had to bring teams from Saint Louis. James Lee, the stone-quarry man at Putnamville, was in the same fix, and couldn't get men at home.

L. M. Mercer, postmaster at Hamrich's Station, says :

More labor is needed in this county.

W. W. Clark, of Quaker Point, Vermillion County, came over Saturday to get a man and family to look after stock for a gentleman living in Vermillion County. He secured a man who was to have gone home with him Monday, to see if he liked the place. Mr. Clark said to me :

There is a demand for any amount of labor in my county. We can't get men at all. I have had to come to Greencastle to try to get a man to do a little work. Good wages will be paid for good men and women. The women are needed more than the men. I want the colored people to come. They have been kicked about in the South long enough. I care nothing about their politics, but want them to do as I do—vote as they please. We will treat them well. This State would be a great deal richer if they would come, for they would help us to develop the country. As it is, thousands of acres are going to waste.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Is Mr. Clark a Quaker?—A. I think not. He said there was quite a Quaker settlement there.

On Friday I dropped a note to A. C. Stevenson, stating to him that I had seen in Mr. Lewman's testimony that he was paying 25 cents a hundred for making rails. I asked him to please give me a statement of the facts. On Saturday I received the following letter from him :

GREENCASTLE, IND., *March 13, 1880.*

G. J. LANGSDALE: Yours of yesterday making inquires about my wages to the negroes hired is received, and I answer :

1st. The two negroes that have been on my place two and three years get 75 cents a day each, paid every Saturday evening in cash for each day they work for me.

2d. A North Carolina negro, who has been in this State about sixteen years, and was never a slave, has made me, the winter just past, about 5,000 rails, for which I paid

him 75 cents per hundred, and cut a parcel of four-foot cord wood at 80 cents per cord in cash.

3d. A party of North Carolina negroes cut for me this winter forty cords of three-foot wood at 75 cents per cord in cash, paid every Saturday evening.

4th. I have one man, Joseph Anderson, hired for the winter at \$15 per month in cash, paid every Saturday evening. I furnish in addition a house, fire-wood, a team to haul it, a new cook stove, milk for a family of eight, a pair of new gum boots that cost me \$3. Every thirty days makes the month. This includes Sundays and bad days, which is my loss.

Yours, truly,

A. C. STEVENSON.

Joseph Anderson is from North Carolina, one of the late immigrants. In handing me this letter, Doctor Stevenson said that he had never succeeded in getting rails made so low as 25 cents. He once got some made for 37½ cents, but that was a long while ago, in the first settling of the country. He further said that he treated all his hands, black and white, alike, and paid them the same wages. He thought there was a prospect for a great deal more work this year than we would have hands to do it.

Colonel William Bosson, formerly a State senator of Tennessee, makes a statement, which I shall read next.

Q. (By Senator BLAIR.) Where does he live now?—A. He lives in Greencastle. He has lived there ever since 1874, I think.

Q. He is white?—A. He is a white gentleman. He originated the school system of Tennessee. He was at the head of the school department there; I believe he did that as State senator. He was probably chairman of the committee on education.

Q. That was along about 1867, '68, '69?—A. Yes, sir; along there some time.

Mr. Bosson's statement is as follows :

I believe the colored people of the South exercise a commendable wisdom in seeking homes in the Northern States, where their labor is wanted and better rewarded. I have talked with a number of prominent farmers in this county, and they all agree that Putnam County needs more laborers, honest and industrious. In proof of this judgment those colored people who have reached here that were industriously disposed and honest, found immediate employment at good wages. I have no doubt that two or three hundred upright, good farm hands would, in a reasonable time, and at a reasonable price, get good homes, wages, and prompt pay.

The next is a statement of J. F. Darnall, chairman of the Republican county central committee. You know Mr. Darnall, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes. He is your clerk, is he not?—A. No; a son of his.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) Charley is the clerk?—A. Charley is the clerk, and is about twenty-two years old.

Q. Yes; I know now.—A. He is chairman of the Republican committee there, and is president of the iron and coal works, and has two farms and a grocery. He is a man of substance.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; he is a man of substance.

The WITNESS. He says :

I know of no organized effort in Putnam County by the Republican party to aid or encourage the immigration of colored men. My own opinion in regard to immigration is this: Any persons, without regard to color, who desire to come to Putnam County to seek to better their condition, in good faith, becoming citizens, will be heartily welcomed, and as many more than we now have can find employment advantageous to themselves and profitable to our citizens. A great many of the best citizens of this county immigrated from the South. Certainly all who desire to come have the right to come. A change is gradually taking place in our system of farming. Too much of the land of the county has been run to grass.

It is a 'blue grass region, you know.

Late years have demonstrated the necessity of a change of method, and in the fu-

ture, agriculture will receive much greater attention, and this will necessitate a much larger force of laborers. With labor respected, and thousands of our acres now in grass in cultivation in grain, Putnam County will rank with any county in the State.

Our county has been injured, I think, by having too much grass land.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. He says the county will rank. Does it not rank now with any county in the State? It is one of the foremost counties.—A. In some respects. On the emigrant question, I think it does rank with any county in the State.

Q. Yes; and in some better things than that it ranks?—A. I do not know. I have a statement here which I have had in my pocket for years, showing the population of the county at different decades. It would seem that the rural population of our county has not increased much for a long time in consequence of the blue-grass idea that our farmers have had. About the only increase we have had, has been in the towns. Our farmers, particularly during the war and immediately succeeding the war, would take a lot of cattle to New York and come back with a lot of money and buy out a neighbor who wished to emigrate West, and would put his farm in grass, usually shut up the house; sometimes he would get a tenant in it, but I believe the rule was usually not to do so. He would put the farm in grass and raise cattle. By that means the county was gradually depopulated. During the past two or three years, since cattle went down in price, that has not been the case. When I first went to Greencastle, there was no market there for grain; nobody was buying grain; but in the last few years men have been buying wheat, and in the past season quite a large lot of wheat has been sold there; and this year there is probably twice as much wheat put in in our county as there ever was before.

G. C. Moore says:

I believe there is room and work in Indiana for all immigrants who come seeking homes and employment, whether black or white.

Capt. John T. Owens, justice of the peace, says:

We need a great deal more labor on our farms. If 200 colored men will come into our county they will be worth at least \$20,000 to us. I think the best thing the colored men of the South can do is to come here.

The next is the statement of M. A. Moore, attorney at law.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. That is my old friend "Marsh?"—A. Yes; you know "Marsh?"

Q. I do.—A. He has an opinion.

Q. He has a decided opinion?

The WITNESS. Mr. Moore says:

Putnam County has needed for years a more constant labor supply. I am confident the agricultural population in the north of the county has actually diminished in the last twenty years. With an increased supply of faithful laborers the agricultural productions might be almost doubled. The labor is the thing needed. It is not material about the color of the laborer. Here is the opening; farmers want the labor.

He said if he were before this committee he could show from statistics that, with an increased supply of laborers, the agricultural productions might be almost doubled. The labor is the thing needed. It is not material about the color of the labor.

The next is the statement of Colonel John Osborn. [To the chairman.] You know Colonel John Osborn?

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

The WITNESS. He is the former postmaster. He says:

My impression is that there is quite a demand for laborers in this county. I judge

this by the applications made to me by men I meet on the street, who want men to work for them on their farms, and can't get them. They say that as to politics they care nothing about that; they want the laborers. I think the negroes are needed here, at fair wages, and those who come will be permitted to enjoy all the rights that whites do without question.

J. B. Sellers, Warren Township, ex-county treasurer, says :

It seems strange that our Democratic friends should be opposed to more laborers coming to this county when there is so much need of work. The idea of colored men who may come here making labor cheap is a great mistake. When there were not one-half the laborers in the county, wages were not near so good as at present. If an increase of population has been good for laborers in the past, why will it not be in the future? To men who want to work for reasonable wages I say come on and go to work. We will welcome industrious men, whether they are white or colored.

He afterwards hired one of the men whose statements I read.

L. B. Smith, of Reelsville, is a man who employs a good many men. He is a sound man. He says :

Having been over Putnam County, in every locality, I find nearly every farm needs labor. Fences want repairing and briars and bushes cut out, and logs and brush cleaned up. I think there is work for a large number of men in the county. Let all come who propose to stay and help build up the county, be they white or colored.

Wm. Trail, of Franklin Township, says :

More workers are needed in my neighborhood. I am in favor of the negroes of the South coming here if they want to.

B. P. Coleman, late justice of the peace, says :

The fencing in Putnam County is badly run down. A thousand men brought into the county to-day, wouldn't get the fences reset, the briars cut out of the fence rows, and the logs burned off the pastures, in a year. Labor is the great want of the county. We can use the colored men, who come and want work, to good advantage.

The next is the statement of Robert M. Black. (To the Chairman.) You know Robert M. Black, I presume ?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The WITNESS. Mr. Black says :

There is any quantity of work to be had on farms in this county. I see men almost every day wanting farm help. I think it would be of great benefit to the colored men of the South to come up here and supply this demand. There is no room for them in the towns, but in the country there is no difficulty for them to find good homes.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) What is Black doing now ?—A. He keeps a livery stable.

Q. I thought he was not farming.—A. His father is an extensive farmer and also his uncle, and he probably is as well acquainted with the farming community in that and the adjoining counties as any man in it, from his business and trading with them.

M. J. Cooper says :

I concur in what Mr. Black says. I can't understand why colored men stay in the South, where they are cheated out of their wages and deprived of their political rights, when the free North is open to them. Here they would get good wages in cash instead of orders on stores, and enjoy all the privileges that white men do. They will be welcome if they come.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Are these statements taken at random, or are they reliable and intelligent gentlemen ?—A. I took these statements down myself, except in those cases where the persons wrote them themselves. Marshall A. Moore wrote his own, and three or four others wrote their own statements.

Q. From what class of men have you sought these statements ?—A. I have sought them from the best citizens. I state their names.

Q. But, with the exception of yourself and the chairman, we do not know any of these citizens of Indiana. The chairman seems to know them all, and this reading goes on as a mutual understanding between the chairman and the witness, but I do not know whether these men are responsible and reliable.—A. In my statements I give their position.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I shall develop who they are very fully. M. J. Cooper is in the United States mail business?—A. M. J. Cooper was in the United States mail business. He has been a private citizen for quite a while. He has a furniture store in town, and was the candidate for marshal before our city Republican convention, and was defeated.

James Matthews is one of our most reliable citizens. He has been farming for many years; in fact he was raised on a farm, and spent his time there until within the last six years, when he has lived in Greencastle. He is a brother of Dr. William Matthews, who died, and a nephew of Mr. Reuben Ragan, known in Indiana as almost the father of the fruit interest in our State. He was the pioneer of the fruit interest, especially in Western Indiana. James Matthews says:

My opinion is that it would be of great advantage to all classes to have more workmen on the farms of Putnam County. It would cause more houses to be built, make more customers for our merchants and mechanics, and cheapen the price of living in the towns.

The next is the statement of Hon. W. H. Ragan, of Clayton, ex-senator of Hendricks and Putnam Counties. Hendricks is the adjoining county. He is now president of the State board of agriculture, and has been a member of the State board of agriculture for many years, probably the most efficient man on it. Mr. Ragan says:

There is scarcely a farmer in the country but that could hire more hands to advantage if they could get them at a fair price. So many of the farm hands have become so worthless, and demand such high wages and such unusual privileges, that farmers do not like to employ them when they can avoid doing so. The consequence is that our farms do not produce nearly as much as they would otherwise do. Any source that will supply this great want of the country will be a real blessing. If the colored people of the South do it, we will certainly be much obliged to them.

I have asked farmers there the question why they do not employ help on farms and do more work on their farms. The answer has been that they could not get good help at anything like wages. In the first place it is difficult to get good help at all, and such help as they can get demand wages so high that it takes all the crop to pay them. The consequence was that they could only do such work as the farmer himself and his own family could perform. In an interview I had with Mr. Oliver O'Hair, of Brick Chapel, last fall he, said:

We need more help in the country to do the work. We can't get near enough men to do the work on our farm.

Mr. O'Hair has extensive farms up there, and his brothers all have considerable farms. They are large farmers and are as well known and are as reliable as any men in the county or probably in the State. He continues:

If we could get more men at fair wages we would put more land under cultivation. I never saw hands any scarcer than they have been this year. I have offered the highest prices, and haven't been able to get enough help to gather my corn.

He raises about 5,000 bushels of corn a year he told me.

It has been damaged in consequence almost enough to pay for gathering and hous-

ing it. The colored men in my neighborhood are doing splendidly. One of them who came from Kentucky to our neighborhood about three years ago—

That is Eckton, whose testimony I have read—

bought land lately from my father at \$50 an acre, with money which he made after coming here. There is no family more respected in the neighborhood than his. One Democratic family who at first refused to have anything to do with them now pay visits to them. Industrious colored people can do well in our neighborhood, I tell you. One colored man who had been in my employ for eighteen months received \$150 from me when he quit, and he now has \$1,000 out on interest, and a good house and lot in Westfield, this State. I want all to come who will; there is room for many more.

Riley Springer, five miles from Greencastle, with whom Newman and Wood live, says:

I have two of the colored North Carolinians in my employ, named Albert Newbern and Bennet Haywood. They are first-rate hands and do me good work. I lost \$200 last fall, because I couldn't get hands to take care of my hemp until a part of it had rotted. I went to Indianapolis after men, but couldn't find them. If anybody doubts this I will prove it if he will visit my farm.

Mr. Springer raises hemp, and he says that in consequence of not being able to get help his hemp rotted in the ground to the value of \$200 fully. He went as far as Indianapolis to get men and could not find them, and when the colored men came he was delighted. He gives that invitation, that he will prove it if I will visit him, every time I see him.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What can he show you on the farm to prove his statement?—A. I suppose he would show where the hemp rotted; I do not know what else.

Q. Did he get colored men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And saved the rest of his crop?—A. Yes, sir; they have been working at it ever since, and he says he was delighted to get them; that they have been doing good work, and they are delighted with him, and think they are nearer heaven than ever before.

Q. These negroes are getting more profit out of hemp than they are accustomed to in North Carolina?—A. Yes, sir; they use it in a different way; they apply it to the hands instead of the neck.

I have a record of the following persons who want the kind of help named, but there was no supply to furnish them:

J. B. Jones, Connersville, wants two families.

John Miller, Ladoga, wants one family.

Adison Hadley, Clayton, wants boy.

Smith Johnson, Spencer, four families.

John Henseley, Quincy, two families.

T. C. Williams, Harmony, three families.

John Goodbar, Ladoga, farm hands and banjo player.

James Taylor, Ladoga, girls.

J. E. Allison, near Eaglesfield, single man.

In my own county J. W. Stoner, M. Arbuckle, Joseph Vaughan and several others whom I don't now recollect have applied for families, and I do not think that they have yet been supplied.

A great many more have applied, but I did not keep any record for the reason that it was entirely useless. I have here a bundle of letters. These are not all the letters I have received by a great deal, but they are the only ones that I found in my desk when I was summoned. The first is from O. B. Dix, of Cloverdale.

Q. When you know the position and character of these letter writers, will you not state anything about them in a few words?—A. All right.

All the statements I have given here are from well-known citizens in our county, for very many of our first-class citizens are among them; some are not quite so wealthy as others. These in our county of course I know. These are not all of the letters I received, but such as I found in my desk. The thing really became an annoyance, I had so many letters and so few men; but when you summoned me I found in my desk these letters, and made a copy of the material portions so as to save time and trouble.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. They are pretty much to the same point?—A. They just show the demand for labor in the State, and show that there is no reference to politics in the matter. The first is O. B. Dix, of Cloverdale. That is in my county, and he is a well-known farmer there.

Mr. Dix writes:

I am in need of a laborer, and if you can procure me a sober, industrious man with small family I will take him, as will my neighbor, Alfred Dix.

Alfred Dix is another well-known citizen there of the same county, but of a different family:

We can furnish them constant work and comfortable habitations.

I learn that since the burning of Mr. McCoy's barn in that neighborhood the Messrs. Dix are intimidated, and think they will wait a while. They would not like to have their property burned.

W. F. Jenkins, of Indianapolis, Ind., writes:

I am pressing hay with four presses at State Line, in Warren County, and at Fowler, in Benton County, and at Brookston, White County. I have some notion of trying colored help. I have some—my cooks and a few hay-pitchers. I pay \$1 a day for men, and charge them \$2 a week for board. Will give them steady work the year round. If I could get a lot of good men among your immigrants I would come over and see you. I can work about twenty of them.

I do not know Mr. Jenkins.

Adams and Deitrich, Harmony, Ind., write:

Have you any potters among those colored men that you have up there? We would like to have one.

These are parties I do not know anything about. I never heard of them until I received their letters.

Mrs. Dr. W. C. Matchett, of Pierceton, Kosciusko County, Indiana, writes:

I want a middle-aged colored woman to do housework; will pay \$1.50 a week. I would be willing to pay their way back to Greencastle if they were not satisfied.

Patrick Thomas, Rockville, Ind., writes:

I can find room for ten families at my town for immigrants from North Carolina. We can give them steady employment the year round, in town or country, and will pay them good wages in cash. Can take fifty families by March 1. Will pay their expenses from Indianapolis.

C. L. C. Bradfield, Palermo, Ill., writes:

I want to get a good colored woman, from forty to forty-five years old.

Robert Craig, Romney, Ind., writes:

I want two children, a girl and boy, from ten to fourteen years old. If you have any such, or know of any such, send them to me, or write to me and I will forward means for them to come on.

Gen. A. D. Streight, Indianapolis, Ind., writes:

I am wanting some four to six good men to go to my Newton County farm. If there are any left without places let me know and I will come over and see them.

I know General Streight.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Is he the General Streight who escaped from Libby prison?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. He is the man whom the Republicans are going to put up for governor?—A. I could not say. The convention has not come off.

The next is the letter of Rev. Thomas B. McManis, of Montmorency, Ind. This gentleman came down to see me. He wrote to me previous to coming, as follows :

I have been requested to write to you about colored girls. Homes for half a dozen of them can be found in the best of our families, who would gladly take them at good wages.

I know Mr. McManis, of course.

T. Head, Brookston, Ind., writes :

I can give steady employment to two girls who can do general housework and insure them pleasant homes and fair remuneration for their services. If you can, send two such to me at once. I also have employment for two or three males.

Nancy Nealis, Kirkland, Ind., writes :

I would like to have a good negro man and his wife on our place. We live 2½ miles from Kirkland. Several families can find homes here, providing they are good.

L. E. Raunells, Rochester, Ind., writes :

We are in the hotel business and can furnish employment for two or three young men and the same number of young women as waiters and cooks. I believe employment can be found for some farm hands and woodchoppers hereabouts.

Jessie Rowland, Dillsborough, Ind., writes :

I write to know if I could get a good woman to do housework to come and make her home with me. I will give such a good home as long as she wishes to stay. We have some negroes within eight or ten miles of our town. Would think Dearborn County would be a good place for some to come to.

D. W. Browning, Bloomington, Ind., writes :

I can find homes for a number of colored families in this county. Send them along.

The CHAIRMAN. I know Brother Browning.

The WITNESS. He is county treasurer, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

The WITNESS. George B. Woltz, Monticello, Ind., writes :

If you can send me a good intelligent man and wife to live on my farm two miles from town I shall be pleased. I would like them as soon as possible. I think quite a number of them could get work here.

Lib. Armstrong, of Parkersburg, Ind., wrote to J. H. Harrison. She is a female relative, I think, of J. H. Harrison—Harvey Harrison, as he is known up near Ladoga.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. They are the sons of old Bob Harrison up there?—A. I do not know. This is an old gentleman himself. He is one of the original abolitionists of Indiana, a well-known citizen, a regular old John Brown sort of a man.

Q. I know him, a large, tall man?—A. Rather a tall, large man. That would be a good description.

Q. I remember him very well.—A. He is the father of Bob Harrison, of Lebanon, Brown County, the lawyer. Mr. Harrison had been down

to see these emigrants when they came. He came days before they arrived, when he heard they were coming. He made three trips, I think, and finally, when they came, got two men and took them home with him.

Q. He could not have been happy if he had not?—A. I think not. He wants them to live on the place and do all sorts of farm work.

Lib. Armstrong writes to J. H. Harrison :

Ambrose Armstrong wants you to select a man and family for him to live on the place, and do all kinds of farm work. We also want a woman to do housework. Would like one between forty and fifty years old. Please see what you can do.

A. M. Harp, Carbon, Ind., writes :

Please post this up in your office so it can be read.

WANTED.—Twenty men to cut timber. Good wages, and money sure. Work ready to commence now, December 1, 1879. I wish to get this number of hands this week if I can. Call on me one-half mile south of Carbon.

Q. Is that not Hart instead of Harp?—A. I have got his letter here. I will look presently and see. I never heard of the gentleman, and I do not know anything about him.

The next is from Julius L. Benson, of Westfield, Hamilton County, Indiana. Hamilton County is about forty miles, I should judge, north of Indianapolis, and is one of the richest counties in the State.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Do you know this man personally?—A. No, sir. He writes.

We need 500 men to do the work of this county. Send all you can, for we have the work to do and must have it done.

James H. Mason, Bentonville, Ind., writes :

It is my impression that a great many of those people can find steady employment if they are industrious, honest, and sober.

J. D. Connell, Annapolis, Ind., writes :

I want a good colored girl, one who knows how to do housework. Would give such a girl constant employment at \$1.50 to \$2.00 a week, according to what she could do. Several could get employment in this neighborhood.

Tim Rurdin, Knightsville, Ind., writes :

I want to get a colored man; want one of sober habits. Can use ten more in a short time, if I can get them right; but I want good, stout men.

Dr. J. R. Adams, Petersburg, Ind., writes :

Would like to know in what manner I could secure three or four families of *Foorhees* North Carolina immigrants; would prefer men with families—say thirty or thirty-five years old. Would insure them good treatment. I have heard several of our good old Democrats express a desire for some good colored laborers.

Petersburg is in Pike County, two or three counties distant.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. I wish you would send them down there; it would have a good effect on Pike County.—A. I wish I had had them to send.

Q. I know Pike County very well. It is one of the close, doubtful counties.—A. I think it is a Democratic county.

Q. No; it is a very close county. It is always close. I carried it for the legislature by a larger majority than had been given for years.—A. It is getting worse, then.

The CHAIRMAN. It did not seem to look that way to those down there. No doubt you thought it was worse.

The WITNESS. M. V. Witherspoon, of Bruceville, Knox County, Ind., writes :

I am in need of two or three able-bodied men who are willing to work. To such I can give constant employment on my farm. I think a number of families can find good homes here.

Q. That is southwest of you?—**A.** It is north of Pike, is it not?

The CHAIRMAN. Pike is southeast from it.

The WITNESS. O. W. Miles, of Logansport, Ind., writes :

What is the prospect for getting a colored girl, say from fourteen to sixteen years old, to live in a small family? I think homes could be found for several such here. Please let me hear from you by return mail.

A. S. Vining, of Worthington, Ohio, writes :

Send me a boy, sixteen to twenty years old, to work on a farm; will give him good, living wages, by the year, and a good home. Now, send me a good one.

B. F. Cawthou, of Morton, Ind., writes :

I learned yesterday from one of those negroes who came to Morton that there was a negro blacksmith at your town. I wish you would see him and tell him that I will come to-morrow and see him. I am wanting a blacksmith.

I will state here that I received from this gentleman last fall word that he was in need of a blacksmith and to send him one. I have constantly said to these immigrants that I did not want any mechanics from the South. I told those who came, who were mechanics, to go on farms, for if they stopped as mechanics around the town they would find their places crowded with white men, and they would not get along so well as in the country. Mr. James Turner, at Groveland, Ind., wrote to me that he wanted a blacksmith. He is a blacksmith himself. A white man came to the office by the name of Hendricks, and said he was a blacksmith. I told him I could give him a place, and gave him the name of Mr. Turner. Mr. Turner met me probably a month afterwards and said he was still wanting a blacksmith. I asked him if Mr. Hendricks had not reported to him. He said no; he had not seen Mr. Hendricks. A Democrat at Fillmore, whose name I have forgotten, sent word to me that if a colored blacksmith came there he would furnish him a shop and set him up in business. I told the gentleman we would not encourage that kind of work, and when such immigrants came I had invariably advised them to go to the country and work on the farms.

Sullivan & Cochran, Graysville, Sullivan County, Indiana, write :

Can you inform us how we can procure two families of colored people? We can furnish each family with a house and an acre of ground each, and want them to work every day in the year when the weather will permit. Will pay them \$18 a month the year round, and charge nothing for the use of house and ground; they to board themselves.

Sullivan County is a strong Democratic county. Sullivan County is the Gibraltar of Senator Voorhees's district.

Elias Blue, of Medarysville, Ind., to Jesse Richardson writes :

I want you to get me a colored woman, to make her home with us. I will do a good part by her. I will send the money to pay her fare here. Let me know as soon as you can.

Henry D. Pollock, of Atica, Ind., writes :

I want a man and wife to live in house and work on farm. Will furnish house, garden, and potato patch, and firewood; they to board themselves. About what wages can they be got for? If you can tell me when I would be likely to meet some at Indianapolis, I will go there.

The next is from M. Krebs, of Petersburg, Ind., in Pike County, that close county where Dr. Adams lives. Mr. Krebs writes :

McCrillis Gray tells me he would like to have a negro family on his farm. He wants a good stout man and woman. He will give the man a good chance, a house to live

in, and work to the woman. Mr. Gray is a Democrat, but is a good man. I think a number of families can find homes here. Good reliable laborers are in demand.

Voorhees's smelling committee is condemned here by intelligent Democrats. They realize that it is reacting against them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I have received a great many intimations from Republican sources that I was hurting the Democratic party.

The WITNESS. John M. Wade, of Brushy Prairie, La Grange County, Indiana, writes :

I see by Voorhees's investigating committee that you are the negroes' friend. I want a small family, say man, wife, and three or four children. I want a man who will work, and who is trusty. I have a good tenant-house, and will give a good man a good chance. My work is farming.

R. S. Miller, of Roann, Wabash County, Indiana, writes :

There is a good chance here for some of the colored women to get work. I want two. White girls are hard to get, and when you get them they stay only a short time.

Samuel E. Kercheval, of Washington, Ind., writes :

William Thomas, a good man and a good farmer, will take colored farm hands, to wit, one man with wife and three or four children; one man with wife and one or two children; also one single man. Has two houses which he will repair at once for them to live in. He will hire by the month or let them work for an interest in the crop. He wants good men, and they will be well treated, provided for, and paid.

A. D. Ray, of Hobart, Ind., writes :

¶ I want a colored man and woman, without children, for house servants; also man and wife for Dr. Gordon.

The next is from William E. Owen, of Deming, Hamilton County, Ohio. I think Mr. Owen is a gentleman who wrote me three times. He always inclosed me a stamp, but I had no family for him, but when he wrote me a third letter complaining that I had not got them for him, I wrote him a letter and told him that I was sorry that I could not help him, the demand being so great in our own locality that I had none to send away. Mr. Owen writes :

I have heard several say that they would take colored families. Would like a small family myself, say man and wife, with not more than three children. Would want them to be industrious and religiously inclined. Would like to hire them by the year if they suited. Send me a nice family.

David Binford, of Thorntown, Ind., writes :

I want a family of colored people, consisting of father, mother, son, and daughter, all able to work. Religiously inclined family will not be objected to; rather preferred.

Thorntown is in Boone County.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. That is a close county. Do they want men or women up there?—
A. He wants a family of colored people consisting of father, mother, son, and daughter.

Mrs. Lovey E. Bretton, of Burlington, Carroll County, Indiana, writes :

I am greatly in need of help. I beg you to pick me out a middle-aged colored woman—one industrious and tidy. Send her to Kokomo, and let me know what time she will be there.

Alfred Thompson, of Rush County, nine miles east of Shelbyville, Ind., writes :

If you can send me, say, three or four active colored men and a colored woman, I will give them employment, from one year to ten. We need their labor.

Rush County is a strong Republican county.

Q. Is it very strong?—A. I do not remember, I think the majority is

three or four hundred. By the way, Mr. Thompson's son-in-law lives in our county, and he called on me to make the statement that his father-in-law needed help over there, and that he needed help on his farm, but he did not expect to remain there any length of time, not long enough to justify hiring.

D. F. Burk, of Morton, Ind., a Democrat, writes:

If you will send me a colored family soon I can give them employment. Want a man that will make a good farm hand. I want the women folks to know how to wash and do housework. I have two empty houses now, and will soon have more. Please let me know soon.

Here is Mr. Burk's original letter. I have just happened to put my hand on it. This is Putnam County. Mr. Burk is one of the well-known Democrats there and a wealthy gentleman. The next is from Mr. Aaron Alleback, of Quincy, Ohio. This is the gentleman who wrote to me a second or third time. This is the second letter. He writes:

I want a farm hand, and if I can get one of the oppressed from the South I will take him. Would prefer one with a small family. Will see that they are brought here.

C. G. Thompson, of La Fayette, Ind., writes:

I have a number of inquiries from good farmers who want colored help on their farms. Have you a surplus in your county, or can you give me an address that will enable me to correspond. Several farmers want families for their tenant houses. Some ten or twelve could be located in one neighborhood.

I know Mr. Thompson. Thompson is the gentleman who makes the famous sugar-cured canvas hams. He furnishes our State largely, and I think the great part of the West. He wrote to me last fall an urgent letter, and then he wrote again recently. He became so urgent that he called down to see me, but I was not at home, and did not have an interview with him. La Fayette is about fifty miles north of Greencastle, I believe. The writers of the foregoing letters are unknown to me, except in three instances. The most of them are careful to give references to show that they are reliable and in good standing. They almost invariably urge an immediate reply. In no case do they say anything about wanting men to vote; it is altogether a question of labor. I don't know whether the writers are Republicans or Democrats, except in a very few instances. Other letters have been received that were not preserved.

Since coming to the city, in conversation with a gentleman, he handed me two letters, which I shall read:

WABASH, IND., *March 9, 1880.*

Hon. CALVIN COWGILL, M. C.,
Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: One Frank Arthur, of Roann, has just arrived from Virginia with 65 men, whom he has distributed around Roann and vicinity. Arthur is a Democrat, and these exodusters are all Democrats. This is from reliable sources. Will you please see Senator Windom, and have Arthur subpoenaed before the Exodus Committee, and get the whole thing exposed.

In haste, yours, respectfully,

T. P. KEATOR

ROANN, IND., *March 11, 1880.*

C. COWGILL:

DEAR SIR: We have the honor to communicate you that our Democratic friends are in the colonizing business just now in this part of the county. Frank Arthur, a resident of this place, went to the State of Virginia some two months since and returned last week, bringing with him, according to his own statement, 65 young men, all voters, and some of them are here, and some are in Grant County, but all are in this Congressional District. The purpose of their coming (as they say) is to get work, and the Democrats are helping to get places for the emigrants as fast as they can. We think that Mr. Voorhees should investigate this matter at once. I hope that you will refer

the matter to him. We all think that the matter means something bad. Mr. Arthur is here and can be subpoenaed.

I am, &c.,

W. HOFFMAN.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Do you understand these to be black or white men ?—A. White men, white Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have Franklin Arthur subpoenaed, and see about these Roannites.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Is Mr. Cowgill a member of the House ?—A. Yes, sir ; he is a member of the House.

Senator WINDOM. Where is Roann ?

The CHAIRMAN. Roann is in Wabash County.

The WITNESS. George W. Perry, a well-known citizen of Putnamville, managed to see a great many people. In conversation with him I suggested that he should see as many persons as he could and find out what was the demand for labor and what the status was among the laborers themselves as far as he could, the men who were employed and the class of men. He brought me in the following ; he brought in more, but I have misplaced them somewhere. Probably this is all the committee will want.

G. W. Perry, of Putnamville, furnished me with the following interviews :

Alexander Turner, Warren Township :

I am a farmer and laborer. Forty-six years old. Was born and raised in this township. I am satisfied that there is need for more laborers in this part of the county. I get work every day, and have calls to do double the amount I can do. I have never received less than one dollar a day for work.

William Y. Lewis :

I know Mr. Lewis. He is one of the best farmers down there ; a good citizen. He would not state an untruth for anything in the world. Mr. Lewis says :

I am a farmer living in Warren Township, Putnam County. There is no surplus labor in my neighborhood. Last harvest it was almost impossible to get hands, and owing to the increase in the acreage of grain this season we will need more labor to take care of it—this year than last.

Aaron C. Beadle, a Warren Township farmer :

Mr. Beadle is an excellent gentleman whom I know. He says :

There is a scarcity of labor. I have to pay \$1 a day for common laborers. Every man in my neighborhood is employed.

William Carrington, of Warren Township, a renter and a Democrat :

I haven't wanted for a day's work in the last ten years. In the summer I receive from \$1 to \$1.50 a day ; in winter, 75 cents a day. Last summer there was not sufficient help to save the grain and grass, and judging by the present prospect, there will be more labor needed this year than last. As far as the negro is concerned, let him come ; I have no fear of his starving me out.

David McClure, Warren Township, farmer :

No surplus labor in my neighborhood. Last fall it was impossible to get help to do the necessary work. Potatoes were frozen in the ground because men could not be had at any reasonable price to dig them. The price of labor has already advanced about ten per cent.

James Hayden, Jefferson Township, farmer :

I have one white family on my farm, and keep them employed every day that they

will work. I had additional help, and would use another family if I could get it, and had a house to put it in.

John M. Jenkins, Warren Township, farmer :

There is room for more laborers in my neighborhood. They are badly needed.

William N. Sellers, trustee of Warren Township :

I am a farmer. Labor was scarce with us last summer. At harvest-time I could not get the extra help needed at any price. My crops suffered in consequence. So far this year I have had but two applicants for work ; last year by this time I had had five. Farm hands are asking from 10 to 20 per cent. more this year than last, and all are being taken.

Theodorick Allen, Cloverdale Township, Democratic ex-county commissioner :

I think there are enough hands to do the ordinary farm labor, if they would work ; but some will not work at all, and others want two prices if they do anything, and the farmers cannot afford to give it. The trouble is, that white boys who are raised on farms and have any "get up" about them, won't do farm work after they get to be sixteen or twenty years old, but sneak around to get into the professions ; consequently, there are not many but drones left to do the farm work, and they become discouraged and won't do much.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. All you know from what you are reading now you get from this man Perry ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These men did not tell you this themselves, but it is simply second hand from Perry to you ?—A. Yes, sir. You can call Perry and have the statement verified. I think he would come, and he would come with a great many more. He seemed to take an interest in getting these things.

The CHAIRMAN. I know Mr. Perry's reputation.

The WITNESS. Mr. Perry has been a school-trustee in his town for quite a number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. If he is a reliable man, his neighbors do him great injustice.

The WITNESS. The next is the statement of Isaac Watson, a Democratic farm laborer of Warren Township, which is as follows :

There is plenty of work for all the laborers in this section and at good wages. It is my opinion that when spring opens there will be a big shortage of laborers. I am now driving a team at \$1 a day. The negro exodus has in no way interfered with me getting work, although they have settled right around me. I have already had work offered me at two other places. I am a Democrat.

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) Do you know him yourself ?—A. I do not think I do.

Q. You get his statement through Perry, too ?—A. Yes, sir ; and I would say that my own knowledge of affairs there corroborates all that I have read. I have no doubt in the world of the truth of these statements.

William Albright, Democratic laborer, Warren Township, says :

I work for J. L. Sellers. Last summer he gave me \$1 a day, I boarding myself. Am now cutting wood for him. Before Christmas he hired a North Carolina negro to work for him, giving him the same wages he does me. There is plenty of work for both of us. We both have families. I am a Democrat, and emigrated from Tennessee about 13 years ago.

Elijah Stewart, renter, Warren Township, says :

Have all the work I can do, and at this time more than I can do. I have a Kentuckian, fresh from the blue-grass region, to whom I pay 65 cents a day, and board and washing. Five negro families live within two and a half miles of me, and we all, both blacks and whites, have all we can do.

Stewart, I think, is a Republican. I know Elijah Stewart.

Nila Jones, farm laborer, of Cloverdale Township, says :

Last year I received \$12 a month for farm work. This year the same man offered me \$18. Have had the chance of four different places this year, and my brother Lincoln has had the same chances and offers, but we rented a farm, because we think that we can make more money. Am a Democrat. All who want to work in our neighborhood can get it.

Fred. Jones, Democratic farmer, of Warren Township, says :

Last year I paid \$12 a month and board, and hands came to me seeking employment. This spring I had to hunt for hands, and then had to pay \$15 a month. Last fall I needed additional help to dig potatoes and save my crops, but could get none at any reasonable price. Had to hire boys and pay them from 75 cents to \$1 a day. Additional labor could be profitably employed in my neighborhood.

William Halfhill, Cloverdale, says :

Am a farm laborer. Have all the work I can do. I have never wanted for a day's work since I have been in this State. I get from 75 cents to \$1 a day.

William Allen, of Cloverdale, Democrat, says :

I am a renter. I have plenty of work all the time; more than I can do. I want to employ a hand this year, but cannot find one. With the present prospect for good crops there will be a demand for a large amount of additional labor. I have no fears of negro labor interfering with me.

Samuel E. Parks, of Warren Township, farmer, says :

There was a scarcity of labor last year. Could not get enough men or boys to save my crops in the proper season at any price. I know that there is not sufficient help to do the work the present season.

I know Mr. Parks. Mr. Parks was a candidate on our ticket several years ago for county treasurer—some county office, at any rate. For several years he has been a Greenbacker, but I believe he is a Republican again.

John D. Hepler, of Warren Township, farmer, Democrat, says :

Labor is too high. Hands are asking \$20 a month and board. I can't pay that, and will rent out my land.

I have a copy of the Greenville, North Carolina, Express here containing a long article. I will premise by saying that in Putnam County some of us have been taking rather an active part for several years in trying to meet the falling off in our population, the want of growth of which I spoke. We thought in order to build up our county we should encourage people to come there, and particularly manufacturing people. More at my instance probably than any one else, in 1873 we got up an organization of which I drew the articles of association. They are printed here, setting forth the advantages of our locality for manufacturing purposes, the natural wealth of the county in wood and stone, the contiguity of coal and iron, and all those things. We employed a gentleman to draw a map of the locality, showing the location, having three railroads and all that sort of thing, and then we printed, I think, two thousand copies of the pamphlet and sent it all over the country to encourage emigration there.

By Senator BLAIR :

Q. Did any of those pamphlets go down South?—**A.** I presume so. We sent them everywhere. They were distributed around town to all gentlemen taking an interest in the matter. We sent away a great many of them. A gentleman sent me the other day the following pamphlet: "A General Description of Indiana, compiled by the State board of agriculture, 1877. Printed at the Indianapolis Sentinel office." It says here on its title page, "For the information of those seeking homes."

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. Without regard to color, does it say ?—A. It does not say anything about colored people, but it is for the information of those seeking homes. Fifteen thousand were published at the expense of the State. They were compiled by Alexander Heron, secretary of the State board of agriculture, who is a Democrat. It includes location, climate, agricultural and mineral resources, manufacturing, education, population, and transportation statistics.

Q. When was it published ?—A. On this page it says 1877, and on the other 1876.

By Senator BLAIE :

Q. Do you understand from that that it was reprinted ?—A. No, sir ; I think it is the original publication. Fifteen thousand copies were published for distribution.

Q. How do you account for the difference in the date ?—A. It was a typographical error ; I presume they had a bad proof-reader. It goes on to describe Indiana, giving all its advantages, its climate, and it makes it out one of the finest countries I know of.

Q. Do you mean to say it speaks in an exaggerating way of the advantages of Indiana, or is it true ?—A. I think it is true.

Q. Do you justify the representation ?—A. I have not read it so carefully. I know it made a very favorable impression on me, and I thought if I were seeking a home I should go to Indiana.

Q. That was published by a Democrat ?—A. Yes, sir ; compiled by a Democrat and published in a Democratic office.

Q. It was sent South too ?—A. I presume so. Fifteen thousand copies were published.

Q. It was published at the expense of the State ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is probably the original cause of the exodus, then ?—A. It seems to me it is. I was struck with the similarity of the language between this and the circular of Rev. John H. Clay, whom you had before this committee. The language was almost identical. I will call attention to that part.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. You wrote the address of Clay ?—A. Yes, sir ; I was his amanuensis at the time.

By Senator BLAIE :

Q. He composed it ?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. He stood over you and dictated it ?—A. Yes, sir ; except in shortening it.

Q. He could not write himself ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did he not write it himself ?—A. If you wish to go to that now—

The CHAIRMAN. No, you had better go through with the point you are on.

Senator BLAIE. Why not take it now ? We are afraid we may forget it.

The CHAIRMAN. I have got to cross-examine the witness.

Senator BLAIE. I am afraid you will forget it.

The WITNESS. One paragraph of the pamphlet just referred to reads :

The condition of the agricultural laborer of Indiana is improving from year to year

Q. (By the CHAIRMAN.) Are you going to read that pamphlet through ?—A. Only a few paragraphs.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know that we can get through. We are all fagged out and not very well, and in the close, stifled condition of this room we had better adjourn until Monday.

The committee adjourned until Monday, half past 10 a. m., March 22, 1880.

THIRTIETH DAY.

WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, *March 26, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock, a. m. Present: Messrs. Vance (acting as chairman), Pendleton, and Windom.

TESTIMONY OF B. F. WATSON.

B. F. WATSON (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. State your place of residence.—Answer. Kansas City, Mo.

Q. How long have you resided there?—A. Since November, 1878.

Q. Where did you reside prior to that?—A. In Omaha, Nebr.

Q. Were you born in Omaha?—A. No, sir; I am a minister by profession, and we receive our appointments at various parts from year to year.

Q. What is your native place?—A. The State of Missouri.

Q. To come to the point itself, what, if anything, have you had to do with assisting the emigrants who have come to Kansas, or to Missouri, from the Southern States?—A. I have been caring for them since last March, in the way of supplying them with food and clothing, and shipping them to Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa.

Q. From Kansas City?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what capacity have you performed that labor? Has it been in connection with any society?—A. We organized a society in Kansas City last spring, but since its first meeting the society has not tried to do anything. Mr. Armor, one of our bankers, raised a fund of \$2,000 in Chicago, and requested me to see to its use. There was no committee about it.

Q. Have you seen any considerable number of these emigrants?—A. I have shipped from May to the last of August about 2,500 of them, and have their names.

Q. Where did they come from?—A. From Mississippi and Louisiana. They arrived at Saint Louis and took the boat for Kansas City, and I would meet them there, and send them out to different places.

Q. Was there any money raised to help them except the amount that you speak of?—A. No, sir; not by me.

Q. How was that raised?—A. On hearing of the suffering of those parties who were arriving there at Wyandotte, Mrs. Armor went there, and her brother, who has a packing-house in Chicago, on her solicitation, went out and raised \$2,000 for them. They seemed to be so destitute that Mr. Armor thought they had better try to relieve their suffering.

Q. Do you know whether any number of these people have found places?—A. Generally they have; the most of them that we sent to Topeka. More than two hundred were sent to Nebraska, and I have letters from Nebraska and Colorado and as far east as Illinois.

Q. From whom were those letters?—A. They were from people who desired this kind of labor.

Q. How many applications have you of that kind?—A. Four or five hundred still pending.

Q. Not supplied?—A. Not supplied.

Q. Have you had any before, that you have supplied?—A. Yes, sir; a great number.

Q. From all you know is, there a great demand for this kind of labor?—A. Yes, sir; throughout Missouri they want a good many, but they don't desire to stop there.

Q. Why not?—A. Because it has been a slave State, and they want to get to Kansas.

Q. What do you know of any political burdehs that are moving them in their coming there?—A. I have conversed with a good many of them, but some of them give that as a reason.

Q. About how many of the twenty-five hundred have you talked with as to the cause of their coming?—A. I suppose three fourths; but in order to set me straight, it might be well for me to say that I have opposed the exodus on general principles from the start. I do not think it is the best thing for them to come there destitute, but since I have seen so many of them, and heard them tell their stories, I thought, perhaps, we had better let them come.

Q. What stories did they tell?—A. Various stories; generally, that their lives were insecure; that they had no chance for making a living; that no protection was given them in the South, and that many of them had to run away, the same as they did before the war, when they would slip out at night and make for the free States. A man by the name of George Washington, from Louisiana, told me that when he started from home he had to leave at twelve o'clock at night and carry his budget on his head to the river, and that then they were followed, but having met up with their crowd of friends they managed to protect themselves. A good many of them stopped on the banks of the river for many weeks before they could get a boat to take them up the river. Many of those from Mississippi stated that they had no trouble in their section, but that they were having it all around them and they did not know when it would come to them. Last summer I assisted an excursion from Kansas City to Topeka, made up of bulldozers and colored people who came from Cantou to Topeka. I saw a man by the name of Matthews, from Copiah County, and a man by the name of Bunch, from Yazoo; they were white men. They had heard that the bones of these colored people were bleaching on the fields out there, and they brought some of the colored people to see the sight and go back home and tell the news.

Q. What do you say was the object of that excursion?—A. It was to disgust these representative colored men, and to show them how badly they were treated in Kansas. They had been told that they were doing well out there, and they wanted to show them the bones of their fellow men who had come ahead. They came back and told me that if I saw any of these colored people who wanted to go back to Mississippi they could come free of charge. There was an agent in Kansas City all last summer to furnish transportation and provisions to those who wanted to go back.

Q. Do you know how much business he did?—A. I think of the three thousand who passed through the city I do not know of fifty who have been gotten to return.

Q. That is a standing offer to pay their way back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that made known generally to these colored people?—A. Yes,

sir; it was made known generally. There is a man here whom I know, who was a State senator from Louisiana, Mr. Stringfellow, from up on the Red River, who came through my place last Saturday a week ago and offered \$15 bonus for a family, and to pay their expenses if they would go back, and he would make a contract to furnish them with a mule. Some of them said there was a promise made of forty acres and a mule if they would come to Kansas; that had run through the papers; but I asked a number of them about it and they said they had not heard of it. They had gotten hold of railroad papers where the prices of land were put down very low on the Fort Scott and Gulf road. I asked some of them if they had any papers to let me have them, for I wanted to know who was doing this thing, and they showed me nothing but these railroad papers.

Q. You thought it was a wrong thing for them to do to come there without any means?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And all you got from any of them were these railroad papers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they report generally about their condition down South—these colored people with whom you conversed?—A. Some of them said that they have been poorer than they were before emancipation, and they thought they would try to get where they could do better. I asked them why they did not wait until they got some money, and they said they would have waited all their life for that. They said their schools had been broken up and they could not educate their children, and they thought that if they had staid and the Democrats elected a President, that they could not get it.

Q. Is that the general feeling among them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They thought if they could not leave now they could not leave at all?—A. Yes, sir; and I thought, since that was true, it was probably the best thing they could do to come there.

Q. You thought there was nothing else for them to do but to leave?—A. Yes, sir; and I have been laboring to relieve them when they did come away in such distress.

Q. I will ask you what was the result of Mr. Stringfellow's offer?—A. He did not get one family to go back. I asked him what price he would charge them for a mule, and he said \$100 on time; he would take care of them and give them a garden patch to cultivate.

Q. Then a mule does not attract them back to Louisiana?—A. No, sir; though they had failed to find him in Kansas, they were not disposed to go back there to get him.

Q. You say they spoke of the danger to their lives in Mississippi and Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you give us some of their statements on that point?—A. They were received from different ones and from different sections of the country. They say that there is a band of bulldozers, I believe they call them, who go around and whip and kill colored men, and that it is no use to take a case of that kind to court. Several have told me of cases of that kind in their immediate section, where colored men who were trying to get away were killed. I do not remember their names.

Q. But they said they were killed before they could get to the river: why were they killed?—A. Because the bulldozers did not want them to leave. I think some of this killing was done in Issaquena County, Mississippi, and some in Yazoo, and some in Red River Parish, Louisiana; they were killed because they were going away.

Q. Did they say there was anything political in the persecutions of their race?—A. That trouble seems to be mostly on account of their

politics and grows out of their efforts to assert their manhood. I took some pains to talk to a man by the name of Bell, from Yazoo. He is a prominent planter down there, and he was a little "full" when I talked to him. He went up on that train to Topeka, and he said to me, "Parson, there would be no trouble if the niggers would let us alone; the most of this trouble is on account of politics. If they would attend to their business and go along with their work we would settle the political question." There was a man along with them who staid in Kansas City. He said that it was politics that gave the negroes all their trouble. He said they ought to step out of the way and let politics alone. There seems to be the same report from all sides—that when there is an election down there they have more trouble than at any other times, except when they get into a lawsuit. They also are under a system of high rents. Some of them showed me their contracts, where they paid from eight to ten dollars an acre for land per year and 20 to 25 cents per pound for bacon. At the end of the year they come and look at their crop and the landlord says, "John, you have a good farm, and getting along pretty well." Then he comes in and sells out the crop and turns around and says to the tenant, "You still owe me \$150, but I think you will do better next year." The next year he does not do so well, and he does not get out of debt at all. Then there is the store bill that troubles him. I was talking to a Mr. Cahn from Louisiana. He said the negroes were running away because they did not know how big a bill they run up during the year. They are bad hands at figures, and have to go along buying on credit and the bills are running up on them, and he said that the planters knew it but would not look after it for them.

Q. Do you think if they were to vote the Democratic ticket down there, there would be any trouble?—A. No, sir; not where the political lines are drawn; but I understand that in some places they have not been allowed to have a Republican ticket out in the field.

Q. Why not?—A. Because no man would desire to stump the district.

Q. Why is that?—A. He would be afraid that he would be killed or disappear suddenly.

Q. They consider it very unhealthy, do they, to stump the district for the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir. By the way, this man Bell said that if I would come down there, he would give me the best room in his house, and his best bed. I said I would not come for his whole plantation. I did not think it was healthy even in the winter time, when there was no yellow fever there.

Q. That is their main objection, then, to their staying there in the South?—A. Yes, sir; it is on account of their political rights, and the lives and happiness of their children. They want to get where they will have peace and protection. Their political rights are denied them, and the right to leave is also frequently denied them.

Q. Do you understand that they are denied the right to vote as they please, or to vote at all?—A. Yes, sir; they are not allowed sometimes to vote at all.

Q. Why do they value that right to vote so much?—A. They desire to be men, and it seems to be their greatest boon to assert their manhood, and to vote for whom they please.

Q. Do they appreciate enough to think that it is their only right to protection?—A. Yes, sir; they want to vote the same as white people.

Q. And so they lay great stress on this denial of that right?—A. Yes, sir; that is the biggest thing with most of them—that they cannot vote nor educate their children. These are the general complaints.

Q. Cannot they educate their children in the South?—A. They say they have no schools of any consequence among them. There are schools in the cities, but they cannot get to them. Those who come were mostly plantation hands, and I have seen among them grown-up children who never saw the inside of a school-house.

Q. Well, up to a year or two ago they had not adopted this mode of relief by going away. Can you state what caused them to adopt it?—A. No, sir; I do not remember the first origin of it. They said that there were men out West that had been urging this thing on as early as 1873. In that year I wrote a letter to the Christian Recorder, inviting them to come there.

Q. I thought you were opposed to the exodus.—A. I was opposed to their coming there by the wholesale, and destitute, but I thought the best thing in the world for them was to come when they had means, and could take up land. I saw the white people doing so, and I thought it would be a good thing for them to do. In addition to their political rights, they want to be landholders, and they say that down South they can't buy land, no matter for how much money. We saw many who would be willing to go right out on the prairie and take up a homestead without anything to eat in their possession.

Q. Do they say that they cannot buy land down there in the South?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it not a fact that Kansas and other Western States have for years been making active efforts to get immigration to their borders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these people have at last decided to go there?—A. Yes, sir; they have heard of the news through our church papers and other methods—though the church papers is the usual method of communication among our people.

Q. Do your colored people in the South have access to all these papers?—A. Yes, sir; we have a circulation in the South of over five thousand copies of our paper.

Q. What is the name of that paper?—A. That is the Christian Recorder.

Q. What is the condition of these people when they reached you?—A. They are entirely destitute.

Q. How are they clothed?—A. It was very poor clothing that they had on for the season up North, but it was the best they had.

Q. Notwithstanding this destitution, notwithstanding all their poverty and the standing offer in Kansas to pay their way back, they decide to remain?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All inducements to get them back had little effect upon them?—A. Very little.

Q. Do you understand why they did not want to go back?—A. Well, sir; I took one of these Southern gentlemen around to their headquarters, because he thought he could induce some of them to go with him. I said to them, "If you want a chance to go back to Mississippi here is a chance." They said to me, "When we go back it will be at a 'right shoulder shift.'"

Q. What did he mean by that?—A. He meant they would go back with a musket. There was a colored man who came with them and they were about to take him up and whip him over in Wyandotte, and he wanted me to go over and protect his man.

Q. Why did they have any spite against him?—A. They thought he was bought up to induce them to go South again. They said he was

low enough to do anything and they would give him a little clubbing.

Q. Did they regard him as their enemy?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then your success was not great in getting them to go back?—

A. No, sir; not one of them would go; a great many wanted them to go to Illinois, and I had a great deal of trouble in getting a car load of them to go to Illinois; they cannot tell the directions down the river, and when they got on the boat they could not tell which way they were going. They say they will never go down that river again, and I had to send them out West.

Q. How many of them came out there?—A. I cannot say exactly, but Kansas was running over with them. I know we lost a great many friends there among the colored people, who thought that too many of them were coming there.

Q. Why did they object to it?—A. They thought it would injure the demand for labor and bring their wages down.

Q. Do you see that it has any such effect?—A. I do not see that it brings wages down at all. The mayor of our city is a Democrat, and he told me any assistance he could give me to let him know. I saw a good many people, Democrats, too, who wanted them on their farms, and it shows there is no political interest that is taking them there. There can be very little in doing so, because Kansas is overwhelmingly Republican, and that is one reason why they all want to go there.

Q. Do you know why they first turned their attention to Kansas?—

A. They considered themselves as the children of Israel coming out of the land of bondage. Last summer when the boat got there with one load of them an old colored woman jumped off and said, "Bress God, I'se reached de land of freedom at las'." It is the land of milk and honey, they think. However, it has not flowed very freely for them lately. We sent a number of them to Colorado this spring, and wherever they have had this labor they desire more of it.

Q. Do you think the demand for colored labor is increasing?—A. The demand is increasing.

Q. To what extent?—A. Very rapidly. A man in Illinois—Mr. Williams—I sent him some of them and he wrote back to send him five hundred. He said that five hundred could be cared for to work in their coal mines in Rock Island County. I see that one of my men that I sent him was killed up there the other day.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Killed by whom?—A. By the strikers.

Q. They don't kill colored men in Illinois, do they?—A. Yes, sir; there are a number of Irish up there.

Q. Are the Irish opposed to their coming there?—A. Yes, sir; they are opposed to them everywhere. I saw the account of this killing in the dispatches.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. These colored people have heard of John Brown and Kansas before?—A. Yes, sir; and they know more about Kansas than any other State. They know that it is the land of freedom.

Q. And it is a land of freedom they are looking for?—A. Yes, sir; and it is not only from the South that they are coming but from counties in Missouri also.

Q. Are there any coming from Indiana?—A. No, sir; I have not seen any, but I have had ministers from there who state that they were trying to care for any of them that we might send there.

Q. Have you had much communication with the ministers of your

charge in the South?—A. Not much, though they send me letters occasionally.

Q. What is the feeling, as you understand it, in the South with regard to the exodus?—A. The colored people think that as many as can leave should do so. The ministers, however, find it to their interest to have them remain; but a good many of them even have come with the emigrants.

Q. What do you think of the future of the exodus?—A. I think it is the only way possible to solve this difficult problem of the negro.

Q. You mean to solve it by distribution?—A. Yes, sir; our friends are up there in the North, and we want to go and see them. You know that in Kansas when the grasshoppers were there you could often see the covered wagons going through, and the people said they were going to their people up in Illinois; they were going from the grasshoppers; but our people are going away from the bulldozers in the South to see our friends up in the North.

Q. Do you think the movement will increase?—A. I do; in spite of all their shotguns.

Q. Don't you think that the shotguns will increase it, too?—A. Yes, sir; there is no way to stop it, except for them to wipe out their miserable laws down South.

Q. You think the only way to stop it is by fair laws and fair treatment of the colored people?—A. Yes, sir; and I think their condition is hopeless without such a change.

Q. If there is anything else that you think of that will throw light on this subject, please state it.—A. There was in that excursion last summer a colored preacher that I had a talk with. There were several of them on the train. One of them we put up a job on; his name was Williams, and he met a reporter at Saint Louis, and made some remarks. They were particular not to let anything they said up there go into the newspapers, as they said it would be certain death to them when they went back home. We called him in and said, "What have you been saying? You have been saying things that will make it hard on you when you go home." He asked what was the matter, and we said, "Didn't you talk to a reporter up in Saint Louis?" He said, "Yes; but not much." We said, "You had better get your coffin ready before you go back home;" and we scared him so that he took his baggage off the train and stopped there. Some of them that were talked to so much stayed there, and some who went back home have come back to Kansas, and are working there now.

Q. So that some of the excursionists found things so good in Kansas that they came back themselves?—A. Yes, sir; and I found that nearly all of them were saying that they would come back this spring as soon as they got rid of their property. I cautioned them not to come destitute; as all of them were farmers, the best thing they could do was to take up land and go to farming.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. You have not been South lately?—A. No, sir; I have not been there since 1865, when I lived there.

Q. You lived where?—A. I lived in Arkansas, and in Mississippi, sir.

Q. You don't know anything, then, of the present condition of the colored people in the South, except what you have heard?—A. No, sir; except what I heard from these parties.

Q. You know nothing of your own knowledge, then?—A. No, sir; nothing; not of my own knowledge.

Q. When these people came on there in such large bodies, and perfectly destitute, and appealed to you for aid, did it occur to you that their stories might be a little colored in order to excite sympathy for themselves?—A. No, sir; it did not.

Q. Do you think they told you the absolute truth?—A. I thought so at the time.

Q. You say they had no motive in apologizing for their folly—for you say you thought it folly itself.—A. Yes, sir; I thought so; but I gathered from them at various times, and from people from various parts of the country, such information as led me to think they were doing right.

Q. You say twenty-five hundred of them passed through your hands?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did they stay there in Kansas City?—A. They stayed there from—two days—or until we could get them off.

Q. I thought you said that last summer they got very bad off there?—A. Yes, sir; that was a party that stayed a week, when Mrs. Armor's brother sent the money from Chicago to relieve them.

Q. You say you have orders now for this kind of labor to the amount of four or five hundred?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Cannot you fill the demand?—A. No, sir; not for that class of labor.

Q. Where do they go to generally?—A. They go out in the various parts of the country; some are buying property in Wyandotte; those who came in the winter were not so bad off as the others.

Q. They had a little means to buy property with?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What can they buy property for out there?—A. They can buy a little bit over in Wyandotte for \$25; a lot probably twenty-five feet by one hundred or one hundred and twenty.

Q. That is about a dollar a front foot, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What wages do they get?—A. Generally a dollar and a quarter a day for ordinary labor in the packing-houses.

Q. Does that include their bed and board?—A. No, sir; they board themselves.

Q. Well, that is the price for labor, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the price for farm laborers?—A. I have had offers of \$15 and \$20 a month and board.

Q. Do you know whether that includes a house to live in?—A. If the man has a family, and they want to hire both him and the woman, who gets as much as two dollars a week, they sometimes get a house. In the city good servants of the woman kind get two and a half or three dollars a week.

Q. You say that includes a house?—A. When the man and his family are hired that includes the house.

Q. Do they get fire-wood free?—A. No, sir; I don't know as to that.

Q. Do they have any land given them to cultivate?—A. Yes, sir; that includes a garden spot.

Q. Do you know any of them who have gone out there renting land?—A. No, sir; I don't know of any. I have no means of knowing except as I hear it from the orders of these men who want these laborers.

Q. When this man told you that he paid eight and ten dollars a year rent per acre down South, did he tell you what kind of land it was?—A. No, sir; but it was for cotton-raising. I don't know what kind of land it was, as he did not specify.

Q. These contracts, you say, were for ten dollars an acre per year?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it to be paid in money, or how?—A. In money, sir.

Q. Did they specify that the renter should pay twenty-five cents a pound for bacon?—A. No, sir; but you could see that by the accounts they had with them and receipted.

Q. Did you see any of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Give us any place where these amounts were charged?—A. No, sir; I cannot tell you the places.

Q. Well, Mr. Watson, that is so indefinite that we cannot contradict it if they were not telling you the truth.—A. I cannot tell, as I was not hunting up these facts particularly, but so many would tell me about it, and the same stories were told by so many people from so many and such varied sections that I took it for granted they were true.

Q. I would have thought that you would have verified these things and would have remembered the localities.—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. That did not occur to you?—A. No, sir; I had so much on my hands and had no knowledge that Mr. Voorhees would have a committee and I be called on to testify that I did not make notes of these things. I only received the notice last Saturday week that I would have to appear before this committee.

Q. You say they told you they could not buy land in Mississippi?—A. Yes, sir; in some parts of it, I think in Issaquena County.

Q. Did they say they could not buy the land because it would not be sold to them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Or was it because they did not have the money and nobody would sell to them on credit?—A. They said the planters had so arranged it that they had taken all the land and would not sell to colored people, so that they could keep them as laborers.

Q. Can you remember one instance that you heard where colored men had money and were refused permission to buy land?—A. I could not state any.

Q. Then it was just a general statement that you heard?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You spoke also of a man named George Washington, from Louisiana, who had to run away in order to get to Kansas.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What part of Louisiana did he come from?—A. I cannot tell without my book here. I put down the names of persons, but I remember him because I nicknamed him "President," and he told me how he would have to go through swamps twenty-five miles to get to the river and the boat in order to get away.

Q. Do you think that these people were being killed down there for coming away?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that the white people loved them so much that rather than see them go away they preferred to kill them?—A. Yes, sir; rather than for them to leave there.

Q. You say they all told you that their lives were insecure and their political privileges denied them, and that they were leaving the South on that account?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you gave an opinion that the exodus would not stop until the people wiped out their miserable laws down there?—A. Yes, sir. I understand they are trying to pass a law in Mississippi—whether they did or not I do not know, but they had in other States—that no meeting of the colored people for the purpose of emigration shall be held, and that the leaders of them should be punished.

Q. Who told you that?—A. I saw the general statement of it in the newspapers that such a bill was pending. I do not know whether it got through. There are other places where people took up these colored

people or trumped up charges against them when they were attempting to leave.

Q. Have you ever served on a jury?—A. No, sir, I think not; I was called once, but got off.

Q. Did you ever have a trial in church and take part in it?—A. In church? Yes, sir; I have in the church.

Q. Was it your custom to believe everything that one side said until you heard the other side?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you hear from the other side before you made up your mind?—A. Yes, sir; that was the best way to do.

Q. And now you think that this exodus will not stop until they wipe out the miserable laws down there; and yet, when I come to examine you about these laws you don't know that they exist?—A. I don't know their statutes down there; I have never read them; but when they tell me how they are drawn up on the flimsy excuses and then sent to the penitentiary to work out their fines, I suppose there must be some law for it. I don't think they would do it without a law.

Q. Suppose that it were illegal for them to meet and consider the exodus, and suppose that law were repealed, do you think that would stop the exodus?—A. I think not.

Q. Do you think it would rather encourage it?—A. No, sir; it has not encouraged it. I can remember in some places where they were not allowed to meet for a prayer-meeting, unless some white people were with them; but that didn't stop them from meeting. Unless there is some guarantee given to these people that their rights will be permitted them and they can use their rights as citizens—their franchise—they will continue to come away from there, I think.

Q. You don't know of any law that interferes with their rights, except this one you speak of, and which you don't know is in existence?—A. I speak of the laws as I supposed they were laws—such as taking them up and punishing them for holding meetings.

Q. You know of any clause in the laws of Mississippi or Illinois that makes a distinction between the white and the colored people?—A. No, sir; I do not; but I am only supposing from the facts that I hear that there is a difference in the treatment. For instance, where a white man kills a colored man, and nothing is done with him for it.

Q. You don't know of any such law in Mississippi or Louisiana; do you know anything about the laws of Kansas?—A. I am not particularly acquainted with the laws of Kansas.

Q. Do you know the constitution of Kansas?—A. I think I have seen it.

Q. Do you think that the word "white" is in it when it speaks of the matter of suffrage?—A. I do not know, sir, whether it is there or not now.

Q. You were there in 1866?—A. No, sir; I was in Ireland.

Q. Don't you know that it was submitted to a vote of the people to strike out the word "white," and that it was voted down?—A. No, sir; I was not there, and do not know anything about their legislation.

Q. Then you don't know anything about the laws of that State?—A. No, sir; not much, for I live in Missouri.

Q. I thought you were acquainted yourself, probably, with the laws of a State to which you were sent by these people who were fleeing from oppressive laws in the South?—A. No, sir; I thought the less I had to do with the law the better it was for me.

Q. You do not know, I suppose, the under-currents through the United States that have put these movements in progress?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. You do not know of any movement by which societies were organized and money subscribed to promote this emigration?—A. Yes, sir, we had one society of that kind in Missouri.

Q. Are all the members of it Democrats?—A. No, sir; not all of them.

Q. Are any of them Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I think so. It is an incorporated society, and they are all white men, and it is to promote emigration. Nothing is said in that organization as to whether they shall be whites or blacks.

Q. Are not all the members of that society Republicans?—A. No; a measure of them are. I did have their names, but perhaps the Senators or Representatives here from Missouri may be able to tell you their names.

Q. I was speaking of colored emigration?—A. We have one society in Kansas City, and I work on my own line.

Q. Is not there a society of that kind in Topeka?—A. There is a society there.

Q. What is it for?—A. To relieve these destitute people.

Q. It is not, then, to encourage them to come there?—A. No, sir; I think not. I have helped a great many of these people, but I do not think I have encouraged any of them to come there.

Q. Don't you suppose that knowing when they come there they will get help, that that encourages them?—A. No, sir; I think not. They know that they will be helped, and that we will try to make them feel better if we can, but they do not get enough from us to fatten them up. When they get there they are assisted until they get away and get employment. If they were not satisfied, and did not find things suited to them, I should think they would make an effort and take up with the offers to go back.

Q. Who was this man that offered the bonus of fifteen dollars, and to pay all their expenses, and so on, if they would go back?—A. It was five dollars bonus.

Q. I thought you said it was fifteen?—A. No, sir; it was \$5. I will give you the name of the man, for he gave me his post-office address, and said if I found any that wanted to come back, to send them to him. His name is H. C. Stringfield, Bayou La Schute P. O., via Shreveport, La.

Q. How many did he want?—A. He wanted fifteen families, and that, I think, is where you got your \$15 from.

Q. Did anybody else make a similar offer?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you know whether he got his fifteen families?—A. I do not know, sir. He did not get any in my city. He left there to go to Parsons, Kansas, and try to get some of these people who were there from Texas to go with him. I can only speak, though, of those who were in my charge.

Q. When was this excursion that came there from Mississippi?—A. In August, 1879.

Q. Where was it from?—A. From Canton, Miss., to Topeka, Kans.

Q. How many were there on that excursion?—A. From four to six hundred, white and colored. They got a round-trip ticket for \$10, and a good many of them came out to see the lauds.

Q. Well, that cost \$6,000 for tickets, and subsistence extra?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who do you suppose paid for that?—A. I understood that Bunch and Matthews were to pay some of it. I said they all paid \$10, and it was gotten up to let them come up there and see the condition of the colored

people there. A colored man said they brought them up there to show them what a miserable state of affairs existed among the emigrants.

Q. Who was the man in charge of it?—A. Mr. Bunch I thought was the head leader. He is from Yazoo City. He wrote me a letter and said he could rely on me to help him, and I did help him to get them from Kansas City to Topeka.

Q. He said he saw in the Saint Louis Republican a letter stating that these people were suffering out there?—A. He saw no letter from me; he must have seen a part of an interview in the Kansas City Times. He said he wanted to hear from me, how they were getting along. I left one letter at home, and I can't answer it until I get back. I saw some of the people from his own plantation, and I said Bunch wanted to know how they were getting along, and they said to tell him they were getting along well, and they would not go back.

Q. Did you go with that excursion to Topeka?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you make any inquiry as to the price of land?—A. No, sir; and if any of them asked anything about that I did not know it.

Q. Do you know what they did ascertain was the price of land there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was not that, in fact, the object of the excursion?—A. No, sir; I do not know that it was.

Q. What can you buy land for out there?—A. In the neighborhood of Topeka I suppose it is from twenty to fifty dollars an acre.

Q. Do you know the prices of land in Mississippi?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. You do not?—A. No, sir; I have no means of knowing.

Q. You do not know what is the price of rented land in the neighborhood of Topeka?—A. No, sir; I do not live at Topeka, and I never had occasion to investigate it.

Q. Did you ever hear anything said about an effort to decrease the census of the South, and increase that of Kansas and Nebraska by this movement?—A. I never heard it discussed.

Q. Did you ever see it mentioned in the newspapers of the city?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge; in fact, it is a new movement that I never heard of.

Q. Well, Mr. Windom asked you about the future of the exodus, and you said that you think it will still increase?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Don't you think that after the next Presidential election it will stop?—A. That will depend altogether on how the trap drops.

Q. You mean upon who is elected?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Suppose it is a Democrat?—A. Then they will get up and get.

Q. Suppose it is a Republican?—A. If there is one elected who they think can preserve the peace down there, they may conclude to stay, some of them. We have a Republican in office now, but they don't think very much of his protection down South.

Q. Would they be satisfied if they got General Grant?—A. I think so.

Q. You are a minister and a man of reading. I will ask you now if there was any greater insecurity and loss of life and property under Grant's administration than since?—A. I do not know, sir; I cannot say about that. There were certainly more riots.

Q. There were?—A. Yes, sir; I think so from the fact that since the inauguration and the withdrawing of the soldiers from the South, the colored people have accepted the situation, and see no use of fighting for their rights.

Q. Then, in other words, they have quit rioting and fighting and have concluded to go away?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. Since the soldiers have been withdrawn the fighting and the rioting have stopped?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, does that encourage you to hope for a better state of things if General Grant gets in again?—A. Yes, sir; I rather think they will have a little security for their rights.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You think they will have a chance to vote?—A. I think they will have the strong arm of the government to protect them. I think if he were to get back, that lawless element in the South would not attempt their outrages without some word being sent to them from General Grant warning them not to do it.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What do you call "outrages"?—A. This riding through plantations by night and day, ordering colored people about, and when they don't obey shooting them down; also warning them not to go to the polls and vote. I do not look for much trouble of that kind hereafter because they have got an easier way of doing it now, by stuffing the ballot box. No matter how many votes the colored people put in they have more on the Democratic side when they come to count them out.

Q. You think that is a more humane way of doing it than killing them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they have a precedent for it in the returning board in Louisiana, just as "the Gauls learned war from Cæsar"?—A. Yes, sir; I don't think it was learned. I think it was a sort of inherited thing. I think that it is sort o' like teaching an old dog new tricks—is a better explanation of it.

Q. So they have, in the place of losing their labor by killing them, taken to cheating them?—A. Yes, sir; a live negro down there is a little better than a dead one, and so they cheat him now instead of killing him.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. As I got the idea from you, under Grant's administration the negroes thought they should have the same chance to exercise their rights as the white people, and they would fight to enforce their rights?—A. Yes, sir. Since that they see no hope, and have taken the last remedy left them, and that is to run away; that is my understanding.

Q. So you think if there was an administration that they thought would protect them they would reassert their rights although it might make a disturbance?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that the large number who have gone away from there impresses the Democracy with the belief that it is not a good thing to lose them, and that it is better to treat them in a milder manner and to cheat them instead of killing them?—A. I think so; I think that has had something to do with the change.

Q. Those you have talked with about having to run away gave you the impression that it was merely to stop them and intimidate the others that they were forced to take such steps?—A. I think it was intended to serve both ways—to kill the leaders in the exodus movement and to secure the others. There is one thing about the colored people, they think a good deal of their lives, and the devil came very near saying right when he said that "All that a man hath will he give for his life."

Q. You speak of the laws of the South; now, what do you think of a law that gives a justice of the peace jurisdiction to try a man for stealing one dollar and less and to fine him one hundred dollars and make

him work it out at twenty-five cents per day, and then puts an additional fine on him of two days' work for every day that he is sick ?—A. I think it is not a good law for me.

Q. They have such a law down there, I understand.—A. Some of them come from points where there is no terrorism now; but they think it may reach them after a while. It exists in other States and in other places, and they think it may yet come to them.

Q. Have you ever heard it said that before and after the war the colored people had some peculiar way of communicating with each other ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it generally done through their churches ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the news spreads among them rapidly ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So the news of the bulldozing in Louisiana spreads to Mississippi and causes a stampede there ?—A. Yes, sir; and those of them there who know of it and who are seeking to get away have to be pretty mute on the subject.

Q. Is it not true, in your opinion, that they are deprived of their political rights in the South ?—A. These white men whom I saw did not pretend to deny it; and this man Bell was pointed out by some of the colored people as the greatest bulldozer in Yazoo County.

Q. How many people have gone into Kansas from the South, do you think ?—A. From 25,000 to 30,000.

Q. Within the last year ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where from ?—A. From Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Texas, and Arkansas.

Q. You left the South in 1865 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you living there any considerable time before that ?—A. I was there two years before; I was a soldier.

Q. You say your information is that lots about Topeka are worth from twenty to fifty dollars an acre ?—A. Yes, sir; close about town.

Q. Do you know what they are worth fifteen miles away from the town ?—A. No, sir; I do not.

TESTIMONY OF J. M. BROWN.

JOHN MILTON BROWN (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you reside ?—Answer. At Topeka, Kans.

Q. How long have you lived there ?—A. I have been there since the first of February, 1877.

Q. Where did you live prior to that ?—A. I moved from Lorain County, Ohio; I had been there a year, and I moved from Mississippi to Ohio.

Q. When did you leave Mississippi ?—A. The last of February, 1876.

Q. Were you born in Mississippi ?—A. No, sir; I was born in Owen County, Kentucky.

Q. When did you go to Mississippi ?—A. In 1871.

Q. And you left in 1876 ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what part of Mississippi did you reside ?—A. In Coahoma County, Friar's Point; I left there early in 1875, but was about there and Helena until 1876. I went there in 1871, and taught school thirty miles back from the river, at Hopson's Bayou.

Q. How long did you teach ?—A. About two years.

Q. What two years were they that you were teaching ?—A. From September, 1871, to along about the middle of July, 1873.

Q. Then what did you do?—A. I was elected sheriff of Coahoma County in 1873.

Q. Did you serve the balance of the time as sheriff?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any other office in the county?—A. I was assessor, but that went with the sheriff's office.

Q. You left in 1875?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you leave?—A. I had to leave on the 5th of July, 1875, for there was a riot broke out there, and a thousand to fifteen hundred men came into the place to fight probably two hundred or three hundred colored men who came in that morning to attend a Republican meeting.

Q. Tell us all about that, if you please.—A. Well, sir, everything had been going on smoothly from 1873, when I was elected. A Republican convention was called for the county, and we nominated a ticket on Saturday, the second day of October. J. M. Brown was nominated for sheriff, G. C. Smith for clerk of the court, and Jim Alcorn's son for treasurer; C. M. Priddy for assessor, and one Democrat—I forget his name—as county surveyor. I heard no complaint about it until after the convention. The same day there came out a circular that Senator Lamar would speak in our town on Monday to the Democratic party. It was circulated, and on Sunday it was reported that the colored people would not let Senator Lamar speak. That was false, and they came to me about it, and I went and told them there was nothing in it. I said that if they feared anything of the kind I would summon a posse of white and colored men to keep the peace; that Senator Lamar could have his meeting, and that there was no intention to disturb anybody. So on Monday they had their meeting, but Senator Lamar did not come and General Chalmers addressed the meeting. Then they got up some dissatisfaction and claimed that they were not satisfied with the nominations we had made.

Q. They were not satisfied with your nomination?—A. Well, not mine particularly.

Q. Then they were not satisfied with the Republican ticket?—A. Yes, sir; they did not like the clerk, and they did not want Governor Alcorn's son in office.

Q. What right had they to dictate to the Republicans whom they should nominate?—A. We said we had nominated the ticket and we would stand by it. We took colored men and white Southern Republicans. They claimed so much on account of the carpet-baggers, and that they did not represent the people; that, I said was the time for the people to make the choice, and I had nothing to say. We would nominate colored men and native Republicans, and if they did not like them it was all right; they had the same privilege to bring out their ticket and elect it if they could. The Republicans were to have a meeting that night, and Judge Safford, of the chancery court, was there to address the meeting. The colored people were to come in, and I was informed that the Democrats had the names of all the leading Republicans on their dead-list, and that my name was at the head of it; and that when we met they were to come and take us out and hang or shoot us. After inquiring around I found out that there was truth in it. I knew of two hundred colored men who were to come in from the county to attend the meeting, and I knew that they might, some of them, have arms with them, and I sent word to them not to come. They were coming to the Republican meeting, and the white people sent them word that I was going to be hung the next day at twelve o'clock. I didn't know that that report was out, but that night the white men took

charge of Friar's Point. One of these men at the head of the crowd came from Helena; he is called Bill Burt, and is editor of the *Helena World*. He came over with two hundred guns that were brought down in a skiff. Senator Alcorn's son came and said to me that he thought they were going to kill me. My wife was sick, having given birth to a child, and I said I would go and see the leaders about it. I met them in M. S. Alcorn's store, and I said that if I had violated any law I was there to answer for it. I said, "If you are going to kill me, do so, but do not disturb the other people, or my wife and child." They said they didn't want anything of the sort; but they were still guarding the town, and I asked them what it was for. They said, "Nothing." I went home, and the next morning I saw a great many strange people in town passing from the stores to the hall of the Grangers. The next morning, between 10 and 11 o'clock, our board of supervisors met, and they called for me to come down as the colored men were coming into town and they were going to have a fight. I looked off to the left of the town and saw two hundred or two hundred and fifty men coming in with guns, and some on horses. I went down and saw that there were two hundred and fifty or three hundred white men all drawn up in a line, with their coats off, and armed to the teeth. Mr. White, the preacher there, turned around when I went down, and said, "Here is as good a place to kill him now as any time." And I left and said, "If they will stop I will quiet this whole thing;" and as two or three of them wanted to hurt me, I told them they had better not do it; that these men who were coming up were ready for a fight, and there were others coming with them. They put their hands on me and shoved me forward, and I went down to the colored men, and they said they didn't want any fighting, but they thought they had a right to come to a public meeting. I went to General Chalmers and said to him while he was on his pony in the street that there would be no trouble, and that I would deputize a hundred colored and a hundred white citizens, if necessary, to keep the peace. He said, "All right," but said for me take the colored men off a little farther away, and they would not be shot at. I took them out to the mill and across the bridge, and then I went back to see General Chalmers to get the white men to go home. I went on to within half a mile of them, and I said, "Where were you going when I met up with them?" They said they were going to show me. As soon as I got within seventy-five yards of them, Priddy and Alcorn said for me not to go up there. I started to go back to the colored men when I saw the white men coming, and I found I could not reach the colored men in time, so I went into the cane-break; and pretty soon afterwards I heard firing. I heard the shot-guns going off all around me. I did not see it myself and cannot say who began it.

General Peace, a colored man, was with the colored men, and he said General Chalmers came down with a hundred and seventy-five men and opened fire on them, and that they fell back to a lane, when Chalmers' men fired at them again, and they fired back. I do not think they were at a sufficient distance to hurt anybody, as nobody was wounded.

I heard that one colored man was shot in the leg and one white man, but I don't know that. They fired along there for a while, and then I heard some of them over in the woods beyond Clark's bridge, about three miles and a half from the town, still firing. I left them there and they went beyond me into an old field. I said to the colored men I left to go put up their guns and that I would see General Chalmers and get the whites to leave. But he went around us, they said, and urged them on. I didn't see him afterwards. I left him in town when I went out to meet the

colored men. I did not see any of the colored men again that day, but I went back towards Friar's Point to see if I could see the leaders, and at night, hearing that re-enforcements were coming in. I went off to the next county; I went to see Mr. Mauning, the sheriff of the county, to go to Helena and telegraph to Governor Ames. The colored men scattered all over the county, threw away their guns that they had with them, and some of them ran as far as Shufordsville, where they were followed by the white men. On the way they met up with a preacher, an old colored man named Nelson Bright, and they shot him. He was hunting his mules and had no gun with him at the time. They went farther and killed another colored man, as I understand. I heard that three hundred other men were coming from Tallahatchie County with three hundred Winchester rifles that had been sent to them from Memphis to Charleston, in that county. There were others who came by way of Hopson's Bayou. They stopped at Helena and they captured Monroe Lewis there. They had heard of him, and they tied a rope around his neck. I didn't see this, but I heard of it. They took that man a distance of eight miles, leading him with this rope, and treated him very cruelly, as I was told. They had him say his prayers and hold up his hands, and they discharged two barrels of a shot-gun through him. That is the way they murdered him, as I heard from the people who saw it near by; they killed him in that way. They went to Black's Bayou and found William Alcorn and took him out and killed him. They went on to Governor Alcorn's place and stopped overnight. A hundred and some odd men came in by Coldwater. They staid there and had their cooking done by Charles Green, and after cooking for them all night until the next morning he was tired, and the governor was not there, and he was lying down after breakfast. One of the men said that he must try his gun this morning, and he turned and shot this old man on the porch. I was told this by Governor Alcorn's son, and others who saw it, that that was the way in which it was done. There was one man that was named Robert Simmonds whom they overtook when they were away up in Jonestown. One of the cases was in the hanging of Colonel White, the preacher there in Friar's Point. He used to be colonel of the Twenty-fourth Tennessee Regiment in the war. These colored people and Robert Simmonds had been to the town and heard of the riot and were talking about it. They were captured by these men, who took them by their homes, and their wives begged for them to have their lives spared. D. F. Alcorn went and begged for them, but they took them within three miles and a half of Friar's Point, and there they were shot and left lying on the ground. Their bodies were there, I heard, from the 5th of October to the 1st of December. They were found and identified by their clothing and things in their pockets. These are all the cases that I know of personally of men that were killed. I heard of others, but these were the men that I knew. There were two colored men of whom it was claimed that they had burned a gin-house. They were brought in to have their trial next morning, but that night at twelve o'clock they were taken out below the town a mile and shot. I did not see these men, but I saw the report of it in the paper. They were left there where they were shot until the next day. I did not see their bodies, but white men, Democrats and Republicans that I know, did, and told me about it. That is all the killing now that I have any personal knowledge of. I was told that a white man was killed near Shufordsville named Ham Scott, but I do not know much about that. That was preceding the riot there.

Q. About how many colored people were there together coming in there that day?—A. I do not think more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty. That morning from beat number one, some of them came in there and asked if I wanted them to come in there that day. I said there was some excitement and for them not to come, and they did not. These men from Shufordsville came in and I sent to stop them, but for some reason they were excited and came on. We had some arrangements to appoint men on both sides to keep the peace, and I took them three miles away from town, but they were followed, I was told, and fought to protect themselves.

Q. They were followed by whom?—A. Yes; they were followed by these white people, but which fired first I do not know; the colored people said they were surrounded and fired upon.

Q. How many were there that came in there from other counties to assist the whites?—A. There were four hundred and eighty that came by Hopsou's, one hundred and seventy-five from Cold Water, one hundred from Pauola and Tunica Counties, and some from Arkansas. Captain Bill Burke came in there and I saw him in the morning at the head of the riot. There must have been one thousand to fifteen hundred from different parts of the county and the State; the exact number I do not know, but for some two or three weeks afterwards, I heard they were riding through the county.

Q. When was the day of the election?—A. The election was the second Tuesday in November, and this was in October.

Q. What was the strength of the two parties in your county?—A. The Republican party I think had from twelve to thirteen hundred majority.

Q. What was the result of this little affair so far as the election was concerned?—A. After I could not go back there I went to Helena and I got off the track, and Hon. M. S. Alcorn was on. The Hon. M. S. Alcorn and H. P. Read were nominated, and the whites were defeated. Mr. Allen, who had been in my office, was nominated, and I think Mr. Alcorn carried it by the division. He got two or three hundred majority, and he was elected sheriff.

Q. What had been the result of the election the years before?—A. In 1872 the majority was nine hundred and seventy-two for the Republican party, but there had been a large increase in the vote, every planter bringing in parties from Georgia and Alabama to work on their plantations.

Q. What was your observation of the treatment of the colored people there by the whites?—A. Up to that time there had been no serious trouble in that county, but there were little disturbances during election times. During my time as sheriff, for sixteen months, there never was but one man killed in the county. One man was found dead, but I do not know who killed him; and one colored man was shot by a white man, and the records of the county show that during my administration the county was peaceful.

Q. Were there any bad cases of outrages or of crimes committed during that time?—A. We had no bad cases except some cases of stealing. There was nothing else during my term of office that was very bad.

Q. Can you tell me what time it was that the shot-gun policy was adopted to carry the State of Mississippi?—A. As near as I remember it was in 1874. The first I knew of it I started to go to Ohio on a wedding trip with my wife, and when I reached Austin some man came on the boat and said that the colored people were going to take the white men out of the jail and hang them in Coahoma County. There was a col

ored man who came home from Georgia, and was singing to himself when a white man told him to stop; and he said he would not stop until he got ready. The white man took his revolver and shot him in the shoulder, and the ball went on through and shot one of his boys and killed him dead. Captain Manning got this white man after several days and put him in jail, but there was no disturbance until the judge of the court let him out on five hundred dollars or five thousand dollars bail. The colored people were enraged by it, and they came and demanded that he should be put in jail. I think they took him up and put him in jail, but released him when the colored people went away. I went on, however, supposing the trouble was all over; but when I got to Memphis I saw a great excitement, and heard that there was going to be a riot down in my county. They asked me about it, and I said I thought not. The next day I saw a hundred and seventy-five or a hundred and eighty white men from Mississippi, coming from De Sota going down to Austin.

There was great excitement there in Memphis, and I saw guns being carried on the streets and men preparing to go down there to Friar's Point and to Austin. I went to the Phil Allen steamboat, and asked the captain what was the matter, and he said there was a riot down there, and I said to my wife that I would not go on to Ohio, as it might reach my county. The A. J. White steamboat came up and there were several express wagon load of guns and ammunition put on board, and steam was up and the flags were raised, and they sailed out from Memphis with a large number of people on the wharves to see these men depart. They went on down to Austin, and General Chalmers hearing of it, I think came up and got on the boat at Moor's Landing and took charge of them. They went up to Austin, and, I think, they staid there that night and part of the next day. I think he found no colored men raising a disturbance, and I understood that he took the St. Genevieve and came back to Memphis.

I staid in Memphis, but before he got there, I think, a body of men from Panola County had shot a young colored man on the court-house steps. They shot him dead, and then there were some colored men coming up from Tunica County, and they began to beat their drums and raise their flags and came after them. When the white men saw the colored men they went back and gave up the colored men. Then these men from Memphis came and they gave up to the fight, and only one man was killed.

I went to the United States marshal and asked the marshal to stop these men from going down to Mississippi. I thought it wrong, and that Tennessee had nothing to do with it, but the marshal was powerless, and they left there on that boat, armed well. A dispatch came to send fixed ammunition and rations for ten days at once, but they sent no more, as it was not necessary. I got up a peace commission there with the white and colored men, and I said to the merchants of Memphis that it would be wrong for them to have it go on, and these disturbances taking place; that if these men went down there and disturbances were raised and the people called away, they could not do their work, and the farmers could not pay their debts. We were prepared to go down there for the purpose of urging these people, who went on the Phil Allen, to come away, and get the colored people to let the law take its course, and were to pay five hundred dollars for a boat to take us down, and I was to give three hundred dollars out of my own pocket.

I went down to Austin, and when I got there the next day, those white men were all gone, from every place. Two or three hours after

ward, some two hundred and fifty or three hundred men came in from the northern part of the State, commanded by Colonel Hudson. I talked with him; I assured him that there was no disturbance; I asked him to go back, and let us have no more excitement. They returned home, and that ended the Austin riot, so far as I know. There were troubles, riots, in other parts of Mississippi, but I do not know much about them; I did not travel much. I was informed that in some parts of the State the white men organized under the head of "Grangers," known by many as the White League, but what their real plans and purposes were I do not know; I never got into the society, and never heard particularly just what it was that they had organized for. It was reported that they were buying arms and preparing for the overthrow of the whole Republican party, but I didn't pay much attention to it. I was given a commission as colonel, but I thought and said that it was very foolish, on the ground that the colored people had no arms to fight with; and to appoint me a colonel only made me more conspicuous to be murdered. That was in 1875, I think.

Q. Were the colored people generally armed throughout the State?—A. No, sir; they were not. Only a few of them had old squirrel guns, inferior guns, of no account in a fight, if there should be any. There was not a Winchester rifle, nor a Henry rifle, nor a needle-gun, nor any other first-class weapon in the hands of any of the colored men in all my section of the country. I had one Henry rifle. I thought I was justified in having that, because I was sheriff. That is the only one I know of being in all our part of the country in the hands of colored men. I heard of plenty of them being in the hands of white men. Colored men came to me time and again, and told me that there were Winchester rifles and needle-guns, guns, &c., in the hands of certain planters of the county. That was some time before the Coahoma County riot. The disturbance occurred on Saturday. Three white men came up and arrested a colored man. They were not officers at all, but young white fellows, who were drunk. They said he had voted when he had not been in the county long enough. While these three white men were there, talking with a colored woman, they were standing close to a cane-brake, and the colored man dashed off into the cane-brake and got away. They shot at him, but did not hit him, and he escaped. The white men went on through Shotwell's plantation, and there, it was said, they insulted a number of colored women. I do not know whether it was true or not, but that was the statement that went abroad. The colored men in Tallahatchee gathered and went down there to demand them. The white men armed and refused to give them up. About twelve o'clock Saturday night five men came down to my place and asked me to go and settle the trouble. I got up—I had been sick and was not yet well—and got on a horse and went to Doctor Pease's, and asked him to go out to help settle the riot; but he could not go. Then I went to Mr. Clark's and asked him to go with me; but he said, "Brown, I will trust to you; you can manage the matter yourself as well as a dozen could." I went on. The colored men in Coahoma County were armed, and the white men in Tallahatchee County were armed. The colored men agreed with me that it was best not to have any fuss. Then I went down to the white men and asked them if they would disband if I would get the colored men to go home, and they said they would. So both parties went home. So there was no riot.

Still these things kept up a feeling; the whites and the blacks were afraid of each other. The whites sent out spies among the colored people to see what they were doing and intending to do. They kept

this up until the riot occurred. Several white men came into my neighborhood who I was certain were spies. I mentioned it to the Hon. H. P. Reed. I told him I was uneasy. I told him I had seen some white men there whom I knew to be spies. They went out and worked in the fields with the colored men to see what kind of guns they had, and ammunition, &c. They were fixing, I suppose, for the riot. I was told—white men—white Democrats told me—three months before the riot, that one was coming. I tried to keep our colored men from going up there. I told them I could settle it, as I did in Tallahatchee County.

Q. I asked you awhile ago in what year the State passed from Republican to Democratic control?—A. It was in the fall of 1875.

Q. Was that the election that was understood to have been carried by what is sometimes called "The Mississippi policy"?—A. That policy started in 1874—not the voting, but the killing.

Q. I speak particularly of the voting.—A. That is the time the Democrats carried the State. If Mississippi had been left alone it would not have given less than thirty-five thousand Republican majority. But after those riots the colored people found that they had no protection; they were unable to protect themselves, and the government failed to come to their rescue. If the colored men and the white men of Mississippi had been left alone, still the Republicans might have carried the State. But the white men—white Democrats—poured in from Alabama, and Arkansas, and Tennessee, to overwhelm and terrorize the colored men. The steamers would bring them in, down the river, and the cars from different parts of those States.

Q. I want to ask you what connection, if any, you have had in Topeka with the emigration of colored people from the Southern States into Kansas?—A. Well, along about a year ago—I think in the latter part of March of last year—there were about thirteen hundred people in Wyandotte, Kansas, who had fled from different parts of the South; they were reported to be there in a suffering condition. Wyandotte is near the Kansas line. Hundreds of these colored people came from there up to Topeka, Kansas, in actual suffering for lack of the necessities of life. The matter began to become serious. So many gathered there that the people and the city authorities feared lest these refugees should become a burden. So we formed a society; a meeting was called at the opera house in Topeka to raise money for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of these people—those at that place. At that meeting there was raised about five hundred and fifty dollars by subscription. A temporary organization was effected. Judge Macfarland was sent down with the money. He reported that he found the colored people suffering very much. It was decided by the society to take a part of them to Topeka, and try to take care of them there. So six hundred of them came to Topeka, and were gathered at the fair grounds there. The county commissioners let them have the fair grounds for a time. They thought it but a temporary affair. But the colored people continued to come right along by every steamer that came up the river—two hundred or two hundred and fifty at a time—until seven or eight hundred had come. About a hundred and twenty-five were sick, and in very bad condition. So it was thought necessary to form a permanent organization. I will give you the heading of it here. This simply explains the purpose of the society (handing Mr. Windom a letter heading of the society, which read as follows):

Hon. A. B. JETMORE, President.
AUREA S. HAVILAND, Secretary.
J. M. BROWN, General Superintendent.

G. W. CAREY,
Rev. J. E. GILBERT, } Vice Presidents.
JOHN D. KNOX, Treasurer.
ELIZABETH L. COMSTOCK, Correspondent.

THE KANSAS FREEDMEN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

Incorporated May 8, 1879.

The purpose for which this corporation is formed is to relieve, as far as possible, the wants and necessities of destitute freedmen, refugees, and immigrants coming to this State; to provide necessary food, shelter, and clothing for them when unable to provide for themselves; to succor the aged, the feeble, and the sick; to aid and assist them in procuring work, and in finding homes, either in families, or when they wish to locate on government or other lands; and to do and perform such other acts of charity and benevolence as the necessities of such freedmen, refugees, and immigrants may require and humanity suggest.

TOPEKA, KANSAS, *March 20, 1880.*

This permanent organization was formed for the purpose of scattering the destitute people who might come there into other places where they might be needed, so that they could earn their own living, and not become a burden on the city of Topeka. Quite an excitement had been raised there by some people who were not very favorable to the colored people coming there; they claimed that they would become a burden on the corporation of Topeka. This society was formed for the purpose of finding places for them, furnishing homes for them, so that the city of Topeka might not have them to take care of; or to prepare lands for them to settle on. It was not the purpose of the society to induce colored people to come there; only to alleviate their sufferings after they had come there. From that time on, until now, our society has helped take care of not far from twenty-five thousand colored people—it may be a few more or a few less—from the different Southern States.

Q. Do you know from what States they have come principally?—A. The majority of them have come from Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and South Carolina; some of them from Georgia; a few from Kentucky—not a great many; the most of the colored people from Kentucky that came there brought some means with them when they came. And some, perhaps, from other States.

Q. What is their condition now, so far as you know?—A. Those that came there first, as a general thing, are doing well. They usually find work readily. At least, that was true of the single men and single women, and men with small families. With large families the case was somewhat different. The trouble in that case was, that the people in Kansas do not run their farms in the same way as the people of the South; they have not large plantations, with houses, or cabins, already built upon them, especially in order for the persons to live in who are employed upon their farms; on that account it was more difficult to find homes for large families. But single persons of both sexes readily find homes. There were calls for them not only from all parts of Kansas, but from Nebraska, Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, and even as far as Michigan; one or two from New York; and one, I think, only one, from Indiana. Some of them have settled on lands—cheap lands—that are for sale out there in Kansas. I was made a member of that organization while on a farm about three or three and a half miles from the city of Topeka; I staid on the farm out there till my family died; I lost all my family. At first, for a while, I staid on my farm day-times and evenings worked on the board; I was made an officer of the board; my position was that of general superintendent. There came more and more work to do, and the board seemed to think my services valuable, and they wanted me to give all my time to the work. So, after my family all died, I moved into town and gave all my time to that work.

A number of the colored people have settled in Wabausee County; two sections of forty acres each have been settled up with colored families; and two more sections will be settled in a short time. We settled them there last May. We gave them a couple of teams and some farming utensils, and supported them for two or three months; since then they have been able to take care of themselves. Some of them have since died of lung troubles. Three hundred dollars has taken care of the colored people that our society has had to aid this winter. We built barracks for them—buildings put up in a cheap manner, like soldiers' barracks; and there the little children, and the women, and the men who were too old to work, remained, while the others went out to work. A considerable number of colored families have been settled on the Indian reservation on the Neosho River. There is an Indian reservation there, a large body of land, twenty miles square, owned by the Kaw Indians; the uplands sell for a dollar and a quarter an acre; the bottom lands are higher in price. They have mostly all been able to make their own living, except a few sent out lately. They have, so far as we can hear, given general satisfaction. Wherever we have sent them, there has been a large demand for more of the same class. They have been a very good class of colored people. Out of the whole twenty-five thousand, I have seen but two who seemed to be drunk. Only one has been arrested on charge of stealing, and he was proven clear; this can be shown by the records of the city of Topeka. The care of all these colored people has never cost the city of Topeka twenty-five cents; the society has looked after them. They have proven themselves willing to work, and their work has given general satisfaction; their work is in demand. The farmers are taking them, and they are being sent for to work in the coal mines of Iowa, Illinois, and Colorado. Friends now in Illinois offer to take fifty thousand of them into that State; that offer was made only last week. In Kansas we have now as many as we ought to have of the poor class, whether white or black. But persons having even a little money can do well there. They can buy land on the Indian reservation at a dollar and a quarter an acre; or they can secure railroad land at from three to five dollars per acre. If you pay cash down, the railroad companies will knock off one-third. If you take it on six years' time, they will knock off one fifth; if you take it on eleven years' time, they will charge only full price, and you can pay one fifth down and seven per cent. interest on the rest till you can pay it. Some farmers there rent their land—the same to a colored man as to a white man, on the same terms—the tenant giving one-third of the crop where he furnishes everything; where the white owner furnishes everything, he gives the colored man one-half the crop. Wages range from ten to eighteen dollars a month, according to the nature of the work and the need of hands.

Q. What proportion of the twenty-five thousand are now unemployed and in barracks waiting for employment?—A. I left Topeka last Thursday, a week ago yesterday; we had then on hand about three hundred, the most of whom had come in within the preceding ten days. Some families had come in, one or more members of which were sick; they had to stay there until they had recovered. There are about three hundred there under our charge; there were some in the city who were not under our charge.

Q. Were there any other points in Kansas where emigrants gathered?—A. Yes, sir; there have come into the southern part of Kansas, from Texas and places down that way, between two thousand and two thousand five hundred.

Q. Do you include these in the total, the twenty-five thousand that you mentioned?—A. No, sir; those twenty-five thousand that I referred to were those who had passed through the hands of our society there in Topeka. But those that came into the southern part of Kansas were looked after by our branch societies. We have a branch society at Parsons, Kans., and one at Fort Scott, and one at Independence. They can get into Kansas by a nearer route, that way; some of them walked; some came in wagons; and some in cars, if they have the money. The majority of them have about money enough to get there. They find employment among the farmers. They are going to make an attempt, in the southern part of Kansas, at raising cotton this spring.

Q. Have you conversed with many of these people who have passed through your hands, with reference to the causes of their leaving the South?—A. Yes, sir; I have conversed with a great many of them. I have taken special pains to inquire upon that point. I have lectured to them in the public halls there to as many as five hundred at a time. I have asked them to state, in the presence of other people, what was the cause of their leaving the South. They generally gave in answer three causes. They said there was no security for life, liberty, or property. This is about what they claim.

Q. Did they state any facts upon which they base that claim?—A. They say that since the war, and for the last few years especially—since 1875, I suppose—hundreds of colored men have been killed in the State of Mississippi, and probably in some other parts of the South, in riots and private broils, or have been shot down by white men, but that they never saw a white man hung or sent to the penitentiary in the State of Mississippi for killing a colored man; I know that I have never heard of one. The records of the State courts will show whether such is the fact or not, but they say that no white man has ever been hung or sent to the penitentiary for killing a colored man, to their knowing. They have seen the men that allowed these riots, and were the instigators of them, murderers of colored men, going at large unpunished; they say they can see that every day. They are hardly ever indicted; if they are ever tried it is in reality a mock trial; they are taken before the magistrate's court, where they give a bond of five hundred dollars. All offenses are bondable in Mississippi, I understand. The case is continued from time to time until finally it is thrown out of court, so there is no punishment for anything that a white man may do to a colored man; but if a white man and a colored man get into a private quarrel, and the colored man shoots the white man, he will be mobbed or hung. There is no security whatever for the life of a colored man; every colored man's life is at the tender mercies of the lowest white man in the community. If a white man and a colored man get into a fuss, and the colored man happens to whip the white man, he has got to go or he will be murdered. If a colored man is working at a place, and a white man owing him or for any other reason wants to get him out of the way, the white man can get him mobbed in a few hours; his life must pay the penalty. They claim that the white community are all leagued together against the colored men; whether this is true or not I do not know; I am giving you what they say to me when I ask them why they have left the South. As for liberty, they claim to have laws in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and other States, the same for white men as for colored men. They claim that there is no discrimination under the laws between white and black. The trouble is there is discrimination in the execution of the laws; if a colored man comes before court in a case with a white man the white man will get the best of it. They charge high prices for the land they

rent. In the Mississippi Valley, when I was there, they charged ten dollars an acre. The planter demands ten dollars an acre rent; if he don't take ten dollars rent he takes so much lint cotton, equivalent to it. This rent must be paid first, out of the crop; next in order comes the merchant's lien, owing for supplies furnished; this is arranged so as to take up all that has been raised on the place. If the tenant has raised ten, fifteen, or twenty bales of cotton the merchant's claim will be found to be enough to cover it and something to spare. Just before picking-time comes, the merchant sends men around from place to place to see how the crop is getting along; how many bales will probably be made. By this means the merchant knows how large to make his bill. He lets the colored man come and buy a few things, run up an account, charging four or five prices for everything. For instance, he will charge twenty to twenty-five cents a pound for sugar, for which you or any white man would pay eight or nine cents; or twenty-five cents a pound for bacon, for which you would have to pay six or seven cents. I have seen some of their bills in Kansas; in fact, I had before that seen them many times in the South. If the colored man refuses to pay the bill, which, as I have said, is always made large enough to cover the value of the entire crop, after paying the rent, the merchant comes into court and sues him. The white man brings his itemized account into court; the colored man has no account, and of course he is beaten in the suit, and the cost is thrown onto him. They stand against him, if he cannot pay it. And colored men soon learn that it is better to pay any account, however unjust, than to refuse, for he stands no possible chance of getting justice before the law.

Another thing: the colored people are anxious to educate their children. Some few schools are kept, in some parts of the South, for three or four months in the year; but the white men claim the right to employ inferior teachers, who do very little toward educating the colored children; they are of no particular benefit to the children.

The colored men are anxious to accumulate property. You can buy land in most of the Southern States, but there is a great deal of trouble in the South in regard to titles of land. A great many planters were killed during the war, and for that and other reasons the titles to lands are very complicated. Colored men do not know much about titles; they have no means of determining whether the title to a piece of land is good, legal or not. They will buy land on time and go to work to improve it, and after working hard for some years, along comes somebody else and lays claims to it, and the colored man loses it; so they are afraid to buy lands for themselves.

For these reasons the colored men in the South have very little confidence in the white men, and the white men have very little confidence in the colored men. This is the feeling; the colored men claim that there is no chance in the world for them to better their condition in the South; so, as a last resort, they have determined to come north.

Another thing, in regard to the way they are treated in boats or railroad cars when traveling. A man or a woman may be ever so well educated or well behaved—may have been educated at the best college in the land—but in traveling that woman must be put into a colored car on the railroad; must go into the smoking car, no matter how much whisky or tobacco there may be there, or how sick it may make her; I know something about that myself. Or if she is traveling on a steamer she must be put up in the texas with the roughest class of men. Education amounts to nothing, good behavior counts for nothing, even money cannot buy for a colored man or woman decent treatment

and the comforts that white people claim and can obtain; and this is the case all over the South. The colored people have become tired of submitting to these things, and have made up their minds that if there is any place on American soil where they can be free, to go there.

Q. Do they complain of any denial of their political rights and privileges?—A. They do; they claim that it is impossible to get either a fair vote or a fair count. In some counties the colored men are allowed to vote. But if they vote, the colored vote is counted out, unless certain white men that the white men like very well are running for office; then, sometimes, they will allow a fair count. But in many counties, in most places in the South, no matter how large the Republican majority might rightfully be, there is no chance of a fair count, so that he would be declared elected. So that now no Republican is willing to run the risk of making the canvass—of risking his life for the certainty of being counted out if he should be elected by ever so large a majority. Another thing: white men do not like this sort of thing any better than colored men do. So a great many Southern white Republicans are leaving the South. When they are gone the colored men do not understand affairs, and do not know what the result will be. Some of them think that slavery is to be re-established. I do not think so, but a great many of the colored people do. They fear that this thing will go on until finally their liberties will be taken away, if they remain in the South. So they think it best to get away in time.

Q. They feel, when they are denied their rights as voters, or cheated out of them, that they have no means of protecting themselves?—A. No means of protecting themselves whatever. And the white men are all armed, and if any riots are started, the colored men always get the worst of it. They cannot get any help from the government, or from anywhere. They feel uneasy about their condition in every way, and especially their vote. If there is anything they want to exercise freely, it is the right to vote as they please, as American citizens; and that right, they say, is denied them in the South.

Q. Do they complain of personal violence—of outrages committed upon them personally?—A. Yes, sir; many of them bring statements of whipping and murdering. Some colored men have been called to their doors and shot; others were taken in the night, or in the daytime, and whipped. I have heard of a great many such cases occurring in almost all parts of the States. But the fact is, I had so much of this before this exodus began that it was no new thing to me, and so I have paid no particular attention to it. Never thinking of being called for a witness, and never desiring to be one, I paid very little attention to what these emigrants have said on that point, so that I cannot now state particulars as to names, places, dates, &c.

Q. Did any of them say anything about resistance on the part of the white people to their coming away?—A. Yes, sir; the white people at first resisted their leaving, especially along the river; they tried to keep the boats from taking them. But at present there seems to be a little different state of feeling; in most sections the white men do not try to stop their coming by force; they say, if you will go, you can go. But the leading colored men who are there, and who are trying to get others to leave—their lives are in danger. There was E. Handy, who came up last summer on an excursion trip. When he went back South he told the colored people that the best thing they could do was to leave there and come North. They made preparations to kill him, in order to intimidate others. But some of his white friends, Democrats who were his personal friends, told him what was intended, and that he had better

get out of the way. That is what he told me. He now lives about three miles from Topeka, on a farm.

Q. How many of these colored people who have come to Kansas have ever expressed to you a desire to go back?—A. I think about five families—two from Texas, two from Mississippi, and one from Louisiana, have gone back. That is all, so far as I can learn. I saw two of these going back myself. Outside of those I have mentioned, I have never known one of them to express a desire to go back South. When they were lying there on the fair grounds, one hundred and twenty-five of them were sick at one time; the doctor said their lungs were diseased from exposure, and it would be better for them to go back to a warmer climate. But they all said, if they had got to die, they would die there, on free soil. And not one of them would agree to go back. We have agreed, our society has, that if any of them want to go back South we will pay their fare as far as Kansas City. The society has never encouraged anybody to come there, and has never encouraged anybody to stay there. But with the four or five exceptions I have stated, I have never found one who wanted to go back; the same story is told by all. When they once get to Kansas, on finding the difference in treatment there, and seeing the progress of the colored people there, they are determined to stay. We have in our State two hundred colored families that have accumulated a pretty good property; they had nothing when they came there. That has encouraged others, when they came, to stay. They would rather live unprotected in Kansas, than to go back South and suffer there as they did before they came to Kansas.

Q. Then the cold weather of Kansas, their exposure to storms, their sufferings from destitution, and all that, they prefer to endure rather than what they left behind them in the South?—A. Yes, sir; they love the Southern soil; they enjoy its climate; but it is the greatest horror of their lives to mention the idea of their going back there to suffer what they have suffered in the past. They will not go back. They will die first.

Q. What is your idea, from the communication and intercourse that you have had with these colored men, who have come into Kansas since this exodus commenced, of the probable future of the movement?—A. I think it will increase rapidly all the time, unless speedy action is taken on the part of the white people of the South. If the Southern white people would give the colored people there the same rights and the same treatment which they receive in Kansas, they could stop the whole thing inside of six months.

Q. Other things being equal, that is, if given the same rights and privileges and protection in the one place as in the other, where would the colored people prefer to live, in Kansas or in the South?—A. I never yet met a colored man or woman but what said they would rather live in the South, two to one, than in Kansas, if they could have the same rights there that they have in Kansas.

Q. In your opinion, then, the only remedy for the exodus is different treatment of the colored people by the white people of the South?—A. It rests in the hands of the Southern white people altogether.

Q. What, in your belief, will be the extent of the exodus if that treatment is not changed?—A. It will continue to go on for the next twenty years, and until all, or a very large majority, of the colored people get out of the South. They will go to the Indian Territory, which from present appearances will before long be opened up to white immigration; they will go to other Western States besides Kansas, and to the Western Territories; they will be scattered all over the Northern States. Among

the Northern people our society finds an increasing demand all the time for their labor. As they have experience with it, and get acquainted with it, they prefer it.

Q. You think, then, that the remedy is entirely and only in the hands of the Southern Democracy?—A. Yes, sir; I think that if their course of action were to change; if they were to take hold of the matter in a kind and Christian spirit, that one-half or two-thirds of the colored people who have left the South would go back there. But they are tired of seeing so many murders, of submitting to so much ill-treatment, with no possible means of redress, and they are determined to get away from it.

Q. What, in your opinion, will be the effect of the next Presidential election on the movement?—A. If the Republican party should win, and there should seem to be a disposition on the part of the government to give protection to the colored people of the South, and they saw any way to get protection, that would probably stop the exodus to a certain extent. But the colored people have lost confidence, somewhat, in the Federal Government; they have suffered very much, and nothing has been done to protect them. Under the present administration nothing has been done to protect them in their rights; so they have determined to preserve the last right left them, and that is, to run away.

Q. What effect will the election of a Democratic President have upon the movement?—A. If a Democratic President is elected, and there is no change in the laws, or in the treatment of the colored people by the white people of the South, there will be the greatest exodus ever known in the history of the civilized world. They will go in wagons; they will go on foot; they will not wait for money to pay their way on cars or steamers; they have made up their minds that they will have liberty; they are determined, leaders and all, that if the white people of the South will not give them their rights; if the United States Government will not protect them, they will go where they can be protected, without regard to color. That is the feeling that now pervades all parts of the South.

Q. Then if any inconvenience or suffering results, any confusion of the laboring interests, in the North, it is due to the bulldozing and bad treatment of the colored people by the white people of the South?—A. Yes, sir; the colored people have made up their minds to get good treatment there, or to go where they can get it; and now the matter rests entirely with the Southern white people.

Q. How many of these colored emigrants have you conversed with?—A. I am the general superintendent of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association; and I have come in contact with a large majority of those who have come to our part of Kansas.

Q. You have devoted your whole time to the work?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you, or the society with which you are connected, done anything to urge or encourage the colored people to leave the South?—A. No, sir; I have never written more than two letters to the South on that subject. I wrote one letter to a gentleman, a friend of mine, living in the county adjoining the one I lived in when I lived in Mississippi, in which I said that if the white people did not do better by the colored people, I would have to ask the colored people to leave, or something like that; but I have always discouraged the colored people coming North, lest they might become a burden on our hands in Kansas. There are not five letters of mine in all the South, upon this subject.

Q. Do you know of any partisan motive or purpose in connection with this movement?—A. I do not. I have been told that circulars had

been issued inciting the colored people to leave the South and come North for the purpose of helping the Republican party; that is what Democrats have told me in Kansas. But I have never seen any such circular; nor have I ever met a man who said that he had seen one. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Company owns a large quantity of land in Kansas, and has spent two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in advertising their lands for sale; and some of these circulars went south.

Q. That was simply a business matter?—A. Yes, sir; there was no politics about that. The most of the railroad officials on that railroad are Democrats, I judge, because they are opposed to the exodus, and will not give us free transportation, nor half rates, nor any other favors. Their circulars contain statements in regard to the cheapness of their lands, the fertility of the soil, &c., but are directed and intended for persons of all classes, white or black.

Q. In nearly all the Western States, land companies have issued circulars directing attention to the quality of their land and the advantages they afford to settlers, have they not?—A. Yes, sir. Then there is no political purpose to be accomplished by bringing colored people to Kansas, for that State has forty thousand Republican majority without them. We do not need them. They were never invited there. But when they came, some of them—a good many of them—knew how to write, and they wrote back to their friends yet in the South how they were situated, how they were getting along, and that was an encouragement to others to come. In that way the exodus perpetuates and increases itself, without the politicians or any of the white people doing anything about it. I have never heard a Republican in Kansas say that he wanted the colored people to come there. They all discouraged it, so far as possible, on account that they did not want so many poor people coming into the State. There was not capital enough to employ them.

Q. If you know of any other facts that would throw any light upon this investigation, state them.—A. I do not know that I have. It has been said that our society was encouraging the exodus. I can say that this is not so. I have told you what I have written myself, and I know what the secretary of the society has written. He wrote discouraging the colored people from coming north, unless they had some means. He wrote that there was no land to be given them any more than to white men; that they could have nothing more than they earned; that every man must look out for himself and take his chances. That is his spirit, and that has been the spirit of the organization from the beginning until now.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 26, 1880.*

The committee took a recess of thirty minutes. After recess the chairman proceeded to the cross examination of witness

By Mr. VANCE:

Question. Mr. Brown, you have told us about the riots in Coahoma County, but you did not tell us what the cause of these riots was. I want to ask you if these riots did not occur in a quarrel between you and Governor Alcorn?—Answer. No, sir; not that I know of. The quarrel between Governor Alcorn and me was in 1873, when I made a canvass against the governor.

Q. You say too much. I would rather you would just answer my

question. In that canvass did you characterize Governor Alcorn as a thief?—A. No, sir; not in that canvass—not in '73.

Q. Well, in '75?—A. He called me a number of times a thief, but I simply said of him what the newspapers said, and what other people said about him.

Q. Well, that was an impeachment of Governor Alcorn's honesty. Did you endorse what the papers said about him?—A. I simply stated what they had said. I did not say he was. I had no proof. I only knew what was stated.

Q. In 1875, didn't Governor Alcorn charge you with being a thief and defaulter in Coahoma County for four or five thousand dollars?—A. He did.

Q. Yes. Did the riot start from that?—A. No, sir; I don't think it started from that.

Q. Didn't you send word to your friends in the country to come into the town, and for every one that had a gun to bring it if it could only snap a cap?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't you bring all these people into town?—A. No, I staid in the city.

Q. I ask you if you didn't send into the country to have them come into the town?—A. No, sir; I did not send to have them come into town—only this far, that I sent word that Judge Safford would speak on Monday night, and for them to come on that ground; but when I found that there would be trouble, and that they were coming in, I ordered them to go home, which they did before they got into the city.

Q. Yes; Governor Alcorn objected to the ticket that was nominated in that county, didn't he?—A. I think he objected to parts of it. He may not have been with his party on that. I do not know what part he took outside.

Q. Well, it was not true that you were a defaulter to the amount of some ten thousand dollars, was it?—A. No, sir; not a word of truth in it, in the world.

Q. Didn't Governor Alcorn prove it against you when he made his speech?—A. No, sir; he said that the county treasurer, who is now dead—he died a little while afterwards—claimed that I had demanded seven thousand dollars from him, which I did not. He admitted afterwards, as I understand, that he had the money he said I demanded of him, and which I did not demand of him at all, sir. It was only on the statement of the county treasurer, who is now dead, that Governor Alcorn based his charge upon; that is all the proof he had, and there was no truth whatever in the charge.

Q. Now, the morning that these people came to the town, on the day of the riot, you say you met General Chalmers, and you had some conversation with him in reference to the disposition of these people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I will ask you if General Chalmers did not tell you there would be no riot, no trouble, if you refused to give ammunition to these people that had come into town that morning?—A. My understanding of what the General said was in substance that I went to the colored people first, as I said, and then, on coming back to talk with the white people, the Hon. H. P. Reed, at that time a partner of the general's, came down. The general was sitting on his horse—

By Mr. PENDLETON :

Q. You say Mr. Reed was General Chalmers's partner?—A. Yes, sir; at that time he was. I do not think he is now. I do not know. Maybe I have that wrong as to the time; I am not quite certain as to that.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Didn't you have a conversation with General Chalmers in regard to the excitement a week before?—A. I had frequent talks with him, and I had been to Austin, and when I returned it was told me that I had shipped ammunition to arm the colored people from Memphis, Tennessee. Hearing of the excitement, and that this charge was made against me, I went the very next morning after my return, if I am not mistaken as to the time, to see General Chalmers at his office, which was close to mine, and I had a talk with him about the matter. I had gone to Memphis before that—three weeks before that; the colored people do a good deal of hunting, and they wanted me to buy some ammunition for them for that purpose, as they knew I could buy it cheaper for them for cash, at Memphis, and I bought a can of powder of about thirty-five to fifty pounds, and five or six pounds of shot, and several thousand caps, and brought them down to send to a colored grocer there, William Allen, to sell; but by a mistake of the drayman he took them to my house instead, and left them there, in a package, and when I came home I found them there. About buying buck shot, I will say that there are a great many bear and deer in that country, and the people go hunting a great deal. And when I came home I saw that the powder and shot were left at my house, though I did not order them to be sent there at all. When the excitement came up I told them so—that I had got this powder and ammunition, and I told General Chalmers, and Mr. Reed and Mr. Alcorn, that they might take this ammunition and put it in General Chalmers's office; that I had no intention whatever of making any trouble, and if they were afraid to trust me, that they might take this powder and shot and put it in their office, or in any place they might name, to give satisfaction on this point and to show that it was not my intention to create any trouble.

Q. The fact was, however, you had bought the powder and shot?—A. Yes, sir; I had bought it, as I have said.

Q. And it was buckshot?—A. Yes, sir; for supplying the stores. I supplied several places with provisions and clothing, because I could get them cheaper, and they asked me to get it, and I bought it for them.

Q. Did you turn over that ammunition to General Chalmers?—A. They said they did not want it.

Q. That they did not want to take charge of it?—A. Yes, sir; they did not want to have charge of it.

Q. Well, did it in fact get into the hands of the colored people?—A. No, sir; when that riot occurred the powder and shot was in my house.

Q. And it did not get out of your house until after the riot?—A. No, sir; after the riot at Friar's Point I went for Dr. Peace and took him to my office, and turned over the powder and shot to Governor Alcorn, and he took it to his store.

Q. Well, it is sufficient to know that it was not distributed to the people.—A. Well, sir, it was not.

Q. Now, on the morning of the day that the riot took place, did you not make an agreement with some citizens, in writing, that there should be no disturbance?—A. No, sir; they brought a large letter to me, signed by lawyers, and I refused to sign it.

Q. You refused to sign it?—A. Yes; I refused to sign it. I made no pledges.

Q. What action did you take?—A. I sent a colored man out on horseback to meet those colored men who were coming into the city to tell them to go back.

Q. About what time of the day, and what day and year, was that?—
A. It was some time in October; if I am not mistaken, it was on the 5th of October.

Q. Of what year?—A. 1875. I think I have given the right date. The newspapers there would show, or if I had an almanac here I could tell the exact date. I think it was on Tuesday, the 5th of October.

Q. That is near enough. What time of the day was it?—A. I suppose it must have been fully 11 o'clock in the day when they came in.

Q. When the colored men came up to the town?—A. Yes, sir; about that time of the day.

Q. What time in the day was it that you made this promise, that you would send word out to keep them from coming in?—A. I never promised that.

Q. Did you not make that promise to General Chalmers?—A. I didn't see General Chalmers that morning.

Q. Whom did you promise before that that you would not let the men come in?—A. I said I would send a man out. I was afraid to go myself; for if I had left the town word would soon have gone out that I had gone to let the men come in.

Q. What time was it you promised to send out and stop these men from coming into town?—A. It was some time prior to that. I asked some white men if they had seen any coming, and they had not.

Q. Did you not deny it, and did not General Chalmers say that he had information that they were coming?—A. I said there were none coming that I knew of.

Q. Did not General Chalmers tell you that he had certain information that armed black men were coming into the town?—A. No, sir; I asked Mr. Brown, a large planter there, if he had seen any coming on that road, and he told me that he had not seen any.

Q. And you did not send out till several hours after that?—A. I sent a colored man out, and they say he did not tell them, which I can prove by the man who was leading them. I have the statement of that man, made under oath before a justice of the peace, at home, to that effect.

Q. You were a schoolmaster when you first went to that place, were you not?—A. Yes; I taught school there for nearly two years, at first.

Q. Did anybody ever disturb you in teaching school there?—A. No, sir; nobody interfered with me while I was engaged there in teaching school.

Q. And you were elected sheriff of the county in the fall of 1873?—
A. Yes, sir.

Q. By what majority were you elected?—A. Nine hundred, I believe, and seventy-two, was the majority of the party that year that elected me.

Q. What was the amount of the bond you had to file as sheriff?—A. As sheriff, the amount of the bond I had to give was ten thousand dollars—for that office alone.

Q. And what was it for collector of taxes?—A. Then for collector I filed a bond for sixty-six thousand dollars.

Q. And as assessor, how much?—A. As assessor, for five thousand dollars; and as "old levy tax" collector, I was held in ten thousand more.

Q. Well, what was the whole amount of bonds you filed—some seventy-five to eighty thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir; (figuring it up) amounted in all to ninety-one thousand dollars.

Q. To ninety-one thousand dollars, you say?—A. Yes, sir; to about that sum.

Q. Who went on that bond for you?—A. The time the bond was first made, there was C. W. Crowley, B. Harrington, H. P. Reed, and Hon. M. S. Alcorn, son of Governor Alcorn.

Q. What was the politics of these men?—A. They were all said to be Republicans but H. P. Reed, and the Democrats claimed him, and the Republicans also, to a certain extent, but he was always known to be a Democrat, and is now I believe. All the others claimed to be Republicans.

Q. Which of them claimed to be Republicans?—A. Alcorn, Harrington, and Crowley.

Q. That was your first bond?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who went on your second bond?—A. They were Southern white men altogether, and all Democrats, except M. S. Alcorn, and he was a Republican, and the Hon. H. P. Reed; he was working with the Republican party at that time.

Q. Who was your counsel in the conduct of your office?—A. The honorable H. P. Reed was counsel in the affairs of my office.

Q. Your official advisor?—A. Yes, sir; all the way through, from the beginning till the whole thing was broken up and I was compelled to leave.

Q. How came you to have to file the second bond?—A. The way that came about was this: Mr. Crowley was "new lay tax" collector. We had two levy taxes—the old levy was destroyed during the war and a new levy was afterwards made, and the new levy had been collected by an outside party. While I was away up in Ohio, M. S. Alcorn, being a member of the board, had me appointed new levy tax collector, and as Mr. Crowley was collector of that, and all the people of the county wanted me to be collector of the whole tax, so that they could pay the tax at the same office, which I did—that made Mr. Crowley mad, and he went off of my bond, because I accepted the office—it was because of the wishes of the people that I accepted it—and Mr. Crowley got angry, and on that ground he left my bond.

Q. Was not the requiring of that second bond for the purpose of forcing you out, and preventing you from getting a new bond, and to give the place to a white Republican?—A. I do not know what the intention was.

Q. Well, did you not understand that to be the object?—A. No, sir; not at that time, because my term of office was not out; if it had been even near the time for my office to be out, that might have been the object of requiring this new bond.

Q. But if your bond had failed you would have been out?—A. My bond would not have failed; for it is probable and very certain that my friends in other places would have sent me another one. The Hon. H. P. Reed and others would have made up the bond at that time.

Q. Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; most of them Democrats; some Republicans.

Q. What was the compensation and what the profits of that office, with the various collectorships?—A. I suppose that the sheriffalty, the assessorship, and the collectorship, all put together, would probably amount to eight thousand dollars a year, with all the expenses, and the expenses were very heavy, because I had to have a number of deputies.

Q. You were never much persecuted then, were you?—A. Not up to that time; no, sir.

Q. Not up to that time?—A. No, sir; up to that time I had received much kindness and very good treatment from the white people. When I first went into the county there was some bitter feeling against me,

but it did not last long nor amount to much, but when I got acquainted with them and they with me, everything went along nicely, and in business, as I said before, and in other relations, everything went on quietly and well up to that time.

Q. You said that you never knew a white man to be punished for killing a black man?—A. I said I never knew a white man to be hung or sent to the penitentiary for killing a black man.

Q. For killing a black man?—A. No, sir; not in that town, I mean.

Q. That is what I mean.—A. Yes.

Q. Who was governor of Mississippi at the time this riot took place?—A. Governor Ames.

Q. What kind of a chap was he?—A. He was a Republican in politics.

Q. Yes?—A. Yes: and a very fine man, so far as I have ever known.

Q. A carpet-bagger?—A. He was formerly from the East, I believe.

Q. Yes; and full fledged with all the Northern notions about colored men?—A. Yes.

Q. He had the troops at his command, hadn't he?—A. Do you mean Union soldiers?

Q. Yes.—A. None at his command at that time.

Q. He called for them but failed to get them, did he?—A. That was about the first of his administration. Yes, I guess he did.

Q. You were living, then, when Governor Ames was governor, under laws made by a Republican legislature, were you not?—A. Yes, sir; at that time we were.

Q. And your courts were presided over by Republican judges, were they not?—A. Most of them were; most all of our judges were Southern men who claimed to be Republicans.

Q. How was it that being Southern men, they came to be judges on the Republican ticket; were they elected by Republican votes?—A. They were appointed, not elected.

Q. And the prosecuting attorney and officers of the court were all Republicans, were they not?—A. Not all of them; in some counties they were.

Q. How was it in your county?—A. In my county they were most all Republicans.

Q. In your county they were Republicans; well, the juries were made up of colored men, were they not?—A. In my county they were made up partly of colored men; they never put all colored men on the juries.

Q. You allowed white men a little chance?—A. Yes, sir; a fair chance in all the juries.

Q. Were there not more colored men than white on the juries in your county?—A. Sometimes there were, because the majority of colored people was large in the county.

Q. Exactly.—A. That is the reason for it.

Q. Now, with the governor Republican and the legislature Republican that made the laws, and the judges Republican to construe the laws, and the prosecuting attorneys Republican to prosecute the cases, and the jury Republican to try them, and the sheriff Republican to bring them in, what was the matter that the black man could not get justice in every case when he applied for it; why was it?—A. In my county—I never made the statement that no white man had been hung in my county. During the nineteen months there was only one colored man shot, and he was only slightly wounded; there was one colored man killed, but I don't know who he was killed by.

Q. Well, take the whole State; the same state of things prevailed

throughout the State, did it not?—A. A majority of Republicans were in power, were they not?—A. Yes, sir; Southern white men, with few exceptions.

Q. Well, what was the matter that you could not get justice with all the machinery of the courts in your hands?—A. In the State we had the law as we have it now, but the question was to execute it. The Southern white people had the property, the money, and under these judges it was decided that, so far as I learned, all cases were bondable, and whenever a colored man or white man was admitted to bond they would continue the case from time to time, would have some trouble about the witnesses, and would keep him in bond.

Q. I understand; but that was the fault of the Republican judges if they construed the law wrong, was it not?—A. Well, at that time I do not know that they had a case called, except in the riot. It was about the time when I had to leave and we gave up the State that this occurred.

Q. Were not the Republican officers in power about the time this riot took place?—A. Yes; up to that time when the riot commenced.

Q. Well, why did they not bring the offenders to justice?—A. They didn't give the officers of the law the chance to do it; we had to leave.

Q. Did they interfere with them?—A. Yes; an armed body of men took charge of my office at once and we could not resist; they had the best arms and were drilled men and they took charge of my office and I have never seen the inside of my office from the day the riot started up to this time.

Q. They ejected you, did they?—A. Yes.

Q. Did they appoint any one in your place?—A. Yes, sir; they appointed a sheriff of their own.

Q. The mob did this?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That mob rule did not last long, did it?—A. Yes, sir; it continued, and I never did get to see my office any more.

Q. Whom did they put in your place?—A. They put in a man, I believe, of the name of Wortham.

Q. What was his politics?—A. Some called him a Republican, but I regarded him as a very strong Democrat.

Q. Why did you so regard him if he was called a Republican?—A. Because he went with the mob and carried a gun in the riot, and fought.

Q. Perhaps he was a Greenbacker?—A. He was a Pennsylvanian formerly; but all the people North are not Republicans.

Q. He was a carpet-bag Republican, then?—A. No, sir; I didn't so regard him.

Q. Who elected him?—A. He was not elected; he was appointed by the mob or the riot as soon as they got in power, and he fought with them, and took his gun in the front ranks with them.

Q. You say the mob appointed him?—A. Yes, sir; they put him in.

Q. Or the riot, as you call it—the rioters appointed him, you say?—A. Yes.

Q. And did the governor recognize the sheriff appointed by the rioters?—A. After the riot was all over, M. S. Alcorn was appointed by the governor, and then this man had to get out.

Q. Then was the time that they ought to have tried these people for murder, was it not?—A. They could not do it.

Q. Why could they not?—A. The governor was powerless, and the rioters were a strong body and well armed, and it was impossible for anybody to do anything.

Q. What was the comparative number of blacks and whites in that

county?—A. The number I think must have been, probably, four or five to one. I think that is about what it was.

Q. Yes; and you say that this one-fifth of whites was so strong that the other four-fifths were powerless to do anything as against them?—

A. If the whites of the county alone should get into a fight with the colored men, it would soon be decided for the colored men; but not where white people would come in from other parts, from the counties and States surrounding them, as was the case in the riot there. There were white people there from Tallahatchie County and Panola County, and some also from Arkansas, and some from Tennessee, and some from Alabama, as I understood. They were in Coahoma at the time of the riot. So in any case of collision the white people of a single county would not have to be encountered alone, but from the surrounding counties and States.

Q. Were there not black men in the adjoining counties, and could they not also be brought in?—A. Yes, but they are not armed; the white men are well organized and drilled and armed with the best arms, and they have all the steamboats and railroads at their command. If the colored men had started in a fight and their ammunition had given out, they would have been surrounded and could not have got any more help; while the white men could have got all they wanted, both of ammunition and men.

Q. But after that was all over, and law and order were resumed, and the civil authority had taken the place again of insurrection and disorder, why could not the guilty parties have been indicted then?—A. I do not know; I never got back into the county after that, as I said.

Q. O, yes; you did.—A. Well, I did go back, but I could not stay; I had to leave.

Q. Why did you leave?—A. I left on the ground that I went back at one time, and there was a writ brought against me charging that I had threatened to kill several prominent citizens, and would be arrested and brought before the courts. I went down with a young lawyer from Austin, Miss., to fix my business, and see if I could remain and get everything quiet. They came to my office and told him that I could not get control, and he told me that he believed if I should attempt it I would only be put in jail and taken out at night and murdered. There was no chance for me to regain control, and he said that I could not even let it be known that I was about. So, fearing the consequences, I had to leave, and one night I went out of my back door, found my way to the woods, and made my escape to Arkansas.

Q. Then you fled from the civil warrant, and not for your life?—A. No; I left because I felt that I could not have a chance; I was compelled to leave on this ground. And the next morning after I had gone, it came out in the Memphis Appeal that I was under a seven thousand dollar bond, that I was demanded to give and could not, and that I was in jail on account of it, when I had never been before the court. That showed me that they intended to murder me.

Q. That convinced you that they intended to murder you, because they let you out on your bond?—A. No, sir; they never let me out; I was not even before the court.

Q. Well, because the paper said that?—A. No; that said I was in jail.

Q. And you could not get the bond?—A. No; I could get it, but I did not let them get hold of me to give it; no, sir.

Q. Then you ran from the warrant, and not from any threats of per-

sonal violence?—A. No, sir; not from the warrant, but from a belief I would have no chance even for my life if I staid.

Q. That was it?—A. Yes; I went back twice after that, however.

Q. Did you?—A. Yes; I went back at night, and was informed by some of the best men in the county, and Democrats, that they were watching for me to murder me.

Q. Please give us some of the names of these best men in the county, Democrats, who told you that?—A. Well, one man named Hogan, who lived there.

Q. The insurance man?—A. No, a livery-stable keeper there, named Hogan.

Q. Yes; and he told you they were going to murder you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he tell you anything else?—A. Yes, he told me I had better get out of the way.

Q. Didn't you afterwards find that he wanted you to leave the county for some other reason?—A. No, sir; for he left himself soon after and went to South Carolina.

Q. He didn't run away, too, did he?—A. He went away, I know; he left.

Q. Well, he didn't have to run away, did he?—A. I do not know that he ran away; he came up on the boat, and passed Helena, Ark.

Q. Did you notify the authorities of your intention to settle matters in your office?—A. I sent down word that I wanted to come back and fix up my business there, and Dr. Cooper offered to sign a paper before Captain Manning, and one doctor at Houston, and, if necessary, they would have it signed by a hundred men, a pledge that they would murder me if I returned; and I thought that was sufficient for me to stay away.

Q. Well, in all these troubles you were not murdered?—A. No, sir; I believe not.

Q. When did you get back again, you were going to speak of that?—A. I went back on a Saturday, once, when I thought that everything would be quiet, and I asked for twenty days' time in which to fix up my business with them; and said that after that, if they were determined I should leave the State, I would than go; that all I wanted was a chance to fix up my affairs; but I was informed that that very evening was fixed for my murder, that men were gathered for that purpose, white and black both, and they intended to murder me that night; so I took the advice of my wife, who was ill at the time, with a little babe, and she begged me to leave, and I took her advice, and went to Helena that evening.

Q. They always managed to let you know what they were going to do, and to give you a chance to get away, it seems?—A. Yes, sir; I had some friends there among both the whites and blacks.

Q. How many men did you say were under the command of General Chalmers on the day of the outbreak?—A. I think, in the city, so far as I could learn, there were about three hundred and fifty to four hundred men. That was as near as I could learn the size of the force at his command. I was myself very busy in trying to keep the two parties from coming together in opposition—to keep them from fighting, as General Chalmers knows, and everybody else.

Q. Didn't you know that General Chalmers had less than seventy men under his command at that time, to keep the peace?—A. No; I do not know it; more than that, I know that besides those in our county there were other places where they had come in from.

Q. Did you see any there that day who were from other counties?—
A. Yes; I saw some strangers there.

Q. Who were they?—A. There was only one of them that I could identify personally; he was from Arkansas.

Q. What was his name?—A. It was Mr. Billy Burke, from Helena, Ark.

Q. Was he not the only man you saw there that day whom you knew and could identify, with the exception of those from Coalhoma county?—

A. No, sir; there were some strangers there, I know, but they didn't come to the court-house; and I got down between the white men and the colored men and didn't have time to see them all; in an excitement like that, men didn't have time to see much.

Q. Well, you ought not to tell us that you saw a number of people there if you did not see.—A. I could not see all, and could not identify all that I saw, but I know there was about that number from what I learned of those that did see.

Q. You heard it from those that were as badly scared as you were, and you know when people are scared they are very apt to exaggerate the numbers of the people they see!—A. Well, some had come from the country and were there all night and didn't seem to be scared then, and they said that the number was about one hundred and seventy-five that surrounded them beyond the bridge, and that about the same number was left back of them near the town, which I was told by a good many people that did see them.

Q. Did not the colored men run around the town the night before, flourishing their pistols and firing them off?—A. In the city?

Q. Yes.—A. Not a pistol was fired off. I never allowed that, as sheriff, by either white or colored. I never allowed any one to do that without arresting them.

Q. Didn't they run round the town whooping and yelling, and making a great racket and noise?—A. No, sir; for white men guarded the town that night, and had speaking there that day.

Q. Were not some stores broken into and plundered?—A. No, sir; for the city was guarded by armed white men all night long.

Q. Well, that was Austin?—A. Yes, sir; Austin, Miss., claimed that the stores were plundered. But talking afterwards with the white people there, the merchants, they said not a thing was taken out.

Q. But charges were made of that by responsible people there?—A. They said that Memphis white people came down there to Austin and did steal. When I was in Austin they said that.

Q. You were told that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you believed that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you did not believe that the colored people plundered the stores?—A. No; so they told me.

Q. Who told you?—A. Merchants there, who were Democrats, told me that, and I took their word for truth.

Q. What were the names of the merchants they said were robbed by white people from Memphis?—A. One of them was the treasurer there, Mr. Askew; he kept a drugstore, and was postmaster.

Q. His store was robbed, was it?—A. No, sir; he did not say it was.

Q. Any one else?—A. A Jew there, I can't think of his name now.

Q. Was this Askew a Republican?—A. He was said to be a Republican.

Q. Why did you say Democrats just now?—A. Well, there were some Jews there and Democrats who said that their store was robbed, but when I went there they said they had not lost anything.

Q. What is that Jew's name?—A. I do not know, I can not give his name.

Q. Alexander, wasn't it?—A. I don't know, I can't remember what his name was.

Q. Didn't he come from New York?—A. I cannot say; I only went there to ask questions, and to know if they had been robbed.

Q. Well, were they robbed?—A. A young man named Frettle told me he was not robbed. He was a Democrat.

Q. You say the men that were robbed said that Memphis men had robbed them?—A. I said that men said the colored men didn't rob; and both Democrats and Republicans told me they didn't rob, but that white men, coming down from Memphis, did pick up a good many things round town, but they didn't rob the stores particularly.

Q. But they didn't tell you that the colored men didn't plunder and do other things there, did they?—A. They said there was no plundering there, among either Democrats, or Republicans, or colored people. I think the citizens would sustain that assertion at any time.

Q. You are a member of that association in Kansas, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You handle the funds, don't you?—A. Yes, sir; some of the funds pass through my hands.

Q. Was George R. Alcorn a Republican or a Democrat?—A. He was said to be a Republican.

Q. What was Mr. Reed?—A. As I said before, some claimed that Mr. Reed was a Republican, and some said he was a Democrat. He is with the Democratic party now, and, I understand and I think, always was before.

Q. What was he then?—A. He didn't seem to take particular sides with any. He was a good friend of mine, always was, and I of his. He voted sometimes with the Republicans and sometimes he voted on the other side.

Q. You say that Alcorn was a Republican?—A. George R. Alcorn was claimed to be a Republican.

Q. He was claimed to be a Republican. Was he on your bond?—A. No, sir; not George R. Alcorn.

Q. Which of the Alcorns?—A. M. S. Alcorn, Governor Alcorn's son.

Q. Reed was on your bond?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Reed, you say, was your attorney?—A. Yes, sir; H. P. Reed was counsel.

Q. I will read you a dispatch from the New York Tribune of Monday, October 7, 1875:

MEMPHIS, TENN., *October 6.*—The following dispatch to the Associated Press was received to-day:

FRIAR'S POINT, MISS., *October 5*—via Helena, 3 a. m. Oct. 6.

The sheriff of Coahoma County caused our town to be invaded this morning by an armed mob of negroes. We drove them back. We are fully organized for defense, with Senator Alcorn and General Chalmers in command. The sheriff has fled the country. Send us aid immediately.

H. P. REED.

GEORGE R. ALCORN.

This is sent by H. P. Reed, your attorney and counsel, and George R. Alcorn, a leading Republican. Did you ever hear of that dispatch before?—A. Yes, sir; I have read it.

Q. Well, explanations are in order.—A. I will give you the explanation. The Hon. H. P. Reed had always been a leading Democrat of that

city. He claimed to be a Republican, and voted with the Republicans in 1873, and so did General Chalmers, who, I understand, voted for Ames.

General CHALMERS. I never did such a thing.

The WITNESS. You were accused of it; that I have heard of often, at least.

General CHALMERS. I was never accused of doing it.

The WITNESS. H. P. Reed was not a Republican, though he was acting as a Republican, and was thought by some to be getting into the secrets of the Republican party to break it up. George R. Alcorn claimed to be a Southern Republican as long as he had an office, but when he didn't get office he was ready to flop over on the other side, and the rest of the family were like him, except Major Alcorn. George R. Alcorn was taken up and nominated by the Democratic party. They took him up and nominated him for clerk on their ticket; that was my understanding after the riot, and he went with them to save himself as he supposed. When the riot started that was the popular side, when a white man could be a Republican and stand the sentiment against him. H. P. Reed ran as the Democratic candidate for my place after I was driven out. That is the kind of a Republican he was; he wanted my office.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. The riot was just before the election, was it ?—A. It was the 1st of October.

Q. When did your election come off ?—A. The second Tuesday in November; that is the time of year, I believe—the first or second Tuesday in November.

Q. The election came off three or four weeks after the riot ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ticket was elected in that county at that election ?—A. M. S. Alcorn, as I stated before, was on the Republican ticket and was elected by two or three hundred majority. The Democrats all wanted the office themselves, and they had three candidates in the field. Mr. Allen was nominated by one part of the Democrats, and another part nominated H. P. Reed, and some ran H. P. Morton, or he ran himself. They divided their strength in the county, and one man on the Republican ticket was enough to be elected.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Was he elected by a majority or a plurality ?—A. Maybe by a plurality, or probably he got three hundred majority, I think. I do not know what the others got.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. He did not get a majority over all told ?—A. I do not know as to that.

Q. What was Alcorn running for ?—A. He was running for sheriff.

Q. Who was running for clerk ?—A. Mr. M. C. Priddy. Mr. Priddy was elected clerk with him.

Q. What was his politics ?—A. He was nominated on the Republican ticket at first as assessor, but was afterwards put on by M. S. Alcorn.

Q. Who was elected treasurer ?—A. I do not recall his name now.

Q. Was he a Republican or Democrat ?—A. I do not know that; I hardly remember now.

Q. Was it not Dwyer ?—A. No; there was a colored man on the ticket named Whitfield. He was put on the ticket, and he was elected with these two other men.

Q. He was a black man and a Republican, was he?—A. Yes, sir; he was.

Q. Well, it seems your people had their right to vote there, notwithstanding the riot?—A. Well, where we are in the majority and are let alone we have twelve to thirteen hundred clear majority, and yet there was not over three hundred majority, as the papers will show, for the Republicans. That is a falling off in the vote of one thousand in three or four weeks' time.

Q. Yes, there seems to have been a general falling off?—A. No, sir; not of the white vote.

Q. How about that vote?—A. A big white vote was polled at that election. The falling off was on our side, of about a thousand votes; a big change in four weeks.

Mr. VANCE. Here is an account by ex-Senator Alcorn of the affair at Friar's Point, as published by him in the New York Tribune. It is little over a column in length, and I propose to have it put in.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. (To witness.) Have you ever seen this report of Governor Alcorn's?—A. Yes, sir; it is the report sent to the New York papers that he made. The governor was a bitter enemy of Governor Ames, and I was a friend of Governor Ames, and voted the Republican ticket in 1873, and carried it for Governor Ames by 972 against Alcorn.

Mr. WINDOM. Well, if that has anything to do with the witness, we ought to have it read.

Mr. VANCE. I will read it. It is from the New York Tribune of Tuesday, October 12, 1875 (reading):

“THE FRIAR'S POINT WAR.

“AN ACCOUNT BY SENATOR ALCORN.

“SHERIFF BROWN THE AUTHOR OF ALL THE MISCHIEF—THE STRUGGLES OF A CORRUPT RING FOR CONTROL—A MAN WHO HOLDS THREE OFFICES AT ONCE—BROWN'S INCENDIARY HARANGUES—PARTICULARS OF THE FIGHTING.

“*To the Editor of the Tribune:*

“SIR: You ask me to give the facts touching the troubles at Friar's Point. I will do so as briefly as I can. We have for sheriff a colored man from Oberlin, Ohio, elected two years ago on the Ames ticket. His bond was made by Ames, who a year ago surrendered him on the plea that he had appropriated to his own use nearly \$5,000 of the revenues belonging to the State, and had demanded the co-operation of the treasurer of the county, a white Republican, in a fraud upon the county treasury for nearly \$6,000 more. A number of wealthy planters, all Conservatives, all of whom had opposed his election, ignorant of the facts touching his default, became his bondsmen, in the hope, as they said, that he might be controlled in the interest of peace. The State senator from this district elected four years ago was a colored man from Ohio named Bolls. Two years ago, and while holding the office of senator, he was appointed receiver of public money. A year afterward he defaulted with a large sum and ran away. Smith, another Ohio negro, was sent from Jackson to this district to run for a senatorial vacancy, and was elected, and now holds the office. At the close of the last session of the legislature Smith was appointed receiver of public money. Subsequently he was

appointed our county superintendent of education, at nine hundred dollars a year. All these offices he now holds. Two months ago Sheriff Brown made known to the negroes that Smith must be elected to both of the offices of circuit and chancery clerk. This was not satisfactory to the negroes. It alarmed the tax-payers. Among the powers of the chancery clerk are those of approving official bonds and keeping the records of the board of supervisors, the taxing power of the county. These offices would make the ring for the plunder of the county complete in Brown and Smith. The negroes of the county, urged by the tax-payers, made stubborn resistance to Brown's programme to control them.

" BROWN'S WILD PROCLAMATIONS.

" To subdue opposition, Brown began haranguing the negroes six weeks ago touching declared outrages on his race in other portions of the State. He stirred their blood by recitations of Clinton and Vicksburg. He urged them to arm for defense, as the whites were watching the opportunity for assault. Citizens quietly protested that they meditated no war on the negro; that the whites had held no public meetings; that they had no military organization; that not a single negro had been killed by a white man in this county since the war; that the whites are planters, and not politicians; that they care not who hold the offices if they but hold them well; and that their fields were white with cotton, and ruin would come upon them should they fail to gather the crops. These protests coming to the ears of Brown were denounced as hypocritical. He said he had orders from the governor to carry out his programme at all hazards; that he could bring, if need be, five hundred militiamen to each voting precinct; that this country belonged of right to the colored people, and they intended to have it; that the white man had had his day, and that the day of the colored man was now at hand. Brown supplied himself with a Winchester rifle, and was reported to have brought a large lot of ammunition to the county. Alarmed at his demonstrations, two of our most respected citizens visited him, one of them his bondsman, and urged him, if he did not mean war, to send the ammunition away. This he refused to do.

" THE NEGROES UNDER BROWN'S CONTROL.

" The whites now began to counsel for defense, but had made but little progress when Brown's convention met. The negroes were completely under his control. None were allowed to speak, except by his permission. Brown was renominated for sheriff, Smith for both circuit and chancery clerks, and one white man and four ignorant negroes for the board of supervisors. The result was proclaimed in the streets of our village, with the deafening noise of many drums, on the evening of the 2d of October.

" UNAVAILING EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

" The same day as that of Brown's convention a meeting of citizens, white and colored, was called at the court-house. After others had spoken, I, being recognized in the audience, was called out. I responded in a sharp review of Brown's outrages, and made the first public disclosure of his plunder of the tax-payers, reciting the fact of his effort to stir his people to violence. Brown was in the audience, and denied some

of the assertions made. I rejoined with point. Brown drew his pistol, and held it exposed until I had closed.

"This was on Saturday. Brown announced to the audience that he would make his reply at the court-house on Monday night.

"Sunday it became known that Brown was sending runners over the country urging his leading negroes to marshal their commands and bring them in on Monday night under arms to the court-house. Citizens were alarmed. Some of his bondsmen went to him and urged him to defer his meeting. He persisted, but finally yielded to a request to postpone it till Tuesday, and then to have the people come without arms.

"On Tuesday rumors were rife that the negroes were organizing for an armed raid on Friar's Point. Brown denied that it was so, but the town people, with the few visitors present, were hasty in making preparations. Brown read in this a determination that promised to bring him to his senses. He sent to know if he was regarded as sheriff, and if his summons would be obeyed. The answer was made, in writing, that the community were anxious for peace, and that if he would summon a posse of fifty whites and fifty colored men all disorders could be suppressed. To this proposition he made no reply, except when appealed to, and when assured that the negroes were marching armed and with loud curses on the town. He then replied that the negroes had no arms, but, if mistaken in this, he would turn them back. Many believed him to be sincere, but the preparation for defense was not altogether suspended.

"THE INSURRECTION OF TUESDAY.

"I had gone to my home. A half hour elapsed when a message came that the front of the negro columns was already in view. I ran to the place of rendezvous, about two hundred yards distant. The negroes were in full view on the edge of the town. The whites, to the number of about fifty, were falling into line. Brown was urging them that if they would make no demonstration he would turn the negroes back. He and one or two others went to the head of the negro column, now forming for the charge. The negro general swore at Brown, and threatened to shoot him for his cowardice; that he had sent for him to take the town, and that he should do so. The negro in command is reported to have been much excited with liquor. His troops were well armed with shot-guns, pistols, and sabres. They had their guns cocked. The white forces were soon augmented to near one hundred men. All fell into line. Republicans and Democrats were alike determined. The negroes numbered several hundred.

"The officers in command of the whites advised the negroes, who were still parleying, and were hourly being re-enforced, to leave the town in fifteen minutes or they would be fired upon. The negroes agreed to fall back for a council of war, and did so, but their re-enforcements still kept coming. They were now informed that they must disband and go home, or they would be attacked. They finally fell back to a bridge two miles from the town, a strong position, where they halted and formed. The whites halted, divided their men, and with a company flanked their position. The negroes seeing this fell back further, and while passing fired. The whites charged. The negroes ran. Brown and Smith threw down their arms and ran for life. Both escaped. No one was killed or wounded. The whites pursued, and it was thought that the negroes had dispersed.

"NEXT DAY'S BUSHWHACKING.

"It soon became apparent that trouble was ahead. The next day a young white man who had no connection with any organization, but who was attending to his business, was ambushed and killed. The men under arms drove the negroes, nine in number, from the ambushade, killed two, and captured and sent to jail three, while four escaped. William Peace, Brown's chief, in command, attempted to reorganize his forces at Jonestown, and forcibly entered the stores and took fresh supplies of ammunition. Whites were arrested and violently threatened. A large store-house was threatened with the torch, but they finally retired without injury to the town. The whites were under command of General Chalmers, with the Rev. Daniel White and Captain Lea in command of companies. All were brave, prudent, and thoroughly experienced officers. They continued pursuit until the negroes disbanded and all was quiet. Peace, the negro general, escaped. Not more than four negroes have been killed. One of these was brutally shot. He had come with a company from an adjoining county. Added to the above casualties, two white men, under arms, were seriously wounded. This is all.

"The county is much disordered. We have lost a week's work, but believe there will be no further trouble, unless Brown and Smith, supported by the governor, attempt to return to the county. Should this be done, I cannot guess at the consequence. You have the facts, as I believe them to be.

"J. L. ALCORN,

"United States Senator.

"FRIAR'S POINT, MISS, *via Helena, Ark., October 11, 1875.*"

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Are there any points in this on which you wish to make an explanation?—A. Yes, sir. And first, in regard to Governor Ames being on my bond. He was never on my bond for one cent, nor did he ever take any part or ask me to go on my bond.

Q. I don't say "on my bond." The bond was made by Ames.—A. He never had anything to do with making it. The bond was made out first in my town. All the men volunteered to go on without asking them; so they did the last time.

The same about Jackson, as to controlling the county or bringing in men from Jackson to control the county. I never made any such statement to the people at any time, and I never had a gun given me from Jackson by the governor; I never asked for any whatever till after the riot; never, at any time.

This man Peace, with regard to sending him to bring in the colored men; I have his written statement in Topeka, Kans., given under oath, that I never sent for him; and he is now in Helena, Ark., in Phillips County, and this written statement will deny that I ever sent for arms. In regard to the colored men that were killed in the riot, he says there were only four killed. I can name six; and if there are two more killed, that the governor speaks of, that must make eight. There was Nelson Bright, Monroe Lewis, and Henry Alcorn, who worked the place he lived on, near Black Byroe—I forget the name of the plantation—that is three; and Charles Green, who was working when he was killed on Governor Alcorn's place; the man that worked for him, Babe Collins; and Robert Simmons, that lived on D. F. Alcorn's place, or Simmons did. That is six, to my personal knowledge, and that Gov-

ernor Alcorn knows himself were murdered. And then there are the two others he speaks of; that makes eight. That is more than I knew of. That is eight he knew of that were killed, and that he cannot deny were killed.

Q. He does deny it.—A. Well, their graves can be shown in the county to-day, if necessary.

Q. You omitted to mention in your statement to Mr. Windom about the killing of one white man who was killed in that riot.—A. I said that one white man was killed named Scott.

Q. You did not state that he was ambuscaded by armed negroes.—A. I do not know whether he was attacked from ambush or not; I heard he was killed. He was not killed on that day, but he was shot, and after riding five or six miles on the road to Shooflersville.

Q. And you didn't state also that the two colored men who were killed were the men that ambuscaded these white men.—A. I never knew that they were killed before; that is all new to me; when Captain Burke sent the dispatch from Helena.

Q. Did you not know that Nelson Bright was killed in an ambuscade?—A. No, sir; I understood it was when he was on the road miles off and without any gun whatever; that was my understanding of it.

Q. It seems that Governor Alcorn knew of it.—A. The governor was not there.

Q. Well, you knew of it; you were not there?—A. I heard of it; that is what they say.

Q. You did not hear from a better source than the governor?—A. I do not know that I did.

Q. You were not there yourself?—A. But he says I threw down my arms and ran for my life, when I was not in the fight. General Chalmers will tell you that.

Q. How is it that you were not in the fight?—A. I would have been there if I could have got back.

Q. I will agree that you were not there when the fighting was going on. Is there anything else in that statement that you want to deny or explain?—A. I cannot now say; it is a long article and I could not get all the points at once.

Mr. WINDOM. You can look it over now, if you wish to do so.

The WITNESS. It is so long that I do not know that I can keep it all in my mind. In regard to the part that Governor Alcorn has taken, I wish to say that he was bitter towards Governor Ames in his administration. Of course, I stood by the administration, and he was bitter towards me for my speaking against him, and his cousin was not nominated and he didn't like that. He did come out; I saw him myself, with his gun; but his own son stood by me to the last, and his father don't speak to him on that account.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. There were a good many Republicans in this town of Friar's Point that took sides against you, were there not?—A. There were only three that I could name at all that called themselves Republicans; one was Governor Alcorn, the other was George R. Alcorn—and I do not think he went out in the riot at all—and the other one was H. P. Reed, and they didn't call him a Republican. He didn't take any gun there in the riot.

Q. Were there not some black men who stood by the white men in the riot?—A. There was not a colored man in the whole county that took up a gun that had anything to do with it; but after the riot some

colored men did take part with the white men in trying to help carry the ticket.

Q. Is this true? "His bond was made by Ames, who, a year ago, surrendered him, on the plea that he had appropriated to his own use nearly five thousand dollars of the revenues belonging to the State, and had demanded the co-operation of the treasurer of the county, a white Republican, in a fraud upon the county treasury for nearly six thousand dollars more." You say it is true that you got the money, or that Ames said you had and dropped you on that account?—A. No, sir; this county treasurer—I will explain that. There was a certain amount of money due the county. Before going to Jackson to make a settlement for the State, I paid over every cent of the county money, not wishing to keep it in my hands, not even taking out my commissions; and I came to the county treasurer and took his receipt. When I went to Jackson I had paid him a considerable amount of money more than was really due. After I came back to make a settlement, he saw that the county was a great deal ahead. I never asked him for anything back. I told him that whatever was due me for my commissions he should let me have that; if there was anything over, and if there was anything wrong about the books—these books were fixed up not by me but by Governor Alcorn's nephew, D. F. Alcorn; I was collector and took the office after he had collected an amount of taxes—if there was anything wrong about the books I told him just to hold that money. I never demanded any money whatever from the treasurer. This county treasurer, seeing that he could not be nominated, made a statement that I demanded of him the money back, which I never did, but which lies in the county to-day. After I wrote to them to look over his books, I found that he had the money. It was only a scheme made to cover himself and Governor Alcorn's nephew.

Q. Didn't you make a speech to the colored men a few weeks before this outrage, in which you recited what had been done to them and to you in other portions of the State?—A. After the Clinton riot—and many had been killed there—they wanted to know about it, and they asked me, and I told them in a speech about that riot, and told them this also, that I believed trouble would come, that I saw it brewing; but I advised them to keep quiet as far as possible. After the Tallahatchie trouble I went out and settled that, and I begged the colored people to keep quiet, and I asked the white men to do the same. If the colored people were not armed I said they would have to submit, or if they would resist they were unprepared to resist.

Q. Did you advise them to buy arms?—A. I never advised them to buy arms.

Q. They were unprotected, and trouble was coming, that was the substance of what you said?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you said in your speech that they should prepare their guns, or fix them up and make them serviceable?—A. Only in this way. The Tallahatchie people had started over to murder them. I told them that I would not advise them to stand by and see their families and themselves die and be murdered, without resistance, without an effort to defend themselves. I told them to keep their guns in readiness, but not to make any demonstration until they were attacked; but that if these white men should come to pillage and to murder, I told them they had a right to protect themselves. But I told them to abide by the law. And during the nineteen months that I was sheriff of the county, it never had been so quiet before nor has it been since; that is said by both parties.

Q. Did you denounce the promise of the white people that they did not intend to interfere with them politically as false and not to be believed?—A. In the Clinton riot, I told them they had made promises that they did not intend to keep, as I had learned; and that was enough to show that they did not intend to keep them, after murdering so many there, and that they might do the same as they had done at Vicksburgh the year before.

Q. And that therefore their promises were not to be depended upon; did you tell them that?—A. It was only the Tallahatchie people they were afraid of, not the Clinton County people; but the first trouble started in Tallahatchie, on the line of the two counties.

Q. Do you deny making your people understand that they could not depend upon the white people—that you tried to make that idea prevalent in the minds of the black people?—A. With the exception of a few white men in the county that I knew could not be relied upon; as a majority, I told them that the white people would stand by them.

Q. Didn't you say that these promises and pretenses of the white people could not be depended upon, but would be just like those at Clinton?—A. I said that with reference to a few men; that some hot-headed men would make such promises and pretenses, and could not be depended upon, but that the majority of the Coahoma people could be depended upon.

Q. Did you tell them that you had orders from the governor to carry out the programme at all hazards, and that if need be he could bring five hundred militiamen to each voting precinct to protect them?—A. I never made any such statement whatever; I deny it in toto; I deny every word of it.

Q. Did you tell these people that this country belonged of right to the colored people, and that they intended to have it; that the white man had had his day, and that the day of the colored man was now at hand?—A. I deny every word of it; I never made such a statement in any public meeting whatever. I only advised them to work quietly, and attend to their own affairs, to get land and become taxpayers, and educate their children; and all who heard me can bear me out in this.

Q. And you did not nominate this man Smith for the two offices of circuit and chancery clerk?—A. The two offices under the law of Mississippi were thrown together; and he was nominated for it the same as others; I never had him nominated for it in particular; there was a large convention and he was nominated.

Q. Where did he come from?—A. He was a native of Virginia, I believe.

Q. How long had he been down there?—A. I think he went to Bolivar County, Mississippi, in the early part of 1871, and he was in that county for some time before he came to my county.

Q. How long had he lived in Coahoma County as a citizen of that county?—A. I don't know just how long he was a citizen of Coahoma; he had been a representative of the county (Bolivar) for nearly two years in the State senate.

Q. You answer everything I don't ask you, and hardly anything I do. I asked you how long he had been a citizen of that county, and you tell me he represented another county in the State senate.—A. Well, I said I didn't know exactly.

Q. Well, was it two years or two months or two weeks?—A. I could not say.

Q. Was it two months?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it three months?—A. I think it was some seven or eight

months. He is here in the city. I don't know the exact date of his residence in my county; I did not keep a record of it. He had been a citizen of Bolivar County, and the two counties (Bolivar and Coahoma) form the senatorial district from which he was elected a representative to the State senate.

Q. And he came to Coahoma to run for this office?—A. He was appointed county superintendent, and the people wanted him, and they nominated him. There was nothing in the world that I knew of that could be brought up against him, and the people felt he was competent and they nominated him.

Q. I saw some time ago something in the Daily Capital, published at Topeka, Kans., about a colored man named Brown who was accused of great cruelty to his children, confining them in a cellar and whipping and starving them. Are you the same Brown?—A. If that was in the Capital, I never made such a statement.

Q. Well, what Brown was it?—A. I never saw the statement, and know nothing about it.

Q. Well, it was in the Capital of May 23, 1879.—A. I am not the Brown, sir.

Q. You did not do that?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. You did not?—A. I have not had the chance to do anything of the kind; I did not teach there. I have been a farmer there until I took hold of this exodus.

Q. It is simply enough for you to say you did not do it, without stating the reason why. Did you have any trouble with this association about the funds of the company?—A. No, sir; never.

Q. What is the name of the Brown that did?—A. No Brown had any such trouble with the association.

Q. Your name is J. M. Brown?—A. Yes, sir; J. M.

Q. Was there not another Brown in that association as responsible officer?—A. I am the only Brown on it. There are two colored men on it, and they are here to answer for themselves. I am still superintendent. There are some eight or ten of the best white ministers of the State on with me. If there was any stealing or irregularity in handling the funds, they ought to know something about it.

Q. Yes; we all ought to know where there is stealing going on, that it may be stopped.

Q. You went out West to get your rights, as I understand you?—A. I went to Ohio with my wife. She caught a severe cold during the riot, a trouble with the lungs, and my child died with it. The climate was too severe and I took her to Kansas. She died on the 7th of July, 1877, in Kansas, and my child also died from the effects of the riot.

Q. You are still living there?—A. Yes, sir; at Topeka, Kans.; I went there and went on a farm.

Q. Have you had any office since you have been there?—A. No, sir; I never asked for office, nor run for any there; I refused to take any.

Q. You wanted to run for office, didn't you?—A. No, sir; I did not desire any.

Q. Can any black man in the State of Kansas get an office at all by election of the people?—A. Yes, sir; the constable is elected by the people in Kansas. One man was elected mayor or judge—police judge at Baxter Springs, Kans., and one was elected to the State senate to fill a vacancy.

Q. A colored man?—A. Yes, sir; by the name of Winn. There is none in the senate now, for they have not had any session this winter at all.

Q. Did you ever see the constitution of the State of Kansas?—A. I do not know that I have read it particularly; I have read some of it.

Q. Don't you know that the word "white" is in the constitution yet?—A. The word "white" may be in the constitution, but it is regarded as null and void, it has no effect whatever. There is no law on the statute books of the State of Kansas against the colored man in any way whatever.

Q. But was not that clause in the constitution submitted to a vote of the people in 1866?—A. I was then in Ohio.

Q. But did you not know of it?—A. I heard of it, that it was, and voted down, as I heard said to-day. And I know that when under Governor Anthony they called out the State militia during the railroad strike, that colored men went. Governor Anthony thought that that clause in the constitution prohibited him calling them out, but Governor St. John decided that they had nothing to do with it under the new order of things; and we have a colored militia there, uniformed and drilled the same as the white militia throughout the State.

Q. Don't you know that they have that in the South, too?—A. Yes; I suppose they have in some cases.

Q. Do you know that there is any law prohibiting the employment of colored militia in the Southern States?—A. I do not know that there is.

Q. Don't you know that no Southern State has the word "white" in its constitution?—A. Yes; I know it has not the word "white" in its constitution, but I know that it has laws especially for colored men in some cases.

Q. Mention some of them?—A. There are some delicate ones that I don't like to mention.

Q. O, let us hear what they are.—A. Well, there is a law in Texas that if a colored man happens to marry a white woman if he takes a notion to, they can put him in the penitentiary for ninety-nine years; and I hear that they have that law in Mississippi.

Q. Well, that is a law to prevent the blacks and whites from intermarrying, is it not?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you object to that law?—A. I object to any class legislation whatever.

Q. You want the whites and blacks to intermarry?—A. No, sir; I would not have a white woman myself.

Q. You do not want the privilege then to intermarry?—A. No, sir; but I do not want a law to prevent anything of the kind, for it is unnecessary; I think society will regulate that itself; and people should be allowed to have their own choice; it is not necessary to put up a bridge to prevent a man or woman from marrying as they may choose.

Q. You think that a colored man is as good as a white man?—A. In every respect. If I did not, I would not be a Christian.

Q. Now, if the law prohibits a white man from marrying a colored woman, the law, you think, is hard on the colored man?—A. That is true, for if a white man should marry a colored woman they would not do anything with him—probably give him a sham trial and let him go; but they would probably send the colored man to the penitentiary.

Q. That would be the fault of the courts and not of the law?—A. Exactly; and they have got some good laws in the South if they would only execute them.

Q. Do they allow white people to marry black people in Kansas?—A. Every man and woman does as he pleases in that respect, and they do not break the laws in doing it.

Q. Well, that is a great state of affairs, isn't it—where everybody

does as he pleases?—A. No, sir; they permit them to do as they please in that matter, so long as they do not transgress the laws of the State.

Q. Well, is that the desire of the people?—A. Yes, sir; to do as they please in reference to marriage; but the colored man don't desire to marry with the whites; still, they don't want the laws to discriminate against them.

Q. That is, if a black man should take a notion to marry a white woman, they don't want any law against that?—A. We don't want any law against us that is not equally against all; and we don't intend to stop till we see all such laws wiped out, as American citizens.

Q. Do they agree never to stop till all laws against intermarriage are abolished?—A. I don't know that.

Q. Well, you have been in the South a good deal, and know the sentiments of your people there; is that their "intention," as you call it?—A. They want their liberty in all respects, and protection in the enjoyment of all their rights.

Q. But is it the general sentiment of your people in the South that all laws preventing the whites and blacks from intermarrying ought to be abolished?—A. I simply mentioned the case as one instance of discrimination in the law as against the colored people.

Q. Is that the only one you know of?—A. I have not seen the revised statutes. I don't care particularly, so far as that particular matter is concerned; but we do want the same laws for the black man as for the white.

Q. Then you say you don't know of a law in the constitution of any of the Southern States that discriminates against the black man, and that the State of Kansas does discriminate against the black man in its constitution. Do I not so understand you?—A. I do not know how it discriminates against the black man.

Q. Well, can the black man hold office under the constitution of Kansas and vote?—A. Yes, sir; they do hold office and vote.

Q. Under the constitution of Kansas do they?—A. They do do it.

Q. They do it whether under the constitution or not?—A. Yes, sir; they do it.

Q. They do it in violation of the constitution of the State? So far as the action of the State goes, they declare in Kansas that they will not have the black man to hold office?—A. If that is in the constitution it is null and void, and of no effect.

Q. You want to go into a State where the people do not obey the constitution, is that it?—A. No, sir; I left a State where they did not obey it to go to a State where they do.

Q. But you just now said that a clause of the constitution was null and void in Kansas; that is, that it is not obeyed?—A. That it is not enforced; for the colored man can run for office and be elected and appointed and hold office in Kansas.

Q. In the face of the constitution?—A. Well, they do it. If there is anything in the constitution to prohibit it, they do it; the provision is not enforced.

Q. Exactly.—A. It is null and void.

Q. Exactly; and you left the South because they did not obey the law?—A. I left the South because they believe in mob law and common law; and whenever they got ready to make a law they made it.

Q. Who made the laws under which you were living?—A. They were made by the Republican party.

Q. Exactly.—A. And while the Republican party was in power they got along very well; the white and colored people both got along well

enough except in some cases where they had these riots. They did have some riots, and the people suffered, it is true; but the reason for that was that the colored people demanded their rights and stood up for them; and now they are having quietness in the South, but it is the quietness of death—a quietness like that of slavery. There was quiet in the South before the war, because it was necessary to be quiet or lose your life. So it is now, except for the protection of the Republican party.

Q. You say they have more quiet there now?—A. They may have less riots now, because it is necessary to show the colored people that they are powerless, and if they start a riot for any cause, to protect themselves, they are bound to get the worst of it, for the State militia is called out against them and the militia from other States if necessary.

Q. Well, it is a good thing to put down a riot, no matter how, isn't it?—A. I have no objection to putting down riots; but the colored men claim the right to live peaceably.

Q. Don't you know that the colored people to-day, in the South are doing better than they have been since the war?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do they not state that they are?—A. If they do, they are making false statements. I heard that in Georgia they have five million dollars' worth of property; that divided among the colored people there would be about eight dollars a head; that is, they have been sixteen years in making eight dollars a head; that is sixty cents a year clear on the average. Now in Kansas they have got good houses that are worth four or five hundred dollars, and they have increased in value within three years.

Q. How much property do you suppose they have out there?—A. In Kansas do you mean?

Q. Yes?—A. I don't know any other State where they are accumulating property so rapidly.

Q. Well, are they not accumulating it in the South rapidly?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. Do you know anything of the Southern negroes now, except those destitute ragamuffins that go out on the exodus?—A. I have not been in the South, as I have said, since 1876, but I have seen colored people from the South; educated people who have some property. They claim, going down hill every year in place of going up, and they are leaving. I saw one from Texas who was selling out to leave.

Q. What did he sell it for?—A. I forget now. I know he was living at Fort Scott, and keeping a boarding house.

Q. Well, it seems he had something to sell?—A. Yes, he is a mechanic; and he said he had no security for his life.

Q. He was not doing well. What wages do they get in Topeka as agricultural laborers?—A. In working on a farm, wages run according to the hand—from ten to eighteen dollars in the country, the same as white men. If they are good hands, they get ranging from ten to twelve and fifteen dollars and so on up; and I have known some extra hands to get as high as twenty dollars.

Q. What else do they get?—A. This is for monthly laborers; where they are hired by the month.

Q. Can they get a support out of that?—A. If he is a single man he can. They hire from ten to eighteen dollars; usually from twelve to fifteen if they are good hands; and they hire his wife, if he is a married man, for eight to ten up to twelve dollars a month in the house. The farmers want house service, and white girls are scarce out there.

Q. What I want to know is whether the man boards himself out of that fifteen dollars a month?—A. He is boarded by his employer.

Q. Well, if he has a family do they give him a house?—A. If he has got a family, if they have a house, they let him have a house where his wife is.

Q. Does he have a garden plot?—A. They allow a garden plot for his children to cultivate, if he has children, and if his children are large enough to work they hire them.

Q. Suppose his employer has no house for him?—A. Well, he would hardly hire a large family, then. He would not be able to hire much labor himself.

Q. Do they get fire-wood, fuel, in addition?—A. Out near the creeks they get timber. Where they have little timber they get coal. We have plenty of coal in Kansas.

Q. Who furnishes that?—A. Where they are hired by the month the landlord furnishes that.

Q. The landlord furnishes the fuel and the house?—A. Yes; keeps him in the house; gives him a room; just as he would a white man, in the same way. If he contracts that he is to furnish that, why the contract would govern that; but they hardly ever make a contract in Kansas for labor.

Q. What is their plan there?—A. They just take the man's word for it. We have a law in Kansas that every thing a man has got is liable for labor done, so a man is bound to be paid for his work.

Q. Did you know that in the Southern States there was a laborer's lien for labor?—A. A hundred dollars is kept out of his crop, I know, but the trouble is the lien is on the whole crop, and they run up his account and take the whole of it, and he has no redress.

Q. That is the universal rule, is it?—A. I don't know that it is a universal rule, but that was what these people claimed was the result since 1876.

Q. You lived in Mississippi, and you ought to have some knowledge of the fact, if you didn't have, that a laborer's lien is the first lien for work done?—A. If your colored man has a crop of cotton, and he hires a man to work with him for so much a month, and for even a part of the crop, that man's claim is a lien to the amount of one hundred dollars. That was the law in Mississippi, I know. I do not know what it is now; but if a man goes on a place to work he has no lien at all, of course. The first thing is the rent; that has to be paid, of six dollars or ten dollars, or whatever it is, and then the merchant has to be paid for supplies.

Q. Hold on now. Suppose the landlord is not a merchant, but the merchant is an outsider, does the law give him a lien?—A. The colored men can go to him and give a lien.

Q. That is a different matter; the lien lies against the landlord; it don't include the rent.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Well, now, can a colored man make any more money in Kansas than he can in the South?—A. That depends on circumstances. They say that the prices are very low there now for work, and very high for provisions. I have not been there for some time. In Kansas they get a dollar a day and board themselves, and it does not cost them so much to live as it does where they have to pay twenty to twenty-five cents a pound for bacon, as they do in the South, instead of where they buy it for seven and a half to eight cents a pound in Kansas.

Q. Where do they have to pay any such prices in the South?—A. In Coahoma County under their contracts.

Q. That is the price for bacon bought on time; do you not know that the commission merchants usually charge fifty per cent. advance on cash prices?—A. Yes, sir; but I think that they have been very extravagant there in their charges.

Q. Well, that is where the goods are bought on long time, and on uncertain credit?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have any homestead laws there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That makes a laboring man's credit very bad, does it not, unless he gives a lien or mortgage to help it out?—A. Yes, sir, but that is unnecessary because it is the custom of the whole South to go on the credit system.

Q. Suppose a colored man is cropping on shares, who provides the land and furnishes the implements and horses?—A. The landlord generally.

Q. How much cotton can that black man make for his share?—A. It is according to how much he allows him, for that Mississippi land produces about a bale to the acre; some have made one and a half bales to the acre, but take the average and it is a bale to the acre, and they allow for a man and his wife to attend to ten or twelve acres. That would make it a bale to the acre on shares; and if he got half, it would be five or six bales.

Q. What is the rule—is it not generally one and a half bales to the acre there?—A. It used to be; now some of them furnish the mule but tend it themselves and board themselves and give half of the cotton and corn to the landlord. A regular bale is about four hundred and fifty pounds, and used to be worth twenty cents a pound when I was there, which would be ninety dollars a bale. That would leave the colored man four hundred and fifty dollars for his part.

Q. What else is furnished to him?—A. Nothing but a mule.

Q. That would be four hundred and fifty dollars to him and the same to the planter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Can a colored man make four hundred and fifty dollars on the same amount of land cropping in Kansas?—A. He cannot make it now in Mississippi, for cotton is not worth so much as it was then.

Q. Well, take it at fifty dollars a bale; if he made five bales that would yield him two hundred and fifty dollars; can he make that much in Kansas on the same amount of land?—A. Yes, sir; he can, but you see he has got to live in Mississippi as well as in Kansas.

Q. He has to live in Kansas too, and that costs something, does it not?—A. Yes, sir; but he does not have to pay more than one-half as much in Kansas for his living as he does in Mississippi. Taking wheat for example, one man can attend to seventy acres, and it runs twenty to twenty-five bushels to the acre; this winter it will be up to thirty bushels, probably.

Q. If he gets fifty bushels to the acre that would be thirty-five hundred bushels. Take half out now and that leaves him seventeen hundred and fifty bushels, and even at twenty cents a bushel he would make three hundred and forty dollars?—A. Then he would have something over from raising his corn and anything else that he could sell out of his garden.

Q. Well, that is one of the corners that you have not brought up for him in the South.—A. They cannot sell their garden stuff as well in the country as they can in Kansas.

Q. How much would his share of the corn be worth in Kansas?—A.

That would be one hundred and twenty-five bushels as his share; at fifty cents it would be sixty-two dollars and a half.

Q. You are speaking of the South now, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; I mean Mississippi, not Kansas.

Q. Well, add that now to the price of his cotton, it would bring it up to the amount he would make in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then you have got him about as well off in Mississippi as you have in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; in reference to making money they can make more in the South, but it costs more for them to live. If they were protected I think they would prefer to live in the South and they will do it whenever they are given a fair chance. I expected to buy a plantation and stay there myself if it hadn't been for these troubles.

Q. Well, you admit that there is not much difference in favor of Kansas in the matter of making money?—A. No, sir; if the price of cotton holds up at twelve and a half cents a pound; but they have to pay twenty cents a pound at any time, or nearly that, for their meat, while in Kansas it is only seven or eight cents a pound; and he pays twice as much for sugar and all that; taking these things into consideration he would come out in Kansas, I think, two hundred dollars ahead of what he would in Mississippi.

Q. How about the prices of land in Kansas?—A. If he buys near Topeka, within five miles of a city, it will cost him about eight dollars an acre, and from that on out. It is cheaper some twenty miles away from the city. He can find bottom lands heavily timbered at one dollar to one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre, out of the public lands and school lands. They can have ample time to pay it in if they buy of the railroad.

Q. What about buying lands in the South?—A. Well, sir; I saw while I was there that they could buy land if they had the money.

Q. If they had the money?—A. Yes, sir; but the trouble was in the titles. The colored people know very little about titles. One in Texas bought some land, and I know one named Robert Black who bought a place, and he paid a part of the money on it and they got into law about it and he lost it all.

Q. Well, is not that true of transactions of the same kind in other places?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What compensation do you receive as superintendent of the Emigration Relief Society?—A. Until within the last two months of the year's work I got no pay except for my horse. I said I could not go on in that way and they agreed to allow me for my expenses eight or nine hundred dollars a year. That was for my work and all my time given to it.

Q. How much money is passing through the hands of your association?—A. As near as I can get at it, between thirty-five and forty thousand dollars have passed through for the year. We have a regular board with a president and secretary.

Q. How long has it been started?—A. Not quite a year. I have been a member since its organization but was not general superintendent until some time afterwards. I took charge of the colonies and the settling of them. I simply looked out and found cheaper lands and sent the colored men to look after them, and I go there myself and see that they get their deeds for it. We have built barracks for them; we have one in Wabaunsee County about fifty miles from Topeka.

Q. Who own these lands that are on the market so cheap?—A. The State Agricultural College we bought from.

Q. How many acres did you buy?—A. We contracted for four sec-

tions and we only settled two. We got them for two dollars and fifty-five cents, but we did not sell it to them. The receipt was made out to each man for forty acres as he made the first payment, and he was given nine years' time at seven per cent. They have their receipts and will make their payments themselves hereafter. It was at the same price that we paid that we agreed to let them have the land for. We buy no land for anybody personally and have nothing made out in our name.

Q. Then the society does not speculate on these lands?—A. No, sir, not a particle.

Q. Where did this money come from?—A. A great deal of it came from the East and a good deal from England. You see Mrs. Comstock, who was forty years a resident of England, a quakeress, last week received seventy pounds, and she is receiving money nearly all the time. I think Ohio though has given the most, and Massachusetts the next largest amount.

Q. Did all this money pass through your hands?—A. No, sir; not a cent of it. It is sent to the secretary and he turns it over to the treasurer and gets a receipt for it.

Q. Is yours an incorporated association?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Does the secretary give bonds?—A. Yes, sir; at first he gave five thousand dollars—a five thousand dollar bond—and now he gives ten or twenty thousand dollars—a ten or twenty-thousand dollar bond—and the secretary five thousand dollars, good security. The money is paid out by the executive committee to three appointed by the board each month, and no money is paid except on an order signed by the president and secretary.

Q. In how many installments do these people have to pay for these lands?—A. About ten. They make one when they get their receipt, and have nine years in which to pay the others.

Q. Suppose they make default?—A. Then they will be in the same fix as anybody else, and the lands will go back to the college.

Q. What will become of their improvements?—A. They will be forfeited; but I suppose that some other colored man will come up and take them before they get back to the college.

Q. If he forfeits it, the title goes back from him to the college?—A. Yes, sir; but before the time for payment, if he cannot pay it himself, he will probably transfer his investment to some other man.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Were you and Governor Alcorn, at the time this letter in the Tribune was written about you, friends or enemies?—A. He had a bad feeling against me since 1873, because I ran against his nephew and beat him for sheriff. He went against the party, and I went for it. I carried our county against him. I had no particular bad feeling against him, but I knew that he had against me.

Q. Is not that dispatch to the Tribune about the character of the dispatches generally sent North whenever there were any difficulties between the races in the South?—A. Yes, sir; that was the character of the one, and that is where we lost the South. It was our understanding that dispatches like that were sent North and believed there. They sent word that I was in jail, when I had not been, and had not been in court. These were sent to keep the eyes of the Northern people turned away while they got hold of the States.

Q. You were asked about holding an office for several years. Did the Republicans hold office before the State was converted by the shotgun policy?—A. Yes, sir; they held all the offices except judges. We

did not have many of the judges; the State was largely colored, and the white people claimed that the colored people wanted all the offices, and in order to avoid it they were careful to elect the judges and sheriffs. There were only seven or eight colored sheriffs out of seventy in the State.

Q. Well, in 1875 there were none?—A. Yes, sir, and I think there are none in the State now. I heard some were elected, but they fixed it so that they could not give their bonds.

Q. About how many of these people can be accommodated in the North during the next year?—A. Well, sir, from the way that Illinois has started it, I should think three or four hundred thousand in the next year could be provided with homes. Grain is going up and the farmers are demanding labor in Nebraska, Colorado, Iowa, and so on. The railroads and the mines want them to work, and a man near Topeka said they could employ a thousand in the coal mines that are to be opened up. I had a call for five hundred to go to Rock Island, Illinois, and I see that eight hundred are passing to that point now.

Q. Do you see any signs of this exodus subsiding?—A. No, sir; I have received letters from Elder Lynch who I sent to Cairo to change the tide to Illinois, and he states that they are coming at the rate of five or six hundred a week, and when the warm weather comes they will come by thousands.

Q. Have you ever considered the advisability of sending them to the Indian Territory?—A. Yes, sir; and many from Texas will go there if it is opened up to settlers. They will go there for they are going to try to raise cotton there, and if it is a success in the southern part of Kansas, of course it will be in the Territory and the colored people will go in there by thousands.

Adjourned to Saturday, March 27, 1880.

THIRTY-FIRST DAY.



WASHINGTON, *Saturday, March 27, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to its order of adjournment and proceeded with the taking of testimony. Present, Senator Vance, acting chairman (in the absence and illness of Chairman Voorhees), and Senator Windom.

TESTIMONY OF PHILLIP JOSEPH.

PHILLIP JOSEPH (colored) was sworn and examined, as follows :

By Senator WINDOM :

Question. Where do you reside?—Answer. In Mobile, Ala.

Q. What are you engaged in—what is your business?—A. Editing and publishing a newspaper.

Q. What is the name of your paper?—A. The Mobile Gazette.

Q. How long have you been living there in Mobile?—A. All my lifetime with the exception of three years that I resided in Louisiana.

Q. Then you were born in the State?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. Have you given much attention during the last few years to the condition of the colored people in the South—to their discontent there and the reasons for it?—A. I have, sir.

Q. State what, if you know, was the first movement looking to the

emigration from that country, or any portion of it.—A. The first movement that I have any personal knowledge of, or in which I took any part, was a convention called for the purpose of taking into consideration the condition of the colored people of the State of Alabama, and the best means of ameliorating their condition.

Q. When was that convention held?—A. On the 2d of December, 1874.

Q. Where at?—A. At Montgomery, Ala.

Q. Tell us about the action of that convention—what its motives were, its causes and action.—A. If permitted, I would prefer to read the proceedings of that convention.

Q. If they are not too long you can do so. That, I understand you, was the first movement you speak of?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You can tell us about it just as well.—A. There was an emigration or organization formed and committees appointed. One of them was charged with going out West and seeking some suitable place for a colony; and an address was adopted by the convention to the people of the United States, setting forth their grievances, &c. A petition was also adopted and presented to Congress, both of which I have here.

Q. Before giving us those, please state the extent to which that convention represented the colored people of the State of Alabama.—A. It was a delegate convention. Delegates were regularly chosen from every county in the State, and the State was fully represented in that convention. The number in that convention was something over one hundred delegates.

Q. And they represented all parts of the State, you say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell us what they did and what were the grievances of which they complained, and to which they gave expression?—A. They complain that, as a race and as citizens, they have never enjoyed, except partially and locally, their civil and political rights. They further complain that they were swindled out of their earnings, forced to pay high rents for land, and always kept in debt; that their political rights were denied and abridged.

Q. Have you the resolutions passed by that convention?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they express the views of the convention?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they adopted unanimously?—A. Yes, sir; they were.

Q. Suppose you give them to us, and that will be about as well as any other way to get them into the record.—A. Instead of resolutions, the grievances are set forth in the petition, which was adopted. It was in the form of a petition and not resolutions. It is in this document (holding up a volume of Congressional reports upon the political condition of Alabama). It is a little bit lengthy, and if the committee has the patience to listen to it I will read it.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. What is the date of it?

Senator WINDOM. It is a petition adopted by that convention in 1874 setting forth their grievances at that time.

By Senator VANCE :

Q. There is no objection to it, except its length; how many pages are there?

The WITNESS. Ten pages.

Senator WINDOM. I would like to have it in the record.

Senator VANCE. Suppose the witness indicates what portion he wants to use.

Senator WINDOM. Suppose, on the other hand, we postpone the reading of it, with the understanding that it shall go in.

The petition is as follows :

Message from the President of the United States, transmitting a memorial of a convention of colored citizens assembled in the city of Montgomery, Ala., on December 2, 1874.

To the Speaker of the House of Representatives :

I have the honor to transmit herewith, for the information of Congress, a memorial forwarded to me by a convention of colored citizens assembled in the city of Montgomery, Ala., on the 2d of this month.

U. S. GRANT.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, December 22, 1874.

MEMORIAL.

To His Excellency the President of the United States, and the honorable the Congress of the United States :

The colored people of the State of Alabama, who by virtue of the three latest amendments to the Constitution of the United States became emancipated, and also became citizens of the United States, feeling anxiously and solemnly impressed by their past and present condition in the State of Alabama, and by the grave and menacing dangers that now surround and threaten them and their constitutional rights, have as a race and as a people assembled together in convention to consider their situation, and to take solemn counsel together as to what it becomes them to do for their self-preservation.

We, therefore, for your better information upon the subject, do humbly present for your consideration and action the following memorial :

That as a race, and as citizens, we never have enjoyed, except partially, imperfectly, and locally, our political and civil rights in this State. Our right to vote in elections has been, in a large portion of this State, denied, abridged, and rendered difficult and dangerous ever since we became voters. The means used by our political opponents to destroy or impair this right have been various; but have chiefly consisted of violence in the form of secret assassination, lynching, intimidation, malicious and frivolous prosecutions and arrests, and by depriving or threatening to deprive us of employment and the renting of lands, which many of us, in our poverty and distress, were unable to disregard. These acts of lawlessness have been repeated and continued since our first vote in 1868, and their effect has been such that from ten to fifteen thousand of the votes of our race have in each election been either repressed or been given under compulsion to our political opponents.

It is true that in some counties, and in parts of other counties, we have been exempt from these acts of lawlessness, but yet they have been committed to such an extent as greatly to diminish our votes, and once at least, in 1870, and probably on the third of November, A. D. 1874, was this lawlessness so great as to give (without the other frauds perpetrated) the election and all its fruits to our political opponents. In proof and illustration of this statement we refer to the following facts and figures in a few counties where organized violence and terror have most prevailed.

We select for example the counties of Monroe, Washington, Choctaw, Marengo, Sumter, Greene, Pickens, and Russell. Taking the census of 1870, and dividing the white and colored population of these counties by 6, to ascertain the number of white and colored voters, we have the following results :

	White voters.	Colored voters.
Monroe	1, 104	1, 262
Washington	354	297
Choctaw	967	1, 145
Marengo	1, 015	3, 343
Sumter	867	3, 151
Greene	643	2, 423
Pickens	1, 342	1, 606
Russell	991	2, 615

It is a well-known fact, and attested by the actual vote, wherever violence or terror has not repressed or controlled the votes of our race, that they vote their full strength, and with hardly an exception they vote the Republican ticket. It is also true, in the counties above named, that the white voters with only a few exceptions vote the Democratic ticket. Compare these facts with the actual votes, as shown by official returns, and the effects of this violence and terror are palpable :

1868.

	Democratic votes.	Republican votes.
Monroe	1, 196	58
Washington.....	104	17
Choctaw.....	1, 113	925
Marengo.....	1, 879	2, 793
Sumter.....	1, 469	2, 516
Greene.....	869	2, 927
Pickens.....	1, 497	531
Russell.....	1, 230	1, 745

The same counties in the year 1870 gave the following vote:

	Democratic.	Republican.
Monroe	1, 362	579
Washington.....	581	6
Choctaw.....	1, 078	1, 041
Marengo.....	1, 439	3, 248
Sumter.....	2, 055	1, 438
Greene.....	1, 825	1, 790
Pickens.....	1, 708	230
Russell.....	1, 154	1, 428

The same counties gave in 1872 the following vote:

	Democratic.	Republican.
Monroe.....	1, 448	482
Washington.....	495	79
Choctaw.....	1, 177	644
Marengo.....	1, 707	1, 608
Sumter.....	1, 733	2, 449
Greene.....	1, 231	2, 508
Pickens.....	1, 510	441
Russell.....	1, 717	2, 513

The same counties voted in 1874 as follows:

	Democratic.	Republican.
Monroe.....	1, 320	948
Washington.....	579	65
Choctaw.....	1, 421	986
Marengo.....	1, 808	3, 432
Sumter.....	1, 690	3, 305
Greene.....	864	3, 169
Pickens.....	1, 938	1, 177
Russell.....	1, 964	2, 625

The remarkable anomalies, fluctuations, and alterations in the votes of these counties are a curious study, and cannot be understood without a knowledge of the various local causes, chiefly of intimidation or its absence, or its varying degrees at the several elections.

Washington County stands uniform in its repression or compulsion of the black vote, because one long and unbroken reign of terror has brooded over it. Never yet has a public Republican meeting been held, or a public Republican speech made, or permitted to be made, in that county. Such an attempt, unless backed by large physical force, would bring certain death to those engaged in it. We cite a recent instance, capable of positive proof: At the November election, 1874, a man was sent from Mobile to Escatawba, in Washington County, where there were about one hundred colored Republican voters, with printed State and Congressional tickets for them to vote. He was met on the cars by a Democrat, who warned him that if he got off at Escatawba he would get off with him, and that if he, the Republican, went there to do anything in connection with inducing or enabling the negroes to vote, he would be killed on the spot. He was obliged to abandon his trip and return with the tickets. Nobody could be procured who would peril his life in repeating the attempt, and no tickets were sent there. Out of one hundred Republican voters residing in that precinct alone, and anxious to vote, not one of them voted or could have voted.

Take as striking examples the cases of Sumter and Greene Counties, and notice the remarkable fluctuations between the votes of 1870, 1872, and 1874. In 1870 the Ku-klux Klan held undisputed sway over those counties, and mark the result. In 1872 their sway was much diminished, and mark the vastly increased Republican vote. In 1874 the Ku-klux were paralyzed by the presence of United States troops and criminal prosecutions; and mark again the restoration of the normal black Republican vote of these counties. The other counties named also show the same results in less marked degree.

In the fourth Congressional district of this State, the only district in which intimidation was considerably neutralized by the presence of United States troops and criminal prosecutions, the black Republican vote was increased 3,000 over the year 1872, and about 6,000 over the same vote of 1870.

We might point to further proofs in these figures of the violence and intimidation that have for years assailed and controlled the votes of our race, but for fear of being tedious we forbear, only inviting special study of the remarkable figures presented in the foregoing elections. The investigation made in the years 1870-'71 by a committee of Congress known as the Kuklux committee, developed and established the fact of the organized existence, in many parts of this State since the year 1868, of a secret, powerful, vindictive, and dangerous organization, composed exclusively of white men belonging to the Democratic party in this State, and whose objects were to control the labor and repress or control the votes of colored citizens of this State. That organization, or a substitute and successor to it, under a changed name and a somewhat changed wardrobe and personal manifestation, still exists in all its hideous and fearful proportions.

It is composed chiefly of ex-soldiers of the late Confederate army, accustomed to military movements and the use of arms, and it is, essentially, a military organization. This organization we solemnly believe pervades all of the late rebellious States, and contains more than a hundred thousand arms-bearing men, most of whom are experienced and skilled in war. The definite political object of this organization is, by terror and violence, to make the citizenship and franchises of the colored race, as established by the Constitution of the United States, practically and substantially a nullity. Nothing but fear restrains them from making open war upon the government and the flag of the United States. We pray you not to be deceived by their professions, for they are "wise as serpents," and they profess respect for the United States and obedience to its laws, while in their secret enclaves they curse them.

They have only changed their tactics. Defeated in their scheme of secession, they have fallen back upon the old South Carolina plan of nullification. Being unable to defeat or nullify the constitutional amendments by their votes while the Republican party is in power or by open war, they have resolved to nullify them by secret war, violence, and terror.

Nor have we fared better in our civil rights of life, liberty, and property which have come for adjudication before the State courts. It is true that Republican judges have generally presided over the superior courts of this State, and have generally shown a disposition to do us justice, but even these have been, to some extent, warped by local pressure. But the main reasons for this failure of justice are that the sheriffs, probate judges, and clerks of courts have almost universally, throughout the State, in plain violation of State laws, failed or refused to put men of our race on grand and petit juries in most of the counties in Alabama, and it has followed, as a consequence, that the lives, liberties, and property of black men have been decided by grand and petit juries composed exclusively of white men who are their political opponents. In controversies between our race and white men, and in criminal trials where the accused or the injured is a black man, it is almost if not quite impossible for a black man to obtain justice.

In criminal prosecutions against him he comes to the bar of the court, in most cases, illiterate, without counsel, poor, and helpless. If innocent, he is nevertheless often convicted, and if guilty he is punished beyond measure. Before such juries the testimony of colored witnesses is seldom received as credible, no matter how pure and good the character of the witnesses, and from this fact and the antipathies and prejudices of race, which are generally inflamed by artful and sometimes by undisguised appeals by counsel to these passions, it results that our race is deprived of their constitutional right under the constitution of the State to a trial by an "impartial jury," and of our right under the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution of the United States "to the equal protection of the laws," and "to the full and equal benefit of all laws," and as well of that invaluable right declared in *magna charta* of being tried by "the judgment of their peers."

Our lives, liberties, and properties are made to hang upon the capricious, perilous, and pre-judged judgments of juries composed of a hostile community of ex-slaveholders, who disdain to recognize the colored race as their peers in anything, who look upon us as being *by nature an inferior race*, and by right their chattel property.

If the high sense of English justice granted to an *alien* the right of trial by a jury composed one-half of aliens, when all the parties and jurors were of the same race, how much more imperative is the claim upon American justice, that when the life, liberty, or property of a colored citizen is staked upon the verdict of a jury, such jury should not be composed exclusively of a different and hostile race. And thus it has come to pass, by the operation of these and other causes, that the colored race of Alabama is denied or deprived of the benefit of "the equal protection of the laws" both in their political and civil rights. They are deprived of the substantial and beneficial power of the ballot as a means of protection, and in judicial procedure they are denied their right to "an impartial jury" and "the judgment of their peers."

As a race, we humbly confess and deplore our poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, and helplessness. But history must attest that these are rather our misfortunes than our faults. That race which derides these our misfortunes are themselves the causes add inflictors of these misfortunes upon us. If we are, as a race, illiterate and ignorant, it is only because their laws, until very recently, *punished as a crime our acquisition of education or learning*; if, as a race, we are poor, it is because less than a *decade* ago we were suddenly thrown, without experience, or their friendly guidance or assistance, and with no resource but our labor, upon our hard struggle for self-preservation, in a most unequal contest. Against a multitude of adversities and misfortunes we have labored on from year to year, and the undiminished cotton crops of that part of the State chiefly inhabited by our race incontestably establishes the fact that we have labored faithfully and well, and added more than a hundred millions of dollars to the wealth and commerce of this State. Many of our race in this brief period have become land-owners and farmers, and have accumulated substantial property whenever a chance of equal rights to property was granted and where terror did not exist. We have, as far as was practicable, educated our children, and they have made much and rapid advancement in learning. Under the pressure of accumulated wrongs and dangers we have remained passive and peaceable. Though frequently charged with being engaged in acts of riot and crime, investigation has proven that in every instance charged the accusation was false or exaggerated or distorted. In many parts of this State we cannot hold a public political meeting. If we hold a private meeting, merely to send delegates to a political convention, it is at once charged that we are plotting treason and murder. If we bear arms, only for self defense, it is charged that we mean offense and war.

The most atrocious crimes committed against us by white men go unnoticed or unpunished. We can be killed, or our property destroyed, by white men, with utter impunity and safety to the criminal. If we commit any offense, punishment follows surely, quickly, and vindictively.

For three or four months past especially our lives and the lives of nearly all Republicans in this State have had no protection except the fear of the authority and laws of the United States. But for the presence of United States troops, and civil officers of the United States, hundreds of the active and earnest Republicans of this State would have been assassinated. But even with the protection of these agencies, many of our race were shot down and killed at the polls on the 3d day of November last, only because they chose to exercise their right to vote, as in the cases of Mobile and Barbour Counties, where Norman Freeman, Bill Jackson, and William Kinney (in Mobile) and Alfred Butler, George Walker, and W. C. Keils, white, and others (in Barbour) whose names are at present unknown, were killed, and a large number wounded. Many of the victims of the White League in Barbour County were found dead in the woods and partially eaten by vultures; and these crimes will go utterly unnoticed or unpunished by the State courts. The obvious reason is, that the grand and petit juries, the judges, and the civil officers as a mass, and the sentiment of the people justify, approve, excuse, or connive at these atrocious crimes.

Desiring to do full justice to all, and to misrepresent nothing, we admit with pleasure, and with hopeful encouragement, that about fifteen per cent. of the white citizens of Alabama are faithful and loyal to the Government and laws of the United States; that at least fifteen thousand of these citizens, at the recent election on the 3d day of November, voted with us for "tolerance, peace, and charity," though in doing so they were compelled to pass through the ordeal "that tried men's souls." Nothing has ever been witnessed in the United States that approaches in kind or quality the scenes through which these heroic men have passed. Their lives were threatened, imperiled, and sometimes destroyed; and they were denounced, reviled, persecuted, and ostracised in every conceivable form, and with a savage violence that spared neither character, age, nor sex. And all for simply adhering to "the National Republican party," and acting with a majority of the white citizens of the United States.

We also cheerfully admit that among our political opponents, and of those who last month voted with the Democratic party, there are some who are good and law-abiding men, and who disapprove or deplore the madness and the crimes of their political associates; but these better men are too weak, timid, and passive to counteract or resist their more numerous, active, and violent political associates. If we could have peace, tolerance, and individual liberty in this unhappy State, many of these better and wise men would join us in political action.

The election just passed bears palpable fraud on its face. The census of 1870 shows in this State 202,046 citizens of this State over the age of 21 years. This number has certainly not increased since the census, for the emigration from the State has largely exceeded the immigration to it. And yet at the November election the actual vote, officially counted, was 201,046, while 3,000 other votes actually cast were destroyed or not counted, making 204,046 votes actually cast. As a physical or moral fact, this vote is simply impossible. Many counties doubled their possible voting population on the 3d of November, 1874, and these excesses have been confined exclusively to Democratic counties and Democratic majorities and gains.

In three previous elections, two of them Presidential elections, and which may be taken as a fair exponent of the voting capacity of the State, the largest vote cast only two years ago was only 170,000, while the November election of 1874 shows more than 200,000, or a gain of more than 30,000.

As a result of that election the Democratic party, which made the canvass confessedly on the "race issue," white against black, and which, discarding its designation of Democratic, called itself "the white man's party," has just come into possession of all the departments of the State government. Its inauguration was accompanied with a display of physical and military power and of terror that were never before witnessed in this State as an accompaniment of such event.

The legislature, now in session, has in its procedures displayed toward the colored race a spirit of marked bitterness, injustice, and vindictiveness which justly adds to our apprehensions of the future. With every department of the State government hostile to us, how may we expect or hope for justice or even for mercy.

Pressed around with these wrongs, misfortunes, and dangers, solemnly impressed with their gravity, no resource or hope suggests itself to us, but an earnest, prayerful, and we hope not unavailing, appeal to the President and the Congress of the United States, who still have the power and the agencies that may, in some measure, right our wrongs and diminish our misfortunes.

The question which our case and condition presents to you is simply this: whether our constitutional rights as citizens are to be a reality or a mockery, a protection and a boon or a danger and a curse; whether we are to be freemen in fact or only in name; and whether the late amendments to the Constitution are to be practically enforced or to become a nullity, and stand only "as dead letters on the statute-book."

If we are asked what remedies are needed to obviate these evils, we reply that we have no doubt of the power and of the intelligence of the executive and the legislative departments of the United States Government to advise and to devise appropriate and sufficient remedies. But as we are by personal experience better informed of these evils, we respectfully suggest the following remedies:

That the several laws of Congress known as the civil rights act of 1866, and the enforcement acts of 1870 and 1871, though framed with great care and wide scope, are still imperfect, and need the following amendments or additional legislation, viz:

1. That in trials before courts of record in this State, where a citizen of African descent is a party to a suit, civil or criminal, he shall have a right to demand that the jury trying his cause shall be composed of not less than one-half of his own race.

2. That in suits, civil or criminal, before a court of record in this State, in which a person of African descent is a party to the suit, he may before trial obtain a transfer of said cause from said court to the district or circuit court of the United States by making affidavit that, in his opinion, he cannot obtain justice in said State court.

3. That in all civil suits where the value in controversy exceeds (\$100) one hundred dollars, and he is a party, and the other party or one of said other parties is a white person, he may bring his suit in the district or circuit court of the United States.

4. That, for the violations of the enforcement acts of 1870 and 1871, the person injured, or any other person may sue for and recover, in his own name, and for his own benefit, all or a considerable part of the pecuniary penalties imposed by said acts.

5. That the grand and petit jurors in the United States court shall be so summoned or obtained as to exclude therefrom such persons as belong to, approve, or sympathize with Ku-klux, White League, or other lawless, unlawful, and disloyal organizations. Without this provision, members of these organizations will get into grand and petit juries and make a "dead lock" of judicial proceedings against their confederates.

6. The immediate removal of all officers of the United States (who are by law removable) connected with the administration of justice in this State who are incompetent, unfaithful, timid, feeble, or unenergetic in the discharge of their duties, and the substitution in their places of men who are honest, zealous, competent, and true.

These latter qualities, and their exercise, are indispensable to the enforcement in this State of the laws of the United States, and suitable provision should be made for increased compensation to said officers, and for the expenses of enforcing said laws.

The foregoing we believe to be the kind of legislation necessary to remedy existing evils and defects in this State; and we are satisfied that nothing less than these remedies will be sufficient. Of the power of Congress to enforce the constitutional amendments by these, as a part of the "appropriate legislation" which these amendments provide for, we presume there can be no doubt. And the duty of Congress to adopt all the resources of "appropriate legislation" which exigencies may demand, we presume that no good man will question.

In order not to prolong this memorial, we forbear much argument in behalf of the remedies suggested. The right of trial by jury has been so universally considered to be such an inestimable right, such a bulwark against oppression, and such security against injustice, that in those countries where this right grew up, or was inherited,

trial by jury meant and was a trial by a jury composed of the neighbors and friends of the party whose rights were adjudicated, and by those of *his own race*. A jury so composed furnished the best guarantee which human wisdom could devise for the triumph of right and the defeat of wrong.

But when this mode of trial becomes, as it has, in this State, the trial of a black man or his rights before a jury composed exclusively of a different and hostile race, having no sympathies with him, but race antipathies and prejudices against him, it becomes worse than a mockery, and is the surest means of accomplishing his ruin and the subversion of right and justice. How jealous the recent slaveholder in this State was of jury trials affecting his *property in slaves* is shown by the statute of this State, during slavery, that when a slave was tried for a capital offense, "at least two-thirds of the jury shall be slaveholders." (See Clay's Digest, page 473, section 10.)

If property in slaves was so jealously guarded against injury from an unfriendly jury of their own race, how much more obvious the necessity of guarding the life, liberty, and property of the former slave, but now freeman, against injustice from an unfriendly jury of a different and hostile race.

As to the substitution or addition of pecuniary penalties, recoverable by individuals at their own suit, the reason therefore is, to make the enforcement of these penalties more probable by inducing and enabling individuals to prosecute such suits and to guard against inefficiency or unfaithfulness in district attorneys, United States commissioners, and grand juries.

As to the transferring the causes specified from State to United States courts, and giving to the United States courts original jurisdiction in others, the necessity therefore has been recognized and provided for by several existing laws of the United States; but these laws are not yet sufficiently ample in their scope. We suggest only their extension.

As to the quality and character of the civil officers of the United States, on whom the administration of its laws depend, the necessity of removing the inefficient, timid, and unfaithful, and the appointment of those having energy, firmness, and fidelity, is too obvious to require argument. Such officers here are surrounded by difficulties, dangers, and temptations, to overcome which requires the highest qualities of moral manhood.

They are called upon to enforce and execute the penal and criminal laws of the United States against all ranks of society, and against the most powerful and skillful organizations. These laws are regarded by the masses of the white people in this State as odious and oppressive, and they exhaust all means to defeat their operation. They study and assail the weak points and the infirmities which any officer of the United States may possess. If he is convivial, they "wise and dine" him; if he is more avaricious or impecunious than honest, they bribe him; if he is timid, they frighten and bully him. By such arts as these, and by disposing of private prosecutors and witnesses after the fashion introduced by inferior legal practitioners, they stifle and defeat the prosecution of crime.

It is absolutely essential to our protection in our civil and political rights that the laws of the United States shall be so enforced as to compel respect for and obedience to them. Before the State laws and State courts we are utterly helpless. If the laws of the United States, upon which alone we can rely, are not enforced, we hold all of our rights at the mere mercy of wrong-doers and criminals. If these laws are not enforced, both the laws and the government which enacts them fall into contempt.

Our race have now met in convention to consider solemnly the question of their future destiny in this State and in this country. We have no reason to expect from our political opponents, now dominant in this State, the exercise of justice, mercy, or wise policy. Not recognizing the value of our labor, their leaders declare our presence as a curse to the State, and profess to look with pleasure upon our exodus from the State. The solemn question with us is, Shall we be compelled to repeat the history of the Israelites and go into exile from the land of our nativity and our home, to seek new homes and fields of enterprise, beyond the reign and rule of Pharaoh?

The question presses upon us for an early solution. We linger yet a while to learn what will be done to avert these evils by the power that made us free men and citizens, and whose honor and good faith stand pledged to make that emancipation and citizenship something more than a delusion and a mockery.

We present these facts for the consideration of the Government of the United States, and ask its immediate interference in the terrible situation that it has left us after solemnly promising to guard us in the enjoyment of the privileges that it has given to us—namely, all the rights of citizenship.

PHILIP JOSEPH,
President of the Convention.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., December 2, 1874.

By Senator WINDOM :

Q. You drafted that petition ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was a unanimous expression from that convention ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were the grievances spoken of therein discussed by that convention ?—A. They were.

Q. In what way did you gather the facts stated in that address ?—A. From the lips of living witnesses in the convention.

Q. Did your own observation have anything to do with it ?—A. Yes; partly.

Q. Do you assert that they are a true statement of their condition at that time, and of their feelings ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any part of that address which speaks of migration as a relief for their grievances ?—A. I do not think it is spoken of in that petition; but I think it is in the address adopted afterward.

Q. If there is any part of the action of the convention that refers to migration as a relief for their condition, please state it.

The WITNESS, reading :

We have, therefore, organized an emigration association to give to them authority to take steps as will best effect the early settlement of a colony of colored families in the far West, which, in case of success, may be a nucleus around which many thousands of the hard-working colored families of Alabama may build for themselves happy homes.

Q. That committee was appointed ?—Yes, sir.

Q. Looking to that as a means of future relief—migration, I mean ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the committee ever take any action to present any facts to your people ?—A. I think they did. Shortly after that, however, I went over to Louisiana, and the most of the time since I have been there I was in such bad health that I did not take much interest in it afterwards. But my understanding is that they have gone ahead in the discharge of the duties assigned them by that convention.

Q. Has any convention been held in Alabama since 1874 upon this subject ?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Will you please state if this idea of migration has permeated the colored people of Alabama ?—A. It has.

Q. How do they look upon it generally, the migration from that country; as a relief for their present condition? Do they regard it with favor or disfavor ?—A. They regard it with favor generally.

Q. Are there organizations in the State to promote it ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they extend pretty well throughout the State ?—A. I think they do.

Q. You say you spent three years in Louisiana ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where do you reside ?—A. In the parish of Madison and town of Delta.

Q. What was the treatment of your race there during the time of your residence in that State ?—A. The treatment of the colored people in the parish was very good, up to last November and December, when there was an election held there. There was an election held for State and local officers.

Q. Were you residing there then ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What were you doing there ?—A. I was in business.

Q. State what the condition of things was during that election, or prior to and during it.—A. There was quite a party of men who came in there from adjoining parishes. They were called, or said to be, bulldozers, which is the name they gave to a band of midnight riders and

assassins. These men came in there and rode all over the parish, threatening colored men and running them out of their homes at night. On the Sunday evening preceding the election they shot and killed one David Armstrong.

Q. Was he a colored man?—A. Yes, sir; and I think he was a minister also. They took him off from his house, and nothing was seen of his body, or trace about it, except blood for a few yards from his house to the river. Some days subsequent to that there was a body picked up floating down the Mississippi River, said to have been his.

Q. Has he ever been heard of since, except to that extent?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were there any charges against him at the time?—A. None that I heard of.

Q. What kind of a man was he?—A. He was a quiet, inoffensive, and industrious man.

Q. Was he an active Republican?—A. No, sir; I cannot say he was an active Republican, but he was a Republican.

Q. What was the understanding about his killing?—A. That he was killed because he was a Republican, and it was necessary to kill some Republican in order to intimidate the others.

Q. When was that election?—A. That was done on Sunday, and the election was Tuesday or Wednesday after.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. What year was that, of our Lord?—A. 1879.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You spoke of their coming in and riding around over the parish bulldozing colored people and driving them away from their homes; but you did not give us a picture of the thing as you saw it and knew it; can you not do that?—A. Well, sir, they inaugurated a perfect reign of terror, and ran all the candidates of the Republican party out of the parish, as well as the leading Republicans, except the sheriff; but they did not run me out.

Q. Were you a candidate?—A. No, sir.

Q. How had they run them out?—A. They threatened some, and told others they had better leave; and they gave others orders to leave.

Q. How was this bulldozing carried on? Was it by individuals, single companies, or organized bands; or how?—A. They were men from the various parishes adjoining; I cannot say how well organized they were, but they acted with a concert of action which would seem to show that they were well organized.

Q. Were their threats to the Republicans generally, or made only in special cases?—A. Their threats were general; they went all over the parish with them.

Q. What were their threats?—A. That they were going to put the Republicans out of the way—those of them who attempted to canvass or distribute tickets.

Q. Were there any threats made against the speakers of the Republican party?—A. There were none on the stand, for the speaking was over when we heard that they were coming.

Q. This, you say, began on the Sunday night before the election?—A. No, sir; it began a week before.

Q. Was any one else killed except Mr. Armstrong?—A. I do not know of anybody else.

Q. Were there any other personal outrages, that you know of?—A. I know that two men were whipped.

Q. What for?—A. Because they were active Republicans.

Q. Where were they?—A. They were at their homes.

Q. Well, Mr. Joseph, you do not give us any idea of the situation there; you speak of it generally, but we want a picture of the whole thing. Did they go about in the day-time or at night?—A. They went to some places in the day-time and to some in the night. When they went after those two men I don't know whether it was day or night.

Q. Did they go in parties of two or three or more; how did they travel?—A. They traveled in numbers of from half a dozen to a dozen or fifteen, dividing themselves into squads, and going into different portions of the parish. There were about fifteen who went up to the candidate on the Independent ticket for the Seventh ward of the parish of Madison, on Sunday, and demanded his tickets or his life.

Q. Did he surrender them?—A. He did surrender the tickets, and they destroyed them.

Q. Did they look for others in the same way?—A. They went around searching for tickets, but the Republicans did not dare to expose any.

Q. What was the relative strength of the parties in that parish?—A. I have the figures, which will give you an accurate idea. Here is a return that I made for that parish when I was supervisor of registration in the last Presidential election. Governor Kellogg, who was an elector for the State at large on the Hayes ticket, received 2,525 votes.

Q. That was in 1876?—A. Yes, sir; and John McEnery, who was an elector on the Democratic ticket, received 332 votes. That was the highest vote received by any one on that ticket.

Q. What was the Republican majority?—A. That would be about 2,189.

Q. What was the vote after this raid you have been telling us about?—A. I thought I had a statement of it with me, but find that I have misplaced it; however, Major Lucas, the candidate upon the Democratic ticket for senator, and also the Democratic candidate for district attorney, to the best of my recollection, were returned by about three thousand majority. That is the recollection I have of it.

Q. That is, the Democratic ticket carried by about three thousand majority?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you pretty well acquainted with the colored people in that parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they vote the Democratic ticket in 1879?—A. I do not believe they did. I have been informed by them pretty generally that they did not.

Q. Were there any Democrats among them before the raid?—A. I do not think I was ever able to count a dozen colored Democrats in the parish.

Q. Then how do you account for this change from 1876 to 1879?—A. Fraud.

Q. Did the colored people vote at all?—A. They did not vote generally.

Q. What is the proportion of colored people and whites in the parish?—A. I do not know; I guess about four or five to one.

Q. What was understood to be the object of the raid that you spoke of; how was it understood by the colored people themselves?—A. They understood that the object was to carry the parish for the Democratic ticket. The Democrats about there expressed themselves as determined to carry it at any risk.

Q. Had it always gone Republican before?—A. Yes, sir; always. It had always elected the Republican ticket by very large majorities.

Q. Then, after the raiding and killing and whipping, there was either a vast amount of fraud or a very large and sudden conversion of colored people over to the side committing the raids ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I do not think there was any conversion.

Q. What effect has that sort of treatment toward making them happy and contented with their happy homes ?—A. It makes them very discontented, and they are determined to leave there and go elsewhere. But they have some trouble to get out of that section of the country.

Q. How is that ?—A. In the first place the boats refused to take them. I came along up the river to Vicksburg on the steamer James Hardy ; the steamer was within hailing distance of the shore all the way up pretty much, and I saw hundreds of people on the river banks trying to get away.

Q. What time was that ?—A. That was last spring. They signaled the boat to stop, but she refused to stop. When we got to Natchez there were a number of them there who attempted to get on board, but the clerk stopped them and said that he did not want any negro passengers. In the parish of Ouachita they have to steal away, the same as they did in the days of slavery.

Q. Why, are they so watched ?—A. Yes, sir ; they are watched and threatened ; and if it is known that they are going to Kansas they are killed.

Q. Do you know anything of the circumstances of dogs being used to track them ?—A. I do not know it, but I understand that that is so. We have quite a number in Madison Parish who came out of Ouachita in order to go away to Kansas, and they said they were followed by dogs.

Q. The old-fashioned bloodhounds ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you witnessed any opposition to their getting away from that country ?—A. I did while at Delta, that is the only place where I witnessed any opposition. There they tried to prevent them from getting on board the boat.

Q. What did they do to prevent them ?—A. They got out writs from a justice of the peace, on one pretext and another, and arrested the parties and seized their bed-clothes.

Q. What reason did the steamboat officers give for not taking them ? Was it that they did not have the money to pay their fare ?—A. O, plenty of them had money ; the officers of the boat never gave me any reason for it. I know it was very unpopular in that section to take them out to Kansas, or anywhere else.

Q. Is there any considerable exodus from Madison Parish ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And from this other parish of Ouachita ?—A. I do not think it is considerable from that parish. If it is not so, it is not because the people do not want to leave, but owing to the difficulty of getting out of there.

Q. State, in a general way, what is the cause of the exodus now going on from Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi.—A. Their political rights are denied them and abridged, and their school facilities are very meager since the Democrats came into the control of the State of Alabama in 1874. The first thing they did when they got control was to call a constitutional convention. That constitutional convention changed that provision of the old constitution which required and which permitted a voter to vote in any precinct in the county in which he may reside. The changing of the law has had the effect, and doubtless was made for the purpose of enabling the Democrats to keep their employés directly under their eyes when they go to the ballot-box. Under the

old law it was a little difficult for the Democratic employer to dictate to his employé when he voted. I have known that a man when he went to the polls and saw his employer at one precinct he would go to another and vote, and in that way get his Republican ticket in the box. But under this new constitution he comes face to face with his employer. If he votes the Republican ticket contrary to the wishes of his employer he is discharged. They have made various changes in the election law. Under the old election law, which was passed as a compromise between the Democrats and the Republicans in the legislature, and which was a very fair one, it required that there should be two electors from each party duly sworn, who would challenge the voters, and when challenged he could take the oath, and the inspector was compelled to take his vote. Under the Democratic law anybody can challenge a voter, and when his vote is challenged after he takes the oath, the inspector can still object to receiving his vote until he is certified by two citizens known to the inspector making the objection, and as a rule it is very hard for any colored man under these circumstances to get any white man about the polls to know him. No one seems to know him at all.

Q. And the inspectors, I suppose, do not know any one, either?—A. No, sir; very seldom.

Q. While we are on this matter of election, were you present at the election in 1879 in Madison Parish, Alabama?—A. I was.

Q. Were you a member of the board of inspectors?—A. I was not.

Q. Did you see the returns made out after the election?—A. I did; I saw some of them, probably all.

Q. Did they return the names of each voter under the law?—A. Under the law they should have returned the poll-list.

Q. Did they do so?—A. They failed to return it in several wards.

Q. Did they return only what number of votes were cast?—A. Yes, sir; they returned a statement of the votes.

Q. How was that statement made out?—A. I noticed several of the statements made out in the same handwriting from different wards. Some of the returns were signed by two and some by three of the inspectors. Some were sworn to and some were not. Some of the tally-sheets were footed up and some were not. The seventh ward tallied 31 votes, and footed up 301 votes. The poll-list was returned in this case, and only showed 28 voters having voted in that ward.

Q. How many did you say?—A. The poll-list shows 28 as having voted, the tally-sheet tallies 31, and foots up 301.

Q. All Democratic? The 301 represents the Democratic vote?—A. I did not take particular notice, however, of that matter. The only reason I had in making a note of the case of the seventh ward was on account of the way they were talking about the election of the justice of the peace in that ward. I did not prepare the notes with a view of presenting them here at all, but I just happened to have them in my pocket.

Q. Have you any statement that you have prepared as to your views upon this subject?—A. Any written statement?

Q. Yes.—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. How is the situation as to schools among your people?—A. Well, I have made a note as to the school matter for my own information. Under the constitution of 1868, framed by the Republicans of Alabama, the school fund consisted of one-fifth of the aggregate revenue of the State, and in addition they appropriated all the poll-tax, &c., for that purpose. Since that time the fund has been very greatly reduced.

Q. Have you any statement of the total reduction?—A. It aggregates somewhere in the neighborhood of \$350,000.

Q. What was it before? Do you remember the total?—A. I had it, but I have mislaid it.

Q. What opportunities have the colored people for education in Alabama?—A. In the large towns they have schools, but the masses of them in the country are deprived of the benefit of schools.

Q. Have they any opportunities in the country whatever; and, if so, for about how much of the year?—A. Well, now and then they get a small appropriation which enables them to run a school a short time, possibly four months.

Q. Is that the general rule, four months in the year?—A. Yes, sir; that is the general average. Some in the country run a little longer than the others, owing to the appropriation being larger.

Q. From what you know of the feeling of the colored people in Alabama and Louisiana, what do you think of the future of the exodus?—A. I certainly think it will increase unless there is some change in the treatment of the colored people by those in authority there.

Q. What changes would you suggest?—A. Well, sir, a proper enforcement of the laws and respect for their political and civil rights, and more especially if they are allowed to go to the polls and cast their votes as free American citizens for the men of their choice. If they are allowed to educate their children, I think, with those other changes, there will follow a good feeling among them, and go far to stop the exodus.

Q. Do you think they prefer to remain there?—A. I think not, under the present circumstances.

Q. If they could get security for their rights, do you think they will?—A. I think they would prefer to remain.

Q. Do you think that the denial of these rights and the insecurity of their lives and persons are the reasons for this exodus?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think under existing circumstances it will grow larger next summer than this?—A. I think it will.

Q. Where have the people generally gone from? What localities do you know of from which they have been going?—A. I do not know all of them. There has been a sort of general movement. They would take the steamer anywhere along the river, and said they were going to Kansas.

Q. Have you heard of any political inducement being offered to make them go away?—A. I am quite sure there were none offered in the parish of Madison.

Q. Why do they have to resort to this means of escaping from outrages? Why do they not defend themselves at home?—A. There are a good many reasons why they do not, and I think one of the best reasons given is the one stated by a witness here yesterday. If a colored man dares to assert his rights, or attempt to assert them, he is set upon by a number of white men. He is shot, and no notice is taken of it by the courts.

Q. Have you ever known a white man to be punished for injuring a negro? If so, how many?—A. I know of no white man who has been punished for interfering with the rights of colored men politically; not a single case.

Q. Do you know of any who have been punished for interfering with his personal rights or abusing him?—A. None, that I can recollect.

Q. Have you known frequent instances of these outrages and abuse?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Suppose that a negro were to make an assault on a white man for an insult to himself or his family, would he be likely to be punished?—
A. I think he would.

Q. How is the state of affairs regarded by them with reference to the enforcement of their rights and their equality before the courts?—A. In the courts there has not been a colored man on a jury in Alabama ever since the Democrats came into power in 1874. They are dragged before the courts, tried for their liberty and their property by exclusively white juries.

Q. How do they expect to come out when they are tried by such juries?—A. I suppose one out of a thousand might get justice.

Q. Is there any complaint on the part of the colored women as to the insults that are put upon them?—A. Yes, sir; they are frequently insulted.

Q. Do you know of any instances yourself?—A. Yes, I know of three or four.

Q. Give us an idea of them?—A. They are white men as a general thing who commit these insults upon colored women.

Q. What do they do?—A. In one case they went into a house of a gentleman, a friend of mine. I said he had some very good-looking girls there, and they thought they would walk in and get introduced to them. This colored man told them that those were his premises, and ordered them out. They replied by informing him that he had best have very little to say, and accompanying their threats with oaths, and that if he did not shut up he would get his head shot off.

Q. Did they see the colored women?—A. No, sir; they got as far as the cellar, but of course the proprietor would not let them come in.

Q. Is there a general feeling of insecurity among the women of your race down there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are they regarded by the white men? I have heard that before the war they were regarded as common property; has there been any change in that respect?—A. None for the better in their respect for the colored ladies.

Q. How do they regard the colored man as a citizen? Do they regard him as having a right to his citizenship?—A. From what I might judge from their , I just think that they do not regard him as entitled to any rights that they are bound to respect.

Q. Is that not one of the chief causes of complaint among your race?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And is not that one of the chief reasons for their determination to leave?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. I see in this address of yours that you say the lives of your people are not protected and are not safe; what period of time does this address have reference to?—A. From 1865 up to the writing of it.

Q. Now, from 1868 up to the time that this was written, the States of Alabama and Louisiana were under Republican control, were they not? I mean from the days of reconstruction up to the time that this address was written by you?—A. No, sir.

Q. How much did they lack of it?—A. They only lacked a governor and a majority of the legislature.

Q. When did the governor of Alabama become Democratic?—A. In 1871, Mr. Lindsay was elected governor, and he was a simou-pure Democrat, and the legislature changed soon after, but I cannot remember the date just now.

Q. It was after that, was it not?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. You do not know when this change took place in the character of your State officers?—A. Well, sir, I just noticed the governor especially.

Q. That was in 1871 that he was elected; and he went into the year 1872?—A. I did not notice that.

Q. You did not notice anything of the character and administration of your governor, you being an editor and all that?—A. I may at the time have done so, but it makes no impression on me now.

Q. Who were the judges of your courts?—A. Some were Democrats and some Republicans.

Q. What was the proportion?—A. I cannot tell.

Q. Were there any colored men on the juries in Alabama?—A. During the Republican rule there were.

Q. Have there been none since?—A. No, sir; except, perhaps, there might have been since the decision of the supreme court in the Virginia case. When I left Mobile they were preparing to put colored men on the juries.

Q. You say that from the time Lindsay came into office there were no colored men on the juries until now?—A. I said since 1874, when the Democrats got absolute control of the State.

Q. And there has been none since?—A. Not in the city where I live.

Q. How came the change to be made before the Democrats got absolute control?—A. The legislature changed it, for it was Democratic.

Q. When did it change it?—A. I have not the date.

Q. You do not know then at what date they changed the law about putting colored men on juries?—A. Yes, sir; I have said it was in 1874; that is, they did not pass an act that was a special prevention to colored men sitting on juries, but they passed an act giving the governor authority to appoint in each county, or rather in the various counties where there were Republican officials, commissioners to select jurors, and he appointed Democrats, and they in turn excluded the colored people.

Q. That you say was in 1874?—A. Yes, sir; or in 1875.

Q. Then this complaint of yours as to juries and judges was raised before that was done?—A. Yes, sir; before the passage of that act, but not before they were excluded by the officials.

Q. I will ask you if the law does not require certain conditions of education and uprightness that operate to the exclusion of most of your people?—A. No, sir; not more to the colored people than to poor white men.

Q. Of course, I know that.—A. Now, in my town we have colored men who are educated, but are at home, and who have been in the best schools of Europe. They have not been regarded as good enough, however, to sit on juries, while white men were put on who could not read or write.

Q. Nevertheless the law does not discriminate between whites and blacks?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now you have act out here a table of counties, with the population by counties and the votes, and you have set out the facts of bulldozing, and I see that in the county of Greene there are 2,423 votes, but the vote of that county at the first election was 2,927, a little over 500 above the number of people you had there; how was that? Is that one of the things that you complain of?—A. No, sir; I do not complain of that. The colored people, especially in this county, were working from plantatian to plantation, and are caused frequently to change their resi-

dence, and it often happens that a planter may bring in quite a number of people from another county, and if they are there a sufficient length of time to qualify them in that county, which I think is only six months, of course they have the right to vote without regard to the census or what the number of legal votes were when it was taken. That is the only way I can account for that.

Q. And yet you complain of a law which required them to be identified when they came up to vote. Do you not regard that a proper law?

—A. It is proper if it is impartially administered.

Q. You did not make that objection; you complained of the law, not of the manner in which it was administered. Of course all laws ought to be impartially administered.—A. Well, that one is not.

Q. You gave us the returns of election as made by yourself as registrar of Madison Parish in 1876, in which you say that Kellogg, the Hayes elector, received 2,531 votes, and the Democratic elector 332 votes. That shows eight black men to one colored man in that parish in 1876. Yet at the next election there was a Democratic majority of three thousand, and you say the colored people were bulldozed; is that the way you account for it?—A. Yes, sir; I am satisfied that they were.

Q. You have given that as an excuse for the failure of the colored men to vote; now I will ask you whether eight black men who will allow one white man to keep them from the polls are fit to vote? Is there manhood in eight cowardly fellows who will run away from the polls at the bidding of one white man? Is there manhood enough in them to give them the right of suffrage?—A. Whatever you may think about that, it is a fact nevertheless. Slavery, centuries of oppression at the hands of white men has, to a very great extent, crushed out their manhood.

Q. Has slavery crushed the manhood out of you, so that you do not go to the polls?—A. No, sir; I always go to the polls.

Q. And nobody interfered with you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you went to the polls notwithstanding?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say that slavery has, to a great extent, crushed the manhood out of the colored people. Are you acquainted with the history of the colored race, the African proper?—A. I cannot say that I am thoroughly acquainted with it.

Q. Do you know of any place, or any time, or any circumstances where the colored man shows any more manhood than he does now in the South?—A. In the South?

Q. Yes, in the United States. Is he as brave, as courageous, as upright, anywhere else on earth as he is in this country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When and where?—A. If we may believe the reports of the African war with England lately, they showed considerable manhood and bravery there.

Q. What African war?—A. The struggle between the British troops and the Africans.

Q. Do you mean down there in Zululand?—A. Somewhere there.

Q. Do you claim to be kin to that race?—A. Kin to them?

Q. Yes, sir; are you, are the colored people of this country descended from the same ancestors that they are?—A. I think so.

Q. And you think they have got more manhood there; more civilization?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you account for the fact that your fathers got over here?—A. They were brought over here, I suppose, if we may believe history.

Q. They were brought over?—A. They were sent over.

Q. Who sent them over; the white people?—A. No; the white people brought them.

Q. Now, is not a fact that they sold one another to the white people?—A. That might possibly be the case, in some few instances, but where the white people bought one, I believe they stole a hundred.

Q. They permitted themselves to be stolen, and they sold one another without hesitation?—A. That was a long time ago.

Q. Are they not doing it to-day wherever they can evade the ships of war that surround the ports of Africa?—A. I do not know whether they are or not.

Q. You think the government of the United States ought to interfere by force, or otherwise, to protect eight black men against one white man?—A. I believe the government of the United States ought to protect every man, be he white or black, in his rights, let him be opposed by eight or eight millions.

Q. Exactly; and if one man comes to assail eight men, it is the duty of the government to go to the assistance of the eight men lest they be surrounded by that one man and destroyed?—A. If the black men in a county were to lift their hands against that one white man—

Q. That one white man would swallow the whole eight immediately?—A. No, sir; but that one white man has many other white men to back him, in other counties, and other States; men who are better prepared for a contest than the colored people are.

Q. Why cannot the colored people prepare for a contest as well as the white people?—A. The white people have all the railroads, and steamboats, and gun factories, and everything of that kind, in their own hands. Besides, it is as much as a colored man can do to earn his bread and meat; he has no money to invest in sixteen-shooters, Winchester rifles, needle guns, or other improved styles of arms.

Q. You have a heap of timber down in that country and plenty of stones; could not you cut a stick or fling a rock?—A. I think you would not consider it very safe to get up a fight with me if you had a stick or a rock and I a sixteen-shooter.

Q. But would not eight men armed with sticks and stones be able to withstand one man with a sixteen-shooter?—A. I will take my chance, Governor, with a sixteen-shooter.

Q. And eight men against you, armed with sticks and stones?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, I want to ask you, are you not a little ashamed to state here that one white man can drive eight colored men away from the polls? Is not your manhood a little abashed at making such a confession as that?—A. No, sir; you cannot shame me in that way. The colored people are a law-abiding people; and if the whites were half as law-abiding, there would be no cause of complaint.

Q. You spoke a while ago about colored ladies being insulted by white men down there. Have you ever heard of men of your race being hung for outrages upon white women?—A. I do not know of a single case of the sort in my State.

Q. Do you not know of any men of your race being taken up and killed by mobs for that offense?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you not recollect hearing of such a case in Louisiana?—A. I do not recollect any such case there.

Q. Do you remember of a case of that sort in this city of Washington two or three weeks ago?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, I must say, you are a well-informed man for an editor of a newspaper. Can you tell me what is the voting population of your

State, Alabama, white and black; which is in the majority?—A. There are about ninety thousand colored voters to one hundred and seven thousand white voters.

Q. There are a few thousand white majority?—A. I think so.

Q. What is the poll-tax per capita in your State?—A. It was a dollar and a half.

Q. Between what ages was it liable to be paid—between twenty-one and what?—A. Forty-five, I think.

Q. That money, that poll-tax, was all devoted to common-school purposes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What proportion of it was paid by white men and what proportion of it by black men?—A. The collector alone could answer that question.

Q. Cannot you give some idea?—A. No, sir; I never was tax-collector.

Q. You are an editor; you are also a colored man, and have stated that the colored men of your State support schools; now, you should be able to give your grounds for making that statement?—A. Editors are like Senators; there are some things that they do not know.

Q. And that is one of the things that you do not know. You do not know what proportion of taxes the white people pay to support black people at school?—A. It all comes out of the general fund.

Q. Before you complain that the white people do not educate your people, would it not be well for you to inform yourself as to what your own race are doing for the education of your children?—A. Yes, sir; and I guess I have done it, too.

Q. It does not seem that you have. You cannot tell anything about the amount of taxes they pay?—A. I know that they pay their taxes, as a general thing.

Q. How do you know that?—A. I know it because I have seen a good many of them pay their taxes; and a good many others have told me that they had paid their taxes.

Q. And, therefore, you think that all over the State they pay their taxes?—A. I have reason to believe that they do.

Q. What reasons have you for believing so?—A. I know that it is so in my own case and in the case of many others. And I know that when the tax-collector comes around to a poor man's house he always has to pay his taxes. The poor men pay while the rich men evade payment.

Q. The rich men evade the payment of taxes because they have property that can be levied upon, and the poor men cannot evade it because they have no property?—A. I did not say that.

Q. The poor man having nothing that the sheriff can seize, therefore he is obliged to pay his taxes?—A. I did not say that.

Q. But that must be the case, according to your argument.—A. I did not know that I had made any argument.

Q. Call it a statement, then, if you choose. Do you still stick to your statement?—A. I stick to the statement that the tax collector makes the poor men pay their taxes.

Q. If he has no property what does the collector do?—A. If he has no property he is not assessed.

Q. Is he not assessed for his poll-tax?—A. For his poll-tax his wages are garnisheed.

Q. That makes more trouble than it does to collect it from the rich man who has a house and lot, does it not?—A. It don't make any difference about the trouble; they make him pay his taxes all the same.

Q. You said that the rich men get off from paying their taxes in Alabama?—A. I said some of them do.

Q. You think that the colored men pay all the taxes?—A. There are some exceptional cases, it is true; I speak generally.

Q. In this parish of Madison, that you have been talking about, at the last election, the election of 1879, was not the Republican candidate for sheriff elected?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was the name of the Republican candidate?—A. Thomas B. Coates.

Q. He was not elected?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is that the parish in which it was reported, by the newspapers, immediately after the election, that two men had been hung?—A. I believe a report of that kind went out about that parish.

Q. And it was afterward ascertained that the two men were still alive?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is where the bulldozing was, that you think brought about that three thousand Democratic majority?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I understood you to say that up to the last election the treatment of the colored people in that parish was very good?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Yet this exodus had begun before that last election?—A. Yes, sir; the exodus began before the election, because in the election for Congressman, I think, during the yellow-fever year, they started to come down into that parish, and it alarmed the colored people very much.

Q. Who started to come down there?—A. The bulldozers; they started to come from some of the other parishes. They did not come there, for some reason; but when the colored people learned that they were to be there at another election, they became greatly alarmed, and thought it was time for them to go to some place where they would not be in danger of being bulldozed. Many of them came to me, and asked my opinion about it; I never advised one of them to go to Kansas. When they came to me, I asked them why they were alarmed; they said the bulldozers were coming into the parish, and they wanted to get out of it before the next election. I said that I did not think there would be any bulldozing in that parish; that we had a very good class of whites there, who would not allow anything of that sort. But either their fears were greater than mine, or they were better posted than I was, for the bulldozers did come there.

Q. Then they were scared, not by the sight of those repeating rifles, and needle guns, and revolvers, but merely by hearing of them?—A. Yes, sir; and by hearing of the murders and assassinations that were taking place in the other parishes all around them.

Q. When did that occur?—A. Then. We had just had a row in Tensas, the adjoining parish.

Q. And that scared them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you live before you went to Mobile to edit a newspaper?—A. I was born in Mobile.

Q. I did not ask you where you were born?—A. I said that I was born in Mobile, and had lived there all my life, except a little time when I was in Louisiana.

Q. What was your business before you became an editor?—A. I did not follow any business.

Q. None at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you make a living?—A. I had means to live on.

Q. Without labor of any kind?—A. Yes, sir; without labor of any kind.

Q. When did you begin to edit a newspaper?—A. Some time, my impression now is, about 1870.

Q. You stated to Mr. Window that the bulldozers killed off all the colored men that they knew intended going to Kansas?—A. I made that statement in reference to the parish of Ouachita. They killed all that they knew were going; those that went had to run away, as in old slavery times.

Q. How many did they actually kill in Ouachita?—A. I do not know, sir; quite a number. Ouachita has a bloody history.

Q. What is "quite a number"—one, two, three, four, or five?—A. I believe that more than a hundred men were killed in the parish of Ouachita.

Q. More than a hundred men killed because it was believed that they were going to Kansas?—A. No; for political reasons.

Q. Could you give us some names and dates?—A. No, sir; I cannot do; if you desire it they can be furnished very easily.

Q. You might safely suppose that I desired them, or I would not have asked for them. Out of more than a hundred colored men killed in the parish of Tensas, can you not remember one man's name or the date of one murder?—A. I can furnish you with a good many names, but I have them not with me. I do not carry these names in my mind; I have other things to think of.

Q. You have matters of more importance to think of than the murder of men of your race?—A. Not as important, but quite as essential. I have a living to make for myself.

Q. I thought that you were a gentleman of means, and did not have to work for a living?—A. No, sir; I have to work for a living.

Q. You said that up to the time when you began to edit a newspaper you had no business, because you had means to live upon without earning it by your work?—A. Yes, sir; and I say so again.

Q. Then I should infer from that that editing a newspaper has crippled your resources rather than otherwise?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you must have more means than you had before?—A. It does not follow that because a man has a hundred dollars to-day that he will have it all his life.

Q. I understand that; I just wanted to reconcile your statements; that is all.—A. No reconciliation is necessary. I was able to take care of myself, and was neither a pauper nor a beggar.

Q. But now, if I understand you correctly, you have to take care of yourself, and as a consequence can not recollect the names of any of these men who have been murdered?—A. No, sir; I do not recollect them because I did not come here to give you the names and dates of persons killed in Ouachita Parish. If you want the names and dates of persons killed in my own parish, I can give you that.

Q. Why speak of it if you did not think it necessary to give names and dates? Did you think to satisfy this committee by making a broad declaration that so many men were killed?—A. No, sir; I said, if the committee desire it I will furnish the names.

Q. But you can not do it now?—A. I can not do it to-day.

Q. I asked you awhile ago whether you had heard of any outrages committed by colored men upon white women; you said you had not heard of any in Alabama or in Louisiana. Now, I will ask you whether you did not hear of a colored man being hung in the State of Kansas about three months ago by a mob, and his body burned afterward—one of these same exodusters?—A. It is just possible, if it was in the Associated Press dispatches, that I read it; but I have no recollection of it.

Since you mention it, I have an indistinct recollection of reading something of that sort. But I know nothing about it.

Q. Are there any colored men in your country who have accumulated property?—A. In my county?

Q. Not in your county particularly; in your section of country—in Alabama or Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir; there are some that have.

Q. Are they going off on this exodus?—A. Well, one of the men that I think is the best off of the colored men in the parish said to me that he was going.

Q. He has not gone yet?—A. He may have gone since I left.

Q. Do you know of any others who are property-holders, to any extent, who have gone on this exodus?—A. Yes, sir; I knew another man who left Delta, who had considerable means—I should think as much as three thousand dollars in cash. But he lost his property—he could not get any sale for it; he tried to sell it for a long time, so that he could go off.

Q. What was his name?—A. Harris.

Q. What was the name of his place—Delta?—A. He lived about half a mile from Delta; half a mile or a mile from there.

Q. What is the average rate of wages in that country for colored people—field hands?—A. On the cotton plantations, some work on shares; when they hire extra labor they pay by the hundred. They have the most need of extra labor during the picking season.

Q. When men take land on shares, what is the usual arrangement between them and the planter?—A. I do not know; I have never interested myself that far; I have never been a farmer; so I cannot go into details.

Q. It is a little strange that you should come here to give us an account of the condition of your people in the South, and why they are moving away from the South, and yet cannot tell us what wages they get, or the terms on which they work.—A. Every man makes the best terms he can; some of them get very favorable terms and some of them do not.

Q. I asked you about the average; when a man works a farm on shares, what does he pay the landlord, and what does the landlord furnish besides the land?—A. Stock and agricultural implements.

Q. And provisions?—A. Sometimes provisions and sometimes not.

Q. In such cases what does he pay the landlord?—A. That depends entirely upon the terms of the contract.

Q. Well, I will give that up. If a tenant gives the landlord half of all he raises, he gives it to him. Valuable information! However, I am much obliged to you for that much information—that men are paid according to contract. Do you know anything about the average rate of wages when a man works in a cotton field—the rate per day or per month?—A. Some fifteen, some twenty, some twenty-five dollars a month.

Q. And board?—A. Yes, sir; and board.

Q. Do you know what the same class of laborers get in Kansas?—A. I do not.

Q. Have you any reason to believe that they get any better wages than that in Kansas?—A. None except what I have read in some of the letters from Kansas—from some of the people who have gone out there. That is the extent of my knowledge on that point.

Q. In relation to the school fund in your State, you say that schools are kept only about four months in the year and sometimes not that; are they not kept the same for the colored people as for the white

people?—A. In some of the counties the white schools and the colored schools run about alike; but in most of the counties the white schools are kept up the longest.

Q. Out of the public money?—A. I can not speak authoritatively as to that.

Q. That is what I want to know; if the white people run their schools out of their own pockets—A [Interrupting.] They are public schools that I speak of.

Q. If they are public schools, is not the money distributed alike, equally to black and white?—A. I cannot say authoritatively; I can only judge from seeing the colored schools closing and the white schools continuing.

Q. But the reason why one public school continues longer than the other you are not able to tell?—A. No, sir; except that there is a larger appropriation for one than for the other.

Q. Did you ever examine the school law to see whether the law authorizes any difference between the two schools?—A. It does not.

Q. Why do the planters or bulldozers object to the colored men going to Kansas if they want to?—A. I do not know, except perhaps because they do not like to lose the labor.

Q. But if the colored people were all to go away, the white men could carry the elections without the trouble of bulldozing?—A. They carry it now.

Q. But it is a great deal of trouble to form into companies and drill, and buy revolvers, and Winchester rifles, and needle guns, and brass cannon, and so on?—A. I do not think you would call it much trouble if you were down there to see it done once or twice.

Q. From the manner in which, as you tell me, eight colored men can be scared by one white man, I should conclude it was not much trouble. Still, there is labor enough down there, so that you can spare a good many?—A. I do not think that they can well spare many from the parish of Madison.

Q. Is not the price of labor an evidence of the supply? If labor is too low, is not that an evidence that there is too much labor in proportion to the capital?—A. I suppose so.

Q. You spoke of officers following up men, and getting out writs, &c.; now, what was the allegation for getting out those writs? For what purpose were they got out?—A. I do not know, I did not inquire into the matter. I saw the deputy constable going up and serving papers, and I made inquiry what it was about, and they told me.

Q. What did they tell you?—A. They told me that the papers were got out on trumped-up charges; that the men were going to leave there and these papers were for the purpose of detaining them.

Q. Were they charges or claims of indebtedness?—A. I do not know.

Q. Is it not very customary to stop men who are about to go away in debt and try to get the debt?—A. Yes, sir; that is right enough.

Q. How do you know that those were not *bona fide* claims of debt?—A. I believe that some of them were not.

Q. How can you believe that they were not, if you do not know what the charges were?—A. On general principles. I know that these merchants always managed to keep them in debt. They were never out of debt.

Q. Then it is a sign that they were in debt?—A. The white men beat them figuring, and always claimed that they were in debt.

Q. What reason have you for believing that they were not honest debts?—A. I have this reason, because I have known a good many

instances where these men have paid their debts clear up, and yet these merchants claimed that they were in debt to them.

Q. You kept the books and knew it was so?—A. I did not keep the books, but I went over their accounts for them.

Q. As they said they were?—A. As they kept them.

Q. You did not go over the accounts kept by the merchants?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you did not know which side the indebtedness was on, did you?—A. I think I have a reasonable idea of what amount of money is required to support a man living as these people do.

Q. How did you judge? Did you simply conclude on general principles, that the white man was cheating the negro?—A. On a general information.

Q. On general information?—A. And particular information.

Q. And that information you got from the debtor—from the men against whom the debts were?—A. Yes, sir; I got it from them.

Q. Did you ever know a case where a black man absolutely did owe a white man anything?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Many such cases?—A. Some cases.

Q. But it never entered your head to form a general opinion, from those few cases, that the merchant was always in the right?—A. No, sir.

Q. But knowing a few cases where the black man was in the right, you form a general opinion that black men are always in the right?—A. No, sir; but I know, as a general rule, that they are swindled by the merchants.

Q. Why?—A. Because they can not read and write.

Q. Did you ever know a white man to be swindled for the same reason—because he could not read and write?—A. I believe it possible.

Q. Have you an idea that when the colored men get North they will never run across men who will swindle them because they can not read and write?—A. They may do so.

Q. They are liable to be swindled by bad men everywhere they go, are they not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then in that respect they will not be much better off in the North than they are in the South, will they?—A. A bad man is a bad man wherever he is.

Q. That is just what I was saying; I am glad that we can agree upon something. But let us get back to our subject. You have formed the conclusion that the merchants generally get the best of the men who can not read and write?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That information you derive from the men who cannot read and write?—A. Yes, sir; a man may not be able to read and write, and yet may know that his accounts are correct, and that he owes no such amount as the merchant has set down against him.

Q. Is he as likely to be correct as the merchant?—A. He may be.

Q. The merchant keeps the books; the colored man keeps no books; now, according to your theory, books are rather a disadvantage, are they not; books rather tend to confuse a man's memory, do they not?—A. That depends entirely upon how they are kept, sir.

Q. You say that before a jury composed of white men, or a majority of white men, about one black man in a thousand might get justice. That is your expression, as I took it down at the time you made it.—A. That is my belief.

Q. Do you make that charge against the white people of the South?—A. I do.

Q. That in not more than one case in a thousand could a colored man get justice?—A. Where they have exclusively white juries, I make that charge.

Q. And yet, after having made such an assertion as that, you are not afraid to go back to Mobile and mingle among the white people there?—A. I am not afraid of anything, except some assassin who may stab me.

Q. You are going back to live in Mobile, after having made a statement that not one in a thousand of the white men are honest; you are going back there, where the colored people are so terrorized and bulldozed that they have had to leave?—A. Yes, sir; and they are now leaving for that reason.

Q. If you stay there, why could not they stay?—A. I cannot answer for others; I stay there because I want to stay there.

Q. Could not they stay if they wanted to stay?—A. If they did, they would have to submit to a great many very unpleasant things that I have to submit to in order to stay there.

Q. I thought you did as you pleased?—A. I do about some things.

Q. Do you vote as you please?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Could not they vote as they pleased?—A. They might, in Mobile.

Q. Did you not vote as you pleased when you were in Madison Parish?—A. No, sir.

Q. Why not?—A. Because I did not dare to.

Q. Why, you have come down very suddenly from the courageous position that you assumed a little while back; you were not afraid of anything, then. You were a member of the legislature in Alabama?—A. No, sir.

Q. Of the Louisiana legislature, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. What office did you hold in Louisiana?—A. None, except supervisor of registration.

Q. What office did you hold in Alabama?—A. When?

Q. At any time?—A. I was in the assistant auditor's office, in the custom-house, for a little while.

Q. That was under the United States government, not that of the State of Alabama?—A. No, sir.

Q. You never held any office under the State of Alabama?—A. No, sir.

Q. One-fifth of the total revenue of the State, from 1868 to 1874, constituted the school fund? What became of the school fund in your State?—A. It was distributed.

Q. Was any part of it stolen?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Was there not some complaints that it had been squandered?—A. I do not recollect.

Q. Did you ever read the report of the Ku Klux Commission on the State of Alabama?—A. I never read it through; I commenced reading it once, but stopped, and never finished it.

Q. Did you not see some allegation there that a large portion of the school fund of Alabama had been embezzled?—A. I did not see that.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Mr. Vance has dwelt on the courage of the colored people; had they not a pretty fair reputation for courage when they were in the Army?—A. Yes, sir; that is my understanding.

Q. The rebels were not more anxious to meet them than they were the white soldiers, were they?—A. No, sir; I think not.

Q. It is quite a different thing meeting a man in the field with only

a shovel and a hoe to defend himself with against an armed band of marauders, and meeting him on the battle-field with a gun in his hand ?—A. Yes, sir; it is quite different.

Q. A good deal has been said here about eight black men being bulldozed by one white man; did you hear the testimony here yesterday about that riot at Friars Point?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear how they were treated there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you hear the statement about men starting to a convention, and the number of men who came in there and routed them?—A. Yes sir.

Q. Suppose that they had resisted, what would have been the result?—A. In the region of which Mr. Vance has been speaking they would have met with the same opposition that they met with at Friar's Point and elsewhere.

Q. Do you think the white people would have come in with their military organizations from all parts of the country?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On railroads, boats, and all that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think they could have come without any difficulty?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then, if the colored people desired to defend themselves, the Democrats from all quarters would be poured in on them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There is not much desire, then, among the colored people to defend themselves under that state of affairs?—A. No, sir; not much.

Q. Suppose you were to try to teach this doctrine to your people that Mr. Vance has enunciated here to-day, what would be the result?—A. I would not live twenty-four hours.

Q. Suppose any colored man were to go South and enunciate and advocate it?—A. He would be killed.

Q. Do you think if there was not enough people at one point to do this work when the negroes resisted they would call upon the military of the whole South to assist them?—A. Yes, sir. I would like to have Mr. Vance come down there and teach the colored people of Louisiana that doctrine which he has been talking here this morning.

Q. Suppose that in Louisiana and Mississippi the colored people should organize, and, having a majority, should arm themselves and attempt to enforce their right, what would the Democratic governor do to defeat them and put it down?—A. He would use all the power in his possession.

Q. Do not you think that every Republican in the parish would rise up and put down the Democrats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So the colored people have no defense from Southern oppression except to go away?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they have been adopting that method?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did those bulldozers come from in 1879 to Madison Parish?—A. They came from other parishes. My information is that some came from Ouachita and some from Richland, I think.

Q. So far as the colored people have expressed themselves to you, were their fears realized in 1879?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I have asked what you thought would have become of you if you carried out Mr. Vance's doctrine, or told your people to do so in the South?—A. I think they would ornament a lamp-post with me or any other man who would do it. I think they would do it quickly with him if he were to go down there and do it.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Do you think they would hang me?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. VANCE. Well, I think I would deserve it if I was eight men all by myself, and allowed one colored man to keep me from the polls. I think in that case I would be willing to be hung.

On motion, the committee adjourned to 10.30 a. m., March 29, 1880.

WASHINGTON, *Monday, March 29, 1880.*

The committee met pursuant to adjournment and proceeded with the taking of testimony.

TESTIMONY OF A. A. HARRIS.

A. A. HARRIS sworn and examined, as follows :

By Mr. VANCE :

Question. Please state your residence and occupation.—Answer. My residence is Fort Scott, Kan.; and I am a lawyer by profession.

Q. How long have you resided in Kansas?—A. Nine years next month.

Q. Have you observed the exodus, as it is called, the coming of the colored people into your country, for the past few years?—A. I have seen the same as any other citizen of my town or of our State would necessarily see; I have not made it the subject of special study.

Q. Go on and state, in your own way, the general condition of the colored people when they remove there; to what extent they have succeeded in finding homes and labor, how they are treated and so on?—A. I do not know any more about such things than is known to everybody who lives in my town, what every intelligent person must necessarily know. The town in which I live, Fort Scott, is the most important town in the southern part of the State. It is one of the oldest towns in the State. It is located on two lines of railroad. As nearly as I have been able to ascertain there have come to our town, within the past six or eight months, three or four hundred colored people from the Southern States. Quite a number of them are from Kentucky, some from Tennessee, and a good many recently from Texas. There was quite a large colored population in Fort Scott previous to the beginning of the exodus proper. There are very few colored people in the county outside of the city of Fort Scott. Those who came there remained mostly in the city.

Q. Are they generally families, or men without families?—A. Men and their families; I suppose three-fourths of the entire number, probably, are women and children. Almost all the men are married men, with their women and children.

Q. State what labor they obtained there; what wages for their labor, and so on.—A. My observation is that there was very little demand for the labor of colored men without money in my section of Kansas. As I have said, there are very few colored men in the country; the labor is done mostly by white men. The farmers there have not got on their farms separate houses or homes for their laborers to live in. The white men who work by the day or by the month live generally in the same houses with their employers. That is one reason why colored labor is not in demand in the country, outside of the city; the white people will not live in the same house with them, nor eat at the same table. Besides, the colored people who come there from the South are not accus-

tomed to our kind of labor. Our labor is not the growing of cotton or tobacco, as it is in the South, but the cultivation of land, with improved machinery; the cultivation of corn, wheat, oats, castor beans, and things of that kind, which is almost all done with machinery, which the colored laborers of the South are not acquainted with.

Q. They are not skilled in its use?—A. No, sir; they are not skilled in its use, so far as I have observed.

Q. Owing to the fact that the farms are not provided with separate houses for the occupation of tenants or laborers, and that the farmers are unable to live in the same house with them, black people have not much employment in your country outside of the city?—A. That is my conviction; I think I can not be mistaken about that. I have heard a great many people express themselves in regard to the matter, and that is certainly my judgment.

Q. Is it your opinion that the people out there want this kind of labor to come among them, or not?—A. I think I can not be mistaken in regard to that; the people, without regard to sect or party, do not desire this colored immigration into our State.

Q. More labor without money to buy homes—pauper labor—is not needed, and therefore not wanted?—A. Yes, sir; that class, I mean. Of course there is an immense amount of untilled lands in our section, and the men who own them would be glad to sell them to anybody that would cultivate them; but, even then, I think that the men who own the adjoining lands would not want colored people to buy them and settle on them.

Q. Would not want that kind of neighbors—that sort of society?—A. No, sir.

Q. When any of these colored people do hire out, in the country, on farms, about what wages are they paid?—A. Our farmers generally hire their labor only during the laboring season—during the cultivation and gathering of the crops. In the winter time they do not have much work to do, and therefore do not need much help. They do not hire men by the year, as they do in the South. I think from twelve to sixteen dollars, with board, is the average price per month paid to hired men—white men. I do not know of any colored men being employed by the month at all in my county, outside of Fort Scott.

Q. Of course they could not get any more than white men?—A. No, sir; the men who hire them would much prefer to hire white men.

Q. And twelve to fifteen dollars is paid them only during the cropping season?—A. Yes, sir; from March until September.

Q. What becomes of those in the towns—the three or four hundred that you say are in the city of Fort Scott; have they all got homes?—A. They are all there, sir. They have homes, after a fashion. As I said, there was a large colored population in Fort Scott previous to the coming of these last colored people, who come more accurately under the head of the exodus; they came there during the war, and after it. Fort Scott was a military post during the war; and after the war a great many of those colored people remained there. These colored people who came there from Texas and Tennessee and Kentucky have almost universally remained in town. Some of the women—not a great many of them—have found employment as domestics in families; but the women who wish servants much prefer white domestics—Irish and German women—who are there in large numbers. The colored men who are there do days' work, and little jobs around, such as they can find to do in town.

Q. Do they all have constant employment?—A. No, sir; I do not

think they have; I am sure they have not. They may have a job of two or three hours' work to-day and to-morrow nothing.

Q. Is there any relief association there, or are appeals made to the charity of your people to take care of them?—A. We have no relief association. Appeals to the charity of our people are not unfrequent; and now and then there comes around a subscription paper; I have been applied to by colored men who had come there from the South to help them with a little money; but I do not know of any organized effort in that direction.

Q. You say you are a lawyer by profession?—A. Yes, sir; that is my business.

Q. I wish to ask you whether the word "white" is not still in the constitution of the State of Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; the constitution of Kansas was adopted in 1859, and the "white" is still in it.

Q. Was not a proposition submitted to the people of Kansas in 1866 to change it?—A. I did not live in Kansas then, but that is my information; I do not know that to be so, but I think it is so. I have been told so, since I came to Kansas.

Q. So that, so far as the constitution of the State of Kansas is concerned, a black man cannot vote or hold office there?—A. Not so far as the constitution of the State of Kansas is concerned.

Q. Does not the constitution of Kansas, in prescribing the qualifications of an elector, say that he must be "a white male citizen"?—A. I do not remember exactly what the law is with reference to that.

Q. How is it about colored men sitting on juries in your State?—A. The county I live in is politically divided so that there is usually from five hundred to seven hundred Republican majority. Our law prescribes the mode of selecting juries to serve in our courts of record. Our cities are organized under a general law. Cities containing more than fifteen thousand are called cities of the first class, and cities containing less than fifteen thousand and more than four thousand are called cities of the second class. The law provides that the mayors of cities of the first and second classes, and the trustees of each organized township in the county, shall annually designate persons from their respective cities and townships to make a list, from which list the jurors are afterward to be drawn in conformity with the law. Three hundred names, I think, are placed in a box—names taken in this way from all over the county—and then jurors are drawn out of the box by the county clerk, or justice of the peace, or sheriff, or some other officer; I do not remember distinctly all the details of it. I have practiced law in Kansas for nine years in and near Fort Scott. My recollection is that in 1871 or 1872—I went there in 1871—in 1871 or 1872, in one or two instances, I tried a case before a jury where a colored man was on the jury. I remember no case from that time until about eighteen months ago, when I tried another case in which a colored man was one of the jurors. In our county I am continually present in our courts, as every lawyer must be in order to attend to his business when it comes up. In this last case I spoke of, in which a colored man was a juror, he was called as talesman from the bystanders after the regular panel was exhausted by the sheriff. We have had a Republican sheriff in my county for the last four years; before that we had a Democratic sheriff for two years, I believe.

Q. About what is the colored vote in your county?—A. There is one township in the county which has a good many colored men in it, one township outside of Fort Scott; in one of the country districts, I think, we have some three or four hundred colored voters; the estimate may be large, but that is my judgment.

Q. And in a regular practice of nine years, in two cases, you have known a colored man to be placed upon the jury?—A. I distinctly remember two cases. I think there has been but one such case since 1871 or 1872, either before a justice of the peace or in the district court—the court of record of the county.

Q. In those cases, I think I understood you to say, the colored men were talesmen?—A. Yes, sir; in the last case he was a talesmen. I will not be positive as to how it was in that case seven or eight years ago, but on this last occasion the colored man who was put on the jury was one with whom I was acquainted, and I know that he was called by the sheriff from among the body of bystanders.

Q. Have any colored people ever been elected to office out there?—A. I have known them to be candidates for office before Republican conventions very often, but I never knew one to be elected. I never knew one to get a nomination.

Q. Have any of those that came there been able to buy lands and procure homes for themselves? I mean the "exodusters," the recent immigrants.—A. I heard that a couple of colored men who came there from Tennessee very recently, two or three weeks ago, bought land, but I do not know. I am inclined to discredit the story, because I have been told by colored men who knew their condition that they were destitute.

Q. Did you converse with any of them, to learn why they had left Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Texas?—A. Yes, sir; I talked with a great many of them.

Q. What seemed to be their complaint, if any?—A. Those with whom I talked did not seem to have any complaint; they did not seem to be able to give any reason why they came to Kansas. They did not give any particular reason. Some said that they were induced to come. One man from Texas told me that a white man came down through that country, selling railroad tickets; the white man had a chromo, on which was a picture of a colored man on a farm in Kansas, with a two-story white house, with pianos, and carpets, and things of that kind, and white servants. I never saw one of these pictures, but this is what this colored man told me that this white man exhibited. He had railroad tickets—this white man had—which he sold to the colored people, and charged two or three dollars apiece commission for selling them.

Q. Did any of them complain of the denial of their political rights and privileges?—A. No, sir; I never heard one of them make any complaint of that kind.

Q. Are there any cheap lands in the neighborhood—land for sale at government prices?—A. No, sir; there are not government lands within a hundred miles of Fort Scott.

Q. What is the lowest price at which these colored people could get lands in the neighborhood of Fort Scott?—A. The land there—raw prairie land—is worth probably ten dollars an acre; good land, tillable land.

Q. Without any timber?—A. We have some timber on the streams; but our country is mostly prairie land.

Q. An emigrant without means would be pretty hard run to get timber sufficient, would he not?—A. Anybody buying those raw prairie lands without means would be in a pretty hard condition. They break up the prairie the first year, but cannot raise any crop until the second year after breaking that amounts to anything. We have an abundance of coal, however, so far as fuel is concerned. But fencing is costly; the most of their fences are hedge and stone; lumber is very high there.

Q. What is the reason that they are not able to cultivate their land

the first year—because of the drought?—A. Yes, sir, in part, and partly because we have to turn over the prairie sod and give it time to rot before a crop can be raised upon it. We sometimes plow the sod, and plant corn as they plow; but it has to be a very wet season to make anything in that way.

Q. Have you any acquaintance with the mode of agriculture in the South?—A. I was brought up in Kentucky, and lived in Tennessee. That is as far south as I have ever lived.

Q. Did you live in the cotton-growing portion of Tennessee?—A. Just on the border of it, sir.

Q. Did you know the condition of the people in that country?—A. I have not been there for seven or eight years; when I lived there, of course I knew something about it.

Q. From what you know of the mode of agriculture in the cotton-growing States, or from what you know of the method of growing tobacco, &c., in the States east of the Mississippi River, do you think that these people, coming to Kansas without any means at all, are likely to better their condition?—A. I think it utterly impossible for them to better their condition by coming to Kansas. The people of Kansas will let them alone severely. They do not want them to come there. They are as charitable, and hospitable, and kind as anybody on earth. Individual cases of suffering they will relieve; but they are not ready to assist any large number of people who cannot take care of themselves; they let them alone; and the longer they are let alone the worse it will be for them. They have as much as they can do to feed themselves, and they are not going to feed a large number of helpless people.

Q. They will bulldoze him, at the other end of the line, by letting him alone?—A. Yes, sir; every man in Kansas, whether white or black, stands on his own feet, and has to work out his own salvation. This is, probably, more the case in Kansas than in any other part of the country; a man's own merits make or unmake him to as large an extent, certainly, as anywhere else.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. How large a place is Fort Scott?—A. We claim a population of six thousand, but probably have a little less than that; say six or eight hundred less than that.

Q. What is the geographical location of Fort Scott?—A. It is about a hundred miles south of Kansas City, and about three hundred miles southwest of Saint Louis.

Q. Near the Missouri line?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the railroad communication between Fort Scott and other points?—A. We have the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, running from Saint Louis to Hannibal, on the north, to Denison, Texas, on the south. Then we have a road from Kansas City, by way of Fort Scott, to the line of the Indian Territory, with its terminus at Joplin, Missouri. And we have a short line of railroad, pointing toward Springfield, Missouri, not yet completed.

Q. What number of these colored emigrants, these "exodusters," as it has now become customary to call them, have located in Fort Scott or the immediate vicinity?—A. I think I said that there were some three or four hundred.

Q. Men, women and children?—A. Yes, sir; that number includes all.

Q. Have any others come into your place, and passed on beyond you, and settled in more distant parts of Kansas?—A. There are some have come into Kansas from Texas. There is a pretty important point south

of us, on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, named Parsons, about fifty miles south of us. The Texas colored people, the most of them, I think, stopped there.

Q. How large a place is Parsons?—A. I guess three thousand or thirty-five hundred; possibly four thousand. It has not quite the population of Fort Scott.

Q. How far is that from Texas?—A. They have to cross the Indian ritory.

Q. They go there by rail?—A. Yes, sir; a railroad runs clear across the Indian Territory.

Q. It must be two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles from Texas to Kansas?—Yes, sir.

Q. How far is Parsons from the line of the Indian Territory?—A. Only a few miles; perhaps thirty or forty miles.

Q. Have you any information as to the number that have come there from Texas?—A. I have not.

Q. Those that have come into your section, you say, are mostly from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas?—A. There may be a very few from some of the other Southern States; but almost all that I have seen are from some one of those three States, nearly every one.

Q. They include men, women, and children?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. According to the usual proportion of men to families, there cannot be, I suppose, very much over one hundred men there in all?—A. I think not, sir.

Q. Would it be very difficult to absorb one hundred laborers in a population of six thousand in your town and surrounding country, the immediate vicinity?—A. I do not know to what extent their labor has been absorbed. I see them there in Fort Scott nearly all the time. Of course they make no appreciable difference as to the number of people in a town of that population.

Q. They really do not create any great excitement or interest there, do they?—A. Very little.

Q. Is it not true that you hear scarcely anything about it there, not so much as here at Washington?—A. We hear a good deal about it when they first come there in a body; then the interest dies away; we do not discuss it very much, it is true.

Q. In how many separate bodies or companies have those four hundred colored people come to your town?—A. They first came in small squads; thirty-eight or forty came there from Tennessee. Then about eighty came from Texas, in one body. I am not prepared to say whether any have come in large bodies, in considerable numbers at once, since those I have spoken of.

Q. Have you known any of them to go back to the States from which they came?—A. Not from Fort Scott, sir; I have not.

Q. Have you understood that any have returned from Parsons to Texas, or elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir; I have heard that a good many have returned from Parsons. I do not know whether it is true or not; I only heard so.

Q. Are these colored people who came there inclined to work, so far as you know, when work is offered them?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are.

Q. And if they exhibit a desire to work, do you not think that as soon as the season opens these hundred men will find employment, and get a living, and become absorbed into the population of your State, and not do much harm, but possibly be an advantage?—A. They will do no harm; they are a harmless people. It will be just like that many

white people going there in the same condition. The citizens of Kansas do not expect to look after these people; they have got to look out for themselves, take care of themselves. I fear that those men outside of town will find a great deal of difficulty in getting something to do, even in the working season; the country there has been full of what we call "tramps," white men who said they were out of employment and wanted something to do; at least they said they did. Some of them are there now; and our people prefer to hire white men rather than colored men.

Q. Do you mean that the people of Kansas prefer to hire a white tramp rather than a colored man who wants to work?—A. I mean to say, as between two laborers who want to work, our people prefer to hire a white man rather than a black man. The white man can lodge in their own houses and eat at the same table, while they will not do this with the colored man.

Q. I understood you to say that most of the colored men have families?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In your conversation with them have any of them expressed or given as one reason of leaving the South their desire to make better provision for the education of their children?—A. I have heard very little said among them in regard to schools or the education of their children. Some gave one reason and some another. Most of those who left Texas left because they had a short crop there last year; they did not raise any corn nor wheat, and but very little cotton. That seemed to be the greatest reason that was given me. I asked them if they were allowed to vote; they said, yes, but the Democrats outvoted them. I told them they were in the same condition in Texas that I was in Kansas—I could vote, but, being a Democrat, the Republicans outvoted me.

Q. You never made any complaint that you could not get your vote counted in Kansas?—A. No, sir; I have no doubt that they always counted my vote; nor did I hear any of them complain that their votes were not counted.

Q. You certainly seem to have fallen in with a very peculiar class of colored emigrants, who would come from their homes to a strange locality in such numbers, and yet had no reason to give for coming.—A. I have heard others say that they had heard the negroes say that they had been badly treated.

Q. They never said anything to you in regard to that?—A. No, sir; I was a Southern man. They have come into my office and asked for money and employment, and one thing and another; and they generally find out, of course, where a man is from; they generally know a man from Tennessee or Kentucky from a New England man as quick as you would; and so perhaps they would not say to me as much as they would to some other persons.

Q. I presume there may have been something in that. We have had hardly a single witness before us to whom the colored people did not communicate, more or less, the reasons of their leaving.—A. I had a colored man, a man from Texas, employed at my house three or four weeks ago, about the time when the snow was a foot deep, the only snow we have had this winter in our part of Kansas. He appeared to be a steady, industrious, good man. I did not know that he was from Texas until I came to pay him. I asked him how much I owed him; he said he did not know. We agreed upon a price for what he had done without any difficulty. Then I said to him, "You seem to be a stranger here." He said, yes; that he had just come from Texas; that he had a wife and children, and was out of money, and that he wished to God he was back in Texas, or some expression similar to that. I asked him

what made him come away. He said he could hardly tell why he came but there was a man through his section with a chromo, picturing out the delightful condition of the colored people in Kansas and how well they were treated and how much they could earn; and that man coaxed him to buy a ticket, and charged him two or three dollars for getting it for him; and he came, he hardly knew why. He said he could make more money in Texas raising cotton than he could make in Kansas.

Q. There he was, with his family destitute, in a foot of snow!—A. Yes, sir; and he did not like the snow very much.

Q. You do not know anything of the emigration that has passed north of you, do you?—A. I have been at Topeka during a part of last summer and fall.

Q. What do you know with regard to the numbers, distribution, &c., of the colored immigrants into that section of country?—A. All that I know with regard to that is very indefinite hearsay. I was at Topeka for some months; I saw four or five hundred of the colored immigrants there. That was in the latter part of the summer.

Q. Did you gain the impression, from what you saw or heard, that there was any political motive among the Kansas people at the bottom of the emigration?—A. I do not think there was any political motive about getting them to Kansas; there could not be, I think, not among the Kansas people; I cannot say how it was at the south end of the line.

Mr. BLAIR. The evidence seems to show that the white people of the South want to keep them there.

On motion the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Tuesday, March 30, 1880.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 30, 1880.*

Committee met this day at 10 o'clock a. m.; present, Messrs. Vance, Windom, and Blair.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN G. LEWIS.

JOHN G. LEWIS (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where is your residence?—Answer. My residence is in the parish of Natchitoches, Louisiana; at present, in the city of New Orleans.

Q. How long did you live in Natchitoches?—A. I lived there between eleven and twelve years.

Q. Where were you born?—A. In Toronto, Canada West.

Q. At what time did you go South?—A. I went South in 1866.

Q. And lived in the parish of Natchitoches for twelve years?—A. I lived there between eleven and twelve years.

Q. State whether you have been in the legislature at any time, and, if so, how long.—A. I served one term in the legislature, sir, in 1876. I was elected, and served until the expiration of my term, in 1878.

Q. What business were you engaged in while in Natchitoches?—A. I was a school teacher.

Q. Did you go down there for the purpose of teaching school?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you given special attention, during your residence in that

part of the country, to the condition of the colored people?—A. What, sir?

Q. While you were in that part of the country, did you give special attention to the condition and wants of your people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you given any attention to the exodus of your people from that country to the North?—A. I have, sir.

Q. You may state, in general terms, what you regard to be the cause of the colored people's leaving that country; and in answer to that question you may just go on and state all that you have to say about it; all that you know on the subject. I put a general question so that you may be able to make a general statement, giving your views upon it.—A. To begin with, the colored people in the South since 1874—I speak so far as the State of Louisiana is concerned—have had a very up-hill road to contend with. They are a people that are very jealous of the right conferred upon them, and whenever that is tampered with they become discontented and to such an extent that it has caused this exodus; it has been the prime cause of this exodus.

Another cause has been the manner in which they were treated by the owners of the land, and by the merchants with whom they dealt. Every possible advantage was taken of them that possibly could be taken, and feeling aggrieved at that they have looked around for relief, and the only solace they ever had was to migrate from one portion of the country to the other. Seeing that the colored people were going away very fast and in a pell-mell state, we thought it best to systematize that in order that they might leave properly with some respect for themselves and their families. So there was a convention called to meet on the 17th of April.

Q. Where?—A. In the city of New Orleans, and the proceedings of that convention, which I have here, will show fully the causes of this exodus.

Q. That was the 17th of April, 1879, was it?—A. Yes, sir; April 17, 1879.

Q. What have you there as showing the causes that induced the exodus?—A. I have the causes of the people going as contained in an address indorsed by that convention stating their grievances.

Q. Well, Mr. Ruby, one of the other witnesses, gave us that, so we will not ask you to go over it again.—A. Well, as I was the author of that instrument, at that time, I shall just refer to some of the principal points.

Q. Very well; just call our attention to any points that will illustrate your ideas. As we have had it, we do not wish you to set it out in full.—A. Then I shall commence from a political point of view.

The State of Louisiana is Republican by a large majority if the vote is properly gotten out, and there is no way to prevent that vote from being had but by an unlawful proceeding. If the colored people have their own way and can vote as they please, they are almost all, to a man, Republican. The moment that the right is debarred them they want to leave.

For instance, in the parish of Caddo according to the census of 1875, the colored population was 17,094, and the white population was 6,302. The Indians and Chinese were 3; making a total population of 23,399. Colored majority over the whites in the parish of Caddo, 10,793.

In the parish of Concordia—I will just instance a few of the parishes here—in the parish of Concordia according to the census of 1875, the colored population was 10,794, the white population 673.

Q. Give me that again, Mr. Lewis.—A. The white population is only

673 in Concordia, while the colored population is 10,794, making a total population in the parish of 11,467, and there is a colored majority over the whites of 10,121.

In the parish of Natchitoches, where I live, according to the census of 1875, we have a colored population of 15,404 and a white population of 5,907, with 47 Indians and Chinese. The total population of Natchitoches Parish is 21,358, with a colored majority over the whites of 9,497, and a colored majority over whites, Indians, and Chinese of 9,450.

In the parish of Pointe Coupée, according to the census of 1875, the colored population is 10,188, the white population 3,971, making a total of 14,159, and a colored majority over the whites of 6,217.

According to the same census, the parish of St. Mary's has 11,975 colored population, and 5,270 whites, and 33 Indians and Chinese, and the colored majority is 6,705 over the whites, and 6,672 over whites, Indians, and Chinese.

Tensas Parish has, by the same census, a total population of 18,520, of which 17,100 are colored and only 1,417 white, with three Indians and Chinese. We have a majority over the whites in population of 15,683, and a majority over all, whites, Indians, and Chinese, of 15,680.

And in the parishes where lawlessness has been and is now being perpetrated, and under the color of law, and under its protection, as it is administered, I will give you some figures to show you how far law and order go in the State of Louisiana when the expression of the opinion of the citizens there is to be given. I have a table of figures here from which I will give you these facts. The parishes I have already referred to I will not enumerate in this showing.

In the parish of East Baton Rouge the will of 13,674 colored people was overruled by that of 6,953 whites, that is, counting the white Republicans and white Democrats all as one.

In West Baton Rouge Parish the will of 3,996 people was overruled by the will of 1,746 whites, counting the white Democrats and Republicans all together.

In Bossier Parish the will of 10,775 colored people was overruled by that of only 2,623 whites.

In Claiborne, that of 7,806 colored people was overruled by that of 6,892 whites.

In De Soto Parish the will of 8,642 colored was overruled by the will of 4,648 whites.

In East Feliciana Parish the will of 10,946 colored people was overruled by that of 4,477 whites.

In West Feliciana 10,058 colored people were overruled in the expression of their will by only 2,098 whites.

In Franklin Parish the will of 3,444 colored people was overruled by the will of 2,379 whites.

In Morehouse, 8,775 colored people were brought under the will of 3,504 whites.

In Ouachita Parish the will of the 9,354 colored people was overruled by that of 4,042 whites.

In Rapides Parish the will of 11,339 colored people was overruled by that of 7,214 whites.

In Red River Parish the will of 4,990 colored people was overruled by that of 2,025 whites.

In Richland the will of 4,084 colored people was overruled by the will of 3,392 white people.

And in Webster the will of 5,282 colored people was overruled by that of 4,240 whites.

Now, from this showing you will see that the total population in the fourteen parishes I have named is 169,398, excepting the few Chinese and Indians, 113,165 being colored and only 56,233 white, and a colored majority over the whites of 56,932, or a ratio of two to one in favor of the colored population. In those fourteen parishes only we find, therefore, that there are 113,165 colored people whose liberty is not enjoyed and whose lives are really endangered for the crime of being made free-men. And as to "the pursuit of happiness," we are strangers to that boon, although it is said to be guaranteed to us by the General Government as well as by our local government.

Q. What election was this in which you speak of these majorities being overruled?—A. That was the election of the years 1876 and 1878.

Q. 1876 and 1878, both?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In 1876, they elected the legislature that elected Senator Kellogg?—A. Yes, sir. The cause of this overruling of the will of such a large majority of our population I am going to give you now, if you will permit me; I shall give some of the salient points only. These people are overruled and their will set at naught by less than half their number, who are banded together for the express purpose of controlling this; and if we dare to resist, they persecute and outrage us with their high-handed measures of lawlessness. If we appeal to the courts, we are only scoffed at, and boldly threatened that if we should ever return to our friends we will be summarily dealt with and not allowed to arraign them before another tribunal of justice—such justice as it is!

Q. But, before you go on further, I want you to give the reasons why all this was done, and how it was done?—A. I am going to give you that right now. The reason that this was done was in order to carry the State for the Democratic party. The manner in which it was done, as I have already said, is that it was unlawfully done; and as the colored people were so strongly in the majority, and the whites, or the Democrats, found that it was impossible to get them to go with them on the question of suffrage, they adopted the shot-gun policy. In some of the parishes this shot-gun policy did not only act with the colored, but it acted with the white Republicans also; but particularly with the colored people generally, and with their leaders whom they followed.

Q. Well, go on and give us all the details that you now remember showing the manner in which that shot-gun policy was carried out?—A. Very good, then; I will speak of my own home, as I can speak of that from knowledge and not from hearsay only. On the 21st of September, 1878, there was an organization of white men, known as the "298's," of the parish of Natchitoches, who drove the leaders of the colored people away from the parish, after hunting them down like dogs, for no other reason than because they were influential and popular with their people.

Q. In what year was that?—A. That was in 1878. They did not stop at that; but they herded the colored people together and made them vote contrary to their wish, under the threat and peril of being exiled from their homes, if not murdered on the spot, if they should refuse to obey them.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Well, tell us how they drove them away?—A. I will do it. Badges were pinned upon the lapel of their coats, after voting, as a source of protection from the worthless mobocrats who patrolled the streets and public highways of the parish. One of these badges, marked, "VOTED THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET," was far more potent than the arm of the law. After getting the leaders away from the parish, Mr Blount—ex-

Senator Blount—was captured. He was taken to the court-house, and after having been made to promise that he would never return to the parish, under the peril of death, he was allowed to go. They led him that night through the crowd of infuriated people—whites—about three miles below the town, and then told him to go. His testimony can be found before the Teller committee, and that is very accurate.

Q. You have read that testimony, have you?—A. Yes, sir; I gave a portion of it myself.

Q. Have you read Mr. Blount's testimony before that committee?—A. I heard a great deal of it.

Q. From your knowledge of it is the testimony that he gave there true?—A. From my own knowledge of it I can say that what I heard of it was perfectly true. Some portions of it were prior to my meeting him. I met him the next day by appointment; he sent me word that he had got off, and was now in the town at that time secreted. I received that message and met him. It was Sunday evening, the 22d of September, one day after this occurred, and we proceeded to New Orleans on horseback. We had taken the boat at the mouth of Atchafalaya River, and got into New Orleans during the epidemic. The yellow fever was very bad at that time, and all places were quarantined, so that we could not go to any places that we wanted to go to. We had no alternative but to stay there in Natchitoches, or to undergo the risk of losing our lives in the city, where we knew positively that there was danger of our taking the fever. Considering the probability of our taking the yellow fever in New Orleans, we concluded that that was the less of two evils, and we went to New Orleans. Senator Blount was a little more unfortunate than I, for he took the yellow fever, while I did not.

The sole cause of getting the leaders of the party from there was because they were representative men, and were popular. There is not a man, white or black, in the parish of Natchitoches to-day, who knows Senator Blount, who will say that he is a dishonest man, or a bad man. He is a man that owns from seven to eight thousand dollars of property to-day, and has to pay taxes on his property in the city and parish of Natchitoches, and dare not go there and enjoy it. I am a small property-holder there myself, and it has not been safe for me to go there and enjoy it. I have not been back since I left; I do not think it is very safe for me to go back there, although I expect to go; for I have a father there, who is seventy-eight years of age, dependent upon me for support, and a child four years old, and the ties that bind me to these will, I think, make me brave the danger.

Q. Now, why were those leaders run out? Were they against the Republican party for election, or what were they doing?—A. On the 21st of September, 1878, we called a convention for the organization of what is known in that parish as the "mother club"; that is a parish club; a club where the Republicans can meet and be on an equal footing, outside of an individual ward club; it is what you might call an organization of a collection of clubs.

Q. Well?—A. We met for the purpose of organizing that, on Saturday, the 21st of September; we completed the organization of the club, and were on our way home. To get at that more distinctly, I can give you a portion of that just as it is. [Witness searching for memoranda, but failing to find it.] I find that I have not the memorandum with me; but I will say that the sole cause of that can be found in the testimony given before the Teller committee; it is not very vivid in my memory now.

Q. Well, give us what you remember of it?—A. I remember that Mr.

Blount had gone home. J. E. Bredas and his brother, Philip Bredas, the doctor, went home also. The Bredas are ex-confederate soldiers; but nevertheless they are Republicans.

Q. White men?—A. Yes, sir; and natives of Louisiana. They are not carpet-baggers there. We never liked the carpet-baggers either; I was the only one they called a carpet-bagger that was elected there. They got about half-way home, and were surrounded. They came back, and by making the circuit of the town got to their homes—they were living outside of the town. Mr. Raby, the Congressional Representative, got home also. Mr. Blount got home; but afterward they surrounded his house, and they surrounded mine. He was less fortunate than I; he did not get out, but I did.

Q. What did they do when they surrounded his house and yours?—A. They staid there until they captured him. They laid a regular siege there.

Q. Laid regular siege to his house?—A. Yes, sir; and took him out; after which they carried him to the court-house in the town of Natchitoches. (I wish I had the scrap giving an account of it, which I thought I had with me.) However, they gave him to understand that he must leave the parish. He wished to know if they would not give him time to settle up his business there. They told him, "No, you have time enough to settle up all your business now; there is but one thing for you to do; we do not propose to be dictated to by you; you must leave this parish." They put him on the road about twelve o'clock at night.

Q. What did they do to you?—A. They did not get their hands on me. About eight o'clock in the evening I directed a communication to one of them, in which I asked him what he wanted I should do. He told me that he had nothing to do with it; he sent me word by Mr. Johnson, supervisor of registration, that he himself had nothing to do with it; but that it was required of us that I should go to the court-house, and take my chances with Blount, or else leave the parish immediately. I told them I would accept their proposition; but I did not say which one I would accept. I started for the court-house, when a friend of mine met me, and told me not to go up there; he said that there was a big crowd up there, and I had better not go. So I went off with him. The next morning brought me the news that Mr. Blount had been taken out during the night. I decided then that it was not safe for me to go to the court-house, because I might be taken out the next night; so I did not go. But about three o'clock in the afternoon I received word from Mr. Blount that he had got away. After they had put him on the road he had got out clear; and it was arranged that I was to meet him out of town. I met him on Sunday evening about eight o'clock; and he and I proceeded to the city of New Orleans. On the strength of these outrages, perpetrated there, this convention was held.

Q. Before leaving that part of the subject, state what else they did in that parish?—A. They have had everything their own way since they got the leaders out of the parish. Mr. Bredas and all had to leave.

Q. What did they do? Did they go around among the colored people, or say or do anything to intimidate them? State just what was done or said.—A. They gave them to understand that if they voted at all, they must vote the Democratic ticket.

Q. Under what penalty?—A. Under the penalty of being exiled from their homes, as a general thing; and in some instances, where they were very influential, they did not carry it so far as to exile them, but, to use a slang expression, they "made them hunt tall timber."

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. What does that mean ?—A. Well, "hunting tall timber"—all I can make out of that is hanging.

Q. That is what your people understand by it ?—A. Yes, sir; they know that it means that.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. How soon after you left did the election take place ?—A. I left in September, and the election came off on the 6th of November.

Q. Well, what was the treatment of the colored people during that time ? Was this thing all quieted down after that ?—A. No, sir; it was not quieted down in the parish at all; the colored people dared not assert their rights any more than before.

Q. What was the result ?—A. A Democratic victory.

Q. You said that there was a colored population of 15,404 and a white population of 5,907 in the parish of Natchitoches ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say there was a Democratic victory after that operation ?—A. Yes, sir; the result was a Democratic victory.

Q. The result, you say, of that was the calling of a convention ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, go on and say what you were going to say about that ?—A. They made the colored people vote the Democratic ticket, you must understand. This that I have been speaking to was relative to the parish of Natchitoches.

Q. Well, how was it that they made the colored people vote the Democratic ticket ?—A. They herded them at the polls in a regular line, and told them, "You have got to vote."

Q. What was the operation of "herding," as you call it; how did they do it ?—A. Well, they just got them in line in Indian file, one behind the other, and as each one would go to the polls and cast his vote, he would go out of the way and the next one would come, and as one would go there to vote he had a Democrat ticket handed to him. They did not wait for him to take his ticket, but they said, "Here is your registration paper, and here is your ticket." And one who was standing by his side would take this badge, which had on it the words, "VOTE THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET," and put it on the lappel of his coat. That was his protection; and now he might go anywhere about town, and every one in that place would know that he had done his duty well.

Q. What sort of a crowd did that kind of thing ?—A. They were citizens of the place—of the parish and town of Natchitoches.

Q. Were they armed ?—A. O, they always are that.

Q. Do they always go armed ?—A. Yes, sir. In the parish of Natchitoches, from 1874 to 1878, the time when I left, each man was a walking arsenal.

Q. Colored and all ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, if they are armed, why do they not defend themselves ?—A. Ah, the moment they attempted that, for every man that was killed twenty negroes would be made to suffer the penalty of it.

Q. How is it that five thousand white people could do that as against fifteen thousand colored people ?—A. Well, you must remember that the white men's organizations are complete; their weapons are of an improved order, while if the negro, if he had arms at all—and the negroes there do carry arms, some of them—if they had arms at all, they were not good ones.

Q. What kind of arms do they have ?—A. Well, sometimes they would go to a gun shop and buy second-handed pistols, or guns, or something of that kind.

Q. Did they have arms with them at the election?—A. O, no, I never heard of a negro carrying arms at an election.

Q. Then they were not armed at the polls?—A. No, sir; at least very few, if any at all.

Q. Suppose that they were armed and should attempt to defend themselves, what would be the result?—A. Well, it would simply be that the top of every man's head would be taken off.

Q. Why is it if the negroes are about two to one to the whites that they could not take their heads off?—A. Well, if while they are two to one they could not keep their own leaders in the parish, you may judge as to why they could not do it. The organization against them is too strong, and the moment one man attempts to defend himself he is set upon by the entire people.

Q. What would be the result if the colored people should arm themselves generally and assert their rights?—A. Well, it would be considered, and so reported, that they were drawing the invidious line of the colored man against the white man.

Q. You mean that it would be regarded as a negro insurrection?—A. Yes, sir; it would be called a rising of negroes to exterminate the whites.

Q. Would it be so considered generally throughout the Southern country?—A. It would, and it would end in the extinction of every one of the participants in the affair—the same as at Colfax.

Q. And this would be done by the bad people of the parish and of the neighborhood around it?—A. Yes, sir; generally people of the adjoining parishes as well. In the parish of Natchitoches the white men, as a general thing, will not make an attack by themselves, but they have aid from the different parishes; for instance, there is the parish of De Soto, which the Hon. Mr. Elam represents as a member of Congress; there is the parish of Bienville; there is the parish of Gwinn; there is the parish of Grant; the parish of Rapides; the parish of Sabine; and the parishes of the Texas border from the Sabine River.

Q. What is the reason that the colored people in all these strong colored parishes could not organize and defend themselves against these outsiders that come in to intimidate them?—A. Because it would be suicidal for them to do so.

Q. Why?—A. The moment they attempted anything of that kind they would be herded together and massacred, and there would be another Colfax arrangement. They attempted that in Colfax.

Q. What was the result there?—A. The result was that on Easter Sunday of 1873, when the sun went down that night, it went down on the corpses of two hundred and eighty negroes laid out on the sod.

Q. Were the negroes in a majority there?—A. Yes, sir; they were in a majority.

Q. Why did they not do anything to defend themselves?—A. As a general thing they were not armed; they had very few arms.

Q. Were those that came in from the adjoining parishes from military organizations?—A. Yes, sir; those that came from the parish of Rapides were.

Q. What had the people done to invite that massacre?—A. It was during the administration of Governor Nicholls. There was some trouble with reference to the police juries. The colored people got possession of the court-house and of the archives of the parish, and were holding them, and these parties came up and demanded them. I don't know just how it was; I cannot say positively as to that.

Q. But they attempted to assert their rights?—A. Yes, sir; that is what they were attempting to do.

Q. And they were holding the positions to which they were elected?—A. Yes, sir; they were attempting to do that; and men came in from the military organizations through the surrounding country and committed the massacre.

Q. Yes.—A. And the negroes as soon as they found that they were going to be massacred, those that had taken charge of the court-house, barricaded the building. They had nothing of any consequence to fight with, but they got an old iron pipe and they cleated it down on a log, put a touch-hole in it, and stuffed up one end of it, to use that for a cannon, and they went to fire that off, but found that it was just as dangerous from the rear as from the front. While that was going on the steamboat B. L. Hodge brought up a company of White-Leaguers from down the river, from some post or other, and they had a cannon with them, and just got that in range of the court-house, and they made it very warm for them. After the colored people saw that, they put out a flag of truce and surrendered. The boat drew nearer, and the men on it went up on the hurricane roof of the steamer and got their guns in range, and when the colored people saw that, they started out and they gave it to them.

Q. How many did you say were massacred on that day?—A. Two hundred and eighty altogether.

Q. How many whites were killed?—A. About seven, I think.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. You say the steamboat came up under a flag of truce?—A. O, no, sir; the colored people, as soon as they saw they could not hold their position, hoisted a flag of truce.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And were fired upon and killed after that?—A. Yes; were massacred after they had hoisted the flag of truce.

Q. How is it with the other parishes in which you have given us the comparative strength of the colored and white population, were they converted to the Democracy in the same way?—A. Yes, sir. In the parish of Natchitoches there was no bloodshed of any consequence; there was everything else, though. In fact, they need not have resorted to that at all, because they had the registration in their own hands, and that gives them the election, and enables them to carry the parish entire.

Q. How?—A. They just reverse the vote.

Q. You mean by false returns?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. State whether that has been resorted to in that country generally?—A. It has always been resorted to, and is resorted to yet.

Q. Is that a general thing among them in these strong colored localities?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How are these judges appointed that are enabled to do that?—A. By the supervisor of election and assessor. The supervisor makes a supervision of the vote prior to every election; and there is a great deal in making up that tally-sheet. There are so many precincts to one parish, and after all parties are registered, or supposed to be registered, then he makes out a poll-book for each precinct. In doing that, the voter must vote in the precinct where he lives under the law, if my memory serves me right; and instead of entering John Smith in ward one, they will enter John Smith, in ward nine, while the distance from ward one to ward nine, in that parish, is about twenty miles. John

Smith cannot get that twenty miles from the time he goes away from the polls at ward one that morning until he gets to the polls at ward nine, and if he does get to the polls at ward nine they look over the poll-book and find John Smith is registered at ward five, a distance of another twenty five or thirty miles, and I don't care what kind of horse-flesh he can get, he cannot make the round of these precincts in a day. The consequence is there is a vote out. In making up the poll-list in that manner they could have done that, and they are doing it now, and are not disturbed in doing it, and in this way they are taking away from the negro his right of suffrage, by suppressing it.

Q. How is it with reference to that change of policy; have they not adopted that policy now rather than the policy of shooting and bulldozing?—A. In the parish of Natchitoches they have.

Q. You were going on to say, a while ago, that the result of all this was the holding of that convention; what do you wish to say on that point?—A. After that convention was called there was a resolution offered that we oppose this exodus. That being done, it brought out the pledges of Gov. Francis T. Nicholls and Lieutenant-Governor Wiltz and Colonel Bush—the pledges that they made to the colored people, that they would see that they were protected in their rights and their liberties and in the pursuit of happiness; and it was not done.

Q. State just what those pledges were, if you remember them?—A. Very good; I have them here. It will take but a few minutes to get at them. Governor Nicholls made the following pledges to a committee that was sent there before the legislature was adjourned under the charge of the Hon. Charles B. Lawrence, Hon. Wayne McVeagh, John M. Harlan, Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, and Hon. John C. Brown; that was the commission that was sent down there, and there are the pledges that Governor Nicholls made (reading):

“ EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
“ STATE OF LOUISIANA,
New Orleans, April 18, 1877.

“ HONS. CHARLES B. LAWRENCE, WAYNE McVEAGH, JOHN M. HARLAN, JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, JOHN C. BROWN:

“ GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the joint resolution adopted by the general assembly of the State of Louisiana. In so doing, I desire to say that they express not merely abstract ideas, but the convictions of our people, which will be practically executed by them through their representatives, their courts, and their executive government. As the chief magistrate of the State, it will be not only my pleasure, but my bounden duty, to give every assistance in my power leading to that end. I am thoroughly satisfied that any course of political action traced on a narrower line than the good of the whole people, regardless of color or condition, must inevitably lead to ruin and disaster. My views on this subject were fully stated to the convention by which I was nominated, and to the people by whom I was elected; and every day's experience fortifies me in the belief that my policy, founded on these principles, must necessarily result in the attainment of ends for which all just governments are established. I have earnestly sought to obliterate the color line in politics, and to consolidate the people on the basis of equal rights and common interest, and it is a source of gratification to be able to say that this great object is about to be realized. I feel that I do but speak the sentiments of the people when I declare that their government will secure—

“ 1st. A vigorous and efficient enforcement of the laws, so that all per

sons and property will be fully and equally protected; and should occasion require it, I will proceed in person where any disorders may menace the public peace or the political rights of any citizen."

Now, to show how he kept this pledge, I want to say here that in the parish of Tensas, when they had that disturbance there, and Elder Fairfax, the Republican nominee for Congress, was driven away; they telegraphed that this riot was going to take place in Tensas, and the governor under his pledges said that he would go in person if it was necessary. About three months after it was over the governor took a kind of straggling trip up there after the whole thing was over. He took about a straggling trip up there, and the nosing of the boat struck the wharf, but Governor Nicholls did not strike it. When he got there he was met with remarks of this kind: "The understanding, when we elected you governor was, you were to protect all our rights, and now, that we have elected you as governor, you propose to offer rewards for those who are killing the negroes; now that you have come here, we will make it too hot for you to stay." That was the general expression, and Governor Nicholls did not get off the boat; he got off further down the river and made his way down to the city, but he has not set foot in Tensas yet.

Q. That was all he did to carry out his pledge?—A. Yes; that was all he did on that score; he has made pledges since, but has kept them as the Democrats keep all pledges.

Q. How is that?—A. They are very short, like pie-crust, easily broken. There is no pledge a Southern white man will keep, in case it is a question where a negro is concerned.

Q. They will not keep any pledges, you say, where the negro is concerned?—A. Yes, sir; that is an established fact; it is second nature for them to understand that.

By Mr. BLAIE :

Q. Tell us about the schools as you go along.—A. I was just coming to that. The governor goes on to make more pledges, and he says further in this communication to that commission :

2d. The establishment of a system of public education, to be supported by equal and uniform taxation upon property, so that all, without regard to race or color, may receive equal advantages thereunder.

3d. The fostering of immigration, in order to hasten the development of the great natural resources of the State.

Having thus committed our government and people to these great principles, I desire to add the most emphatic assurances, that the withdrawal of the United States troops to their barracks instead of causing any disturbance of the peace, or any tendency to riot or disorder, will be the source of profound gratification to our people, and will be accepted by them as the proof of the confidence of the President in their capacity for orderly self-government. Enjoying under the blessings of Divine Providence the happiness resulting from a government based upon liberty and justice, the people of Louisiana cannot fail to appreciate that their good fortune is largely due to the magnanimous policy so wisely inaugurated and so consistently maintained by the President of the United States.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

F. T. NICHOLLS.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. What was done about the schools? Take up that point now.—

A. Well, the school system up to last year was very good; after the Republican government went down they let the schools proceed in the manner in which they established them until the next legislature. When the next legislature came in then there was an alteration.

Q. What was the character of the alteration?—A. The character of the alteration, so far as my observation went, was this: In the parish of Natchitoches we had twenty-two schools in the parish, and we paid an average of \$51 or \$52 a month for teachers. We had some very efficient teachers. That was in 1876—from 1875 to 1876 and 1877. In 1876 there was twelve schools in the parish under the Democratic administration, eight white and four colored.

Q. How many colored schools had there been under the Republican rule?—A. Well, under Republican rule, I guess there was about fifteen.

Q. And that was reduced down to four?—A. Yes, sir; as near as I can remember, there was about fifteen; in the town we had three schools, one public school, colored, and one white school, in the city of Natchitoches, and then there was a private white school and a private colored school in each one of these wards of the parish; where it was too distant for children to attend one school in the parish we established two near the boundary of each ward. For instance, in ward eleven we had one on a place called Isle Brevelle. On Old River, seven miles back of that, in the same ward, we had another established.

Q. So far as you know, what has been the change as to schools in the other parishes? You have given us a very distinct idea of Natchitoches.—A. In the parish of Red River, I can only speak from hearsay, or, concerning any other of the parishes, I only know from hearsay.

Q. Well, what is your best information about that?—A. My best information is that the school system is not carried out there according to the agreements that were made. The colored people were to have an equal chance so far as the education was concerned; that was one of the pledges they made.

Q. Is that one of the causes of complaint now?—A. Yes, sir; and one of the grave causes of complaint because the colored people want to educate their children, and they work harder than ever in order to do this. They keep their children out of school, a great many of them, and then send them to night school in order to achieve an education. Some of them go to church on Sunday, and the church is closed at twelve o'clock, and they take in Sunday school at half past twelve and remain until four. The Sunday schools are not run there on the ordinary system, but are run the same as you would a day school, in order that the grown people that cannot get out in the daytime may have an opportunity to educate their children and themselves.

Q. Is there a strong desire on the part of the colored people to educate themselves?—A. A very strong desire, indeed, sir. I remember hearing one old man say in a speech at one time, "I wants my children to be educated," he said, "because then I can believe what they tells me. If I go to another person with a letter in my hand, and he reads it, he can tell me what he pleases in that letter, and I don't know any better. I must take it all for granted; but if I have got children who read and write, I will hand them the letter, and they will tell me the contents of that letter, and I will know it's all right, as he says it." I think that is a very good reason, although expressed in a very simple way. I think it was very good.

Now here are the pledges that Governor Nicholls, Lieutenant Governor Wiltz, and Colonel Bush gave to the legislature and guaranteed

to each and every man in the Republican legislature that went over to the Nicholls government when they went, and to those that were sworn in after the Packard government went down. They offered these pledges in the shape of a law in order to make them binding; they knew that the people would not trust them from mere hearsay, so they gave it to them in the shape of a law, and placed it on the statute books. These are the pledges that the legislature gave to the people :

PLEDGES OF THE LOUISIANA LEGISLATURE.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Louisiana in general assembly convened, That we cordially indorse the policy of the President as enunciated in his inaugural, and we pledge our hearty co operation, aid, and support in the execution thereof.

SEC. 2. That the execution of the said policy in Louisiana will prove a source of inestimable blessings to our people, lift up their burdened spirits, heal their wounded prosperity, renew their wasted fields, bring happiness to their homes, and give to the whole people, without distinction of race or color, a future of progress as well moral as material.

SEC. 3. That, as an earnest of our endeavors, we solemnly declare that it is and will be the purpose of the government of Louisiana, represented by Francis T. Nicholls as the executive head—

1st. To accept in good faith the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States in letter and spirit.

2d. The enforcement of the laws rigidly and impartially, to the end that violence and crime shall be suppressed and promptly punished, and that peace and order prevail, and that the humblest laborer upon the soil of Louisiana, throughout every parish in the State, of either color, shall receive full and equal protection of the laws in person, property, and political rights and privileges.

3d. The promotion of the kindly relations between the white and colored citizens of the State upon the basis of justice and mutual confidence.

4th. The education of all classes of the people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property, as provided by the constitution of the State, which shall secure the education of the white and colored citizens with equal advantages.

5th. Desirous of healing the dissensions that have disturbed the State for past years, and anxious that the citizens of all political parties may be free from the feverish anxieties of political strife, and join hands in honestly restoring the prosperity of Louisiana, the Nicholls government will discountenance any attempt at persecution from any quarter of individuals for past political conduct.

SEC. 4. That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the President of the United States.

(Signed)

LOUIS BUSH,
Speaker House of Representatives.

(Signed)

LOUIS A. WILTZ,
Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Senate.

Approved April 20, 1877.

(Signed)

FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Then they are resolutions, not a law?—A. Yes, joint resolutions, signed by Louis Bush, speaker of the house of representatives; Louis A. Wiltz, lieutenant governor and president of the senate; and Francis T. Nicholls, governor, and approved April 20, 1877.

Q. These were very good pledges; how were they kept?—A. Same as all other Democratic pledges are kept.

Q. That does not answer my question; that may mean that they were kept; is that what you wish to say?—A. No, sir; they were not kept at all; not in the least degree have these pledges been carried out. I was still a member of the legislature, and I was one to whom these pledges were directly made, and that same year I was driven from my home for no other reason than because I had organized a Republican club.

Q. Were you in there as one of the members of the legislature who, when the break-up occurred, went with the representatives of the Nicholls's government?—A. I was one that went down with the Packard government.

Q. Did you go with the other government?—A. I was one of the last ones that left Mr. Packard; in fact, I did not leave Mr. Packard—Mr. Packard left me.

Q. Well, give us a little of the history of that transaction from the time of the inauguration of the President down to the expulsion of the Packard legislature; you were present and knew of the effect it had upon the colored people and the country generally?—A. The colored people were in fact completely demoralized by the action. They expected that Mr. Hayes—President Hayes—would recognize Mr. Packard as soon as he was inaugurated; they had every reason to believe so, and when it was staved off and Mr. Packard was not recognized but the government remained in *statu quo*, the Federal Government recognizing neither body, but leaving the Packard government on its own resources, it was impossible for them then to hold their own, and the colored people were very much demoralized.

Q. Well, what was done; you were in there as a member of that legislature?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was done about it; what were the surrounding circumstances that broke it up?—A. Well, they were various, and it is hard to say what the surrounding circumstances there were; it seems that the entire leverage was from a different source.

Q. Why could not the Packard legislature and government defend itself as well as the Nicholls government?—A. Well, in the first instance, they did not have the ability—in the first place, they had no money but what was in the treasury, and that had been tied up by the attorney-general; he tied that up from them and enjoined them from using it.

Q. The attorney-general?—A. No, not the attorney-general—the fiscal agent, Mr. Ogden; he tied that up, and they could not use it at all. In the next place, Mr. Packard had no means whatever of defending himself, unless he had first been recognized by the Federal Government. If the Federal Government had recognized Mr. Packard the Nicholls government would have been disbanded, because, while they do not care much for the State law down there, they do respect the Federal Government.

Q. But the Federal Government did not recognize the Nicholls government?—A. No, sir; but at the same time they withdrew Mr. Packard's support; they withdrew the soldiers from the vicinity of the State.

house, and as soon as he done that it had a tendency to demoralize the members of the legislature, and they began disintegrating and going over to the Nicholls legislature.

Q. Why did they do that?—A. Well, they did not look to anything else but a general massacre; the public sentiment was with the Nicholl's government.

Q. What do you mean by the public sentiment if a majority was with the Packard government?—A. If it had been left to the State it was, but it was not left to the State alone; the city of New Orleans decided that affair.

Q. Well, state generally as to the treatment of the colored people in that State; what has been the effect of the violation or failure to keep all these pledges you have named; has it created discontent or otherwise?—A. It has created discontent.

Q. In what way has that discontent given itself expression?—A. By this exodus. The people found it impossible to believe any pledges that were given them, no matter in what form they were made, whether in the form of a law, or joint resolution, or verbally.

Q. What is the effect as to the recognition of the right of suffrage and the right to citizenship of the negro by the men who control the Democratic party in that State—by the white population generally I mean; there are some exceptions of course?—A. Well, the majority of the white voters in that State if they accept the amendments on the suffrage that is guaranteed to the negro virtually, they do not practically; they do not think the negro has the right to vote; they do not think a man has the right to vote if he does not vote, as they put it, "intelligently," and they do not believe the negro votes "intelligently," because he won't support them.

Q. What is the theory of the majority of the white classes of that State with reference to the rights of the negro to control himself; to own his own labor and all the values to be derived from it?—A. Well, if they think he has the right, their actions towards him do not show it. Every possible advantage is taken of him that can be taken of him. For instance, in the manner in which they rent. The landholder and the merchant gets it all; the man that makes the cotton does not get it, nor the man that makes the corn. In the parish of Natchitoches they rent land not for money as a general thing; it is very seldom you rent for money, but you work the land on shares; some will work the land for one fifth, some for one-fourth of what it produces, some for one-half, and some for one third of what it produces, according as each grade is specified in the contract. And just so the question of provisions is specified; for instance, if a man gives one-fifth that he makes on the land and that man furnishes himself, that is considered a splendid advantage, to get land for giving a fifth of what it produces; the way they make it plain to them is that they must give to the land owner one-fifth of a bale of cotton; if the man makes five bales they give him one-fifth—that is one bale—and he keeps the four himself and gives one to the land owner.

Q. Is not that a pretty good show?—A. Yes, sir; that is a remarkable show.

Q. What is the result of a contract like this?—A. Well, it is very seldom that you can get such an opportunity as that.

Q. What is the general rule, then?—A. I have known persons that have worked for a fifth, and they would make possibly ten bales of cotton—a man with his family—they would get out of that ten bales of

cotton eight bales clear of the rent. Now they have got to pay for their provisions. A bale of cotton will bring forty-five dollars.

Q. A bale will bring forty-five dollars?—A. Yes, sir; and each bale weighs four hundred and fifty pounds; that is the average they calculate by, and it brings ten cents a pound.

Q. How are the provisions furnished under this arrangement?—A. They get their provisions by advancement; they make another contract now with the merchant; at the expiration of the ginning of their cotton they will pay them the amount of indebtedness that they incur for provisions. Of course they pay very high prices for these provisions, and at the end of the year, when they will have settled up their accounts, the eight bales of cotton don't leave them scarcely anything.

Q. Do those who are going away complain about these contracts that they are not fully carried out, that they are cheated or otherwise?—A. Some of them do complain of that, but principally they complain—in the parish of Natchitoches, at least, it is purely on account of the suffrage—the suffrage almost purely is the cause of complaint. So far as their contract system, &c. is concerned, they can stand that; the colored people up there will stand most anything if they do not deny them the right of suffrage.

Q. Why do they value the right of suffrage so highly, Mr. Lewis?—A. They think they are more men; that it makes them a man; they think when they cast a ballot and know that that ballot is counted, that it elects a friend of theirs, they feel the same as if they had made a splendid crop.

Q. Then they feel the same as the white people do with reference to the ballot, that it is their protection, and if it is counted fairly and they exercise their right unhindered, that they have the means of protecting themselves?—A. Yes, sir; and they are very jealous of that.

Q. Yes, and they feel just as white people do, that they have protection when they can exercise and enjoy all their rights?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And without that they feel that they have no protection?—A. And without that they have no protection, none whatever.

Q. Do the white people of that country, or do they not, consider that the abolition of slavery was a wrong committed on them, and that whatever they can get out of the negroes by way of appropriating their labor it is their right to take?—A. Their actions tend that way, and some are so open in expression as almost to say that; in fact, that is the spirit of what they say, if not the letter.

Q. Is that the understanding of the colored people you talk with, that they do so think and act?—A. The colored people in Natchitoches think this: If the United States ever elects a Democratic President there would be some method, if not by enslaving them, to return them into the power of their former masters, and you cannot disabuse their minds of that impression there, because it is being tried; they think that if they are not enslaved or handed over to their former masters that they would have to undergo some kind of a penalty or law that might be enacted that would not act equally on them as on the whites.

Q. It is the general sentiment, then, you think, amongst your people, that they dread some future action on the part of the government?—A. Yes, sir; both on the part of the law-makers and of the executive department.

Q. What do you know about the chain-gang law, as proposed in the Louisiana legislature?—A. I know that there was one proposed there.

Q. Is it similar to the Mississippi law?—A. Something similar, following after the system of Mexican peonage.

Q. It has not yet been passed?—A. No; not to my knowledge, and I don't think they will pass it; not at the present time, at least.

Q. Why do you think they will not; they know it has been passed in Mississippi, do they not?—A. Yes, sir; they know that.

Q. And you think that is an argument in their minds that makes them believe it will be passed in Louisiana, too?—A. They think so; they know it was passed in the State of Georgia; they know that, and they know that it acts very badly.

Q. Why do you think it will not be passed in Louisiana?—A. I think a better judgment will prevail there; the colored people are leaving too fast.

Q. You think that the fact of the colored people's leaving will bring them to a better judgment on that question?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you think the exodus is the one thing to prevent it?—A. Yes, sir; it is a severe complaint and requires a severe remedy, and I think they are getting it.

Q. What complaint, if any, is made on the part of the colored people as to the treatment of colored women in that State; is there any complaint about that?—A. There has been great complaint about that.

Q. What is the nature of that complaint?—A. Well, they do not think they would be safe in their liberties; in other words, if they are going along the street they would have to get off the pavements; to give you their own words, "to take the road law," whether in the mud or not, if white persons were coming in a contrary direction, to let them pass, and then get on again; and then the rougher class will subject them to insult on the streets.

Q. Is there any complaint as to licentiousness?—A. O, yes; plenty of that; but, then, that has been rife in Louisiana any way—that always has been rife in Louisiana.

Q. Well, that has been the case in slave times, but is it not better since?—A. No, sir; these same parties that are so down on the negro will go into a colored woman's house; will go right in her house and have intercourse with her. I might as well be plain about this. That accounts for so many ——— looking colored fellows down there in Louisiana (meaning men of varying lighter shades of complexion).

Q. Is that one of the complaints with the colored people there, that is with those that want to be respectable and bring up their families properly?—A. Yes, sir; that is a general complaint; they are satisfied their liberties are not secure, and I do not blame them for not being satisfied, for I have been the victim of misplaced confidence myself.

Q. Taking the whole subject as you have presented it, what is your understanding as to the reasons for their leaving in such large numbers?—A. Well, the reasons for their leaving are as I have attempted to give them; first, I speak positively concerning my own parish, and I say that the people left there for the simple reason that friends were driven away from their homes and they were satisfied that their friends were being driven away. There was the Brodas family that were native Louisianians, Confederate soldiers, and brave ones at that; and Mr. Byron, a Confederate soldier—and let me see—there is another one; one or two others whose names I cannot call now; these men had to leave their homes, their families, and some their property for the simple reason that they were popular Republicans and could control the colored vote in that parish to the detriment of the Democratic party; it was revolution, and anything that got in the way of it had to be got out of the way; no matter what way it got out it had to be got out.

Q. The result of that is that the colored people themselves are going out at the present time?—A. Yes, sir; that is the result.

Q. What do you think of the future of the exodus; is it going to increase or decrease?—A. I think, sir, that it will increase. I do not think that it is going to assume any greater proportion towards the West than it has. I think at different times there will be squads of them that will come to the West, and very few will go northwards, but a great many of them now are going to follow the tide of foreign immigration; they are going out to Texas, and on the borders of Texas.

Q. But they will be in a slave State there. How will that be a change for the better?—A. I will tell you what they think about that. They know that Pennsylvania is a State that is controlled, as a general thing, or looked upon as a German State, and they say that the Germans in Pennsylvania are a very conciliatory people; they say this of these Germans: That they tell us, "If we do not vote as they do they will grant us the benefit of voting as we please." To the State of Texas the German emigrant is turning his face; they are not stopping in Louisiana; they will not stop in Louisiana under no condition; they go right through to Texas. The English emigrant goes right through to Texas. They will not stop in Louisiana, or in Mississippi, nor in Arkansas; they are going right out to Texas.

Q. The colored people, you think, have more faith in the liberty-loving sentiment of the Germans than they have in the white Americans?—A. Yes, sir; they have more faith in the liberty-loving Germans.

Q. What do you think is the remedy for this exodus of the colored people from the Southern States to the North; how can it be stopped?—A. I did hear it said that the white people had it in their own hands to stop this. That was said by one of the witnesses here, but it seems to me impracticable, for the white people have to follow in the way of the tide; the riff-raff control the sentiment of Louisiana, and whilst the best portion of the people are order-loving, and pay their money for the support of the government, the riff-raff control the government, and the best people have to take a back seat, because the riff-raff have control and they are going to hold it.

Q. Suppose that the riff-raff should decide to treat the colored people better, would they stay there?—A. Some of them might do it for mercenary ends, but they would not generally.

Q. Then you do not believe that this exodus will stop?—A. I do not; I think it will continue.

Q. What would be the effect of electing a Democratic President upon this exodus?—A. The effect would be to create a great deal of consternation among them; I think it would cause them to leave the Southern States, not in a systematic way at all, but as they started away this last year to go to Kansas, pell-mell—a regular stampede—I am satisfied it would.

Q. Why do you think it would?—A. Because they then would know themselves, they would be satisfied, that there would be no hope for them, no redemption for them whatever, and they want to go among a class of people that would at least let them alone.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *March 30, 1880.*

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. VANCE:

Question. Mr. Lewis, where were you born?—Answer. Toronto, Canada West, sir.

Q. When and where were you naturalized?—A. I was naturalized in the city of New Orleans, in the district court under Judge Darrell.

Q. When?—A. If I am not mistaken it was in 1870 or 1871, as near as I can think.

Q. What is the white population of the State of Louisiana, according to the census of 1870?—A. My memory is not very good on that point.

Q. What was the colored population?—A. Nor of that.

Q. What is the population now, if you know anything of it since then?—A. I have not paid any attention to it since then, and could not say.

Q. You could not say?—A. There has been too much egress out of the State.

Q. Yet I understood you to say that the State was largely Republican if your people could be allowed to vote?—A. Yes.

Q. And you based that judgment upon the fact that the colored men were all Republicans?—A. Well, yes; I might safely say I did.

Q. Yes; then you do not know whether it is really Republican or not if you do not know the relative strength of the two races?—A. I have known, but I cannot say positively what the exact figures are. I don't know the figures. The estimate was that the State is from fifteen to sixteen thousand Republican.

Q. Yes; do you know that because of the actual number of votes or because you think it would have been that way if the votes had been properly counted?—A. I know it would have been that way if the votes had been counted properly.

Q. Therefore you know it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did the exodus in your State begin—when did these people begin to go to Kansas and to the river?—A. They began going to Kansas from Louisiana between the 1st and 3d of April, 1879, if my memory serves me right.

Q. And they are still going?—A. Yes.

Q. When did the bulldozing in your State begin—these violences towards your people of which you speak?—A. In 1872; that was the date of the White League organization there; that was about the incipency of it. In 1868, as far as that is concerned, it commenced, because we had what was known then as the Knights of the White Camelia.

Q. You say then that the State was bulldozed about ten years before your people began to leave?—A. Well, you see it had not taken its proper form then. It had not become ripe, but it was brewing.

Q. You mean the exodus?—A. No, sir; the bulldozing had not become ripe; it was not flagrant then as it afterwards became.*

Q. When did it ripen and burst forth in all of its glory?—A. I think Texas added the climax to it.

Q. When was that?—A. In 1879; we had a repetition in 1866.

Q. Yes.—A. And we had a repetition in 1868.

Q. Yes.—A. And we had a repetition in 1873.

Q. Yes.—A. And we had one in 1874.

Q. Well, when were those 280 men slaughtered?—A. On Easter Sunday, 1873.

Q. Well, that was about the climax, was it not?—A. No, sir; that was not the climax.

Q. But that was the biggest slaughter, at any one time, in the State, was it not?—A. No, sir; there was one in which the slaughter was greater, in 1863, in the riot in the city of New Orleans.

Q. In 1866? Well, that is still further back; but 1873 was the biggest lot that took place after reconstruction?—A. In 1873, yes, I can safely

say that was the biggest riot that took place after Governor Warmouth was inaugurated as governor of the State.

Q. What parish was it that you said furnished the climax of bulldozing?—A. The parish of Tensas.

Q. How many were killed there?—A. We have never got a correct estimate.

Q. Give us the number as nearly as you can?—A. I could not give the number exactly or very nearly.

Q. Was it three or four hundred?—A. I would not like to venture on an answer to that.

Q. Well, I am utterly without information; if I ever saw a statement of it I do not know it. Could you not give us somewhere near the figures?—A. I think I can refer you, sir, to where you can find it.

Q. Well, I want a present answer right now from you.—A. Well, I cannot say.

Q. Were there five?—A. More than that.

Q. Twenty?—A. I ain't able to say.

Q. Were there as many as were killed at Grant Parish? A. No, sir.

Q. Well, Grant then was at the top of the wave?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This bulldozing all began under a Republican administration, did it not?—A. Yes, sir; some secret organizations of the Democratic party.

Q. State and national?—A. I do not know of any national organization.

Q. I am talking of the administration of the government; was the government of the State and nation Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. President Grant was in the chair?—A. Yes.

Q. You had a Republican governor in the State of Louisiana?—A. Yes.

Q. And the legislature was Republican?—A. Yes.

Q. And largely composed of people of your own race?—A. Yes.

Q. The judges of the courts were Republican?—A. Some of them were Republican.

Q. Well, a majority of them were Republican?—A. Yes, sir; if a Democrat got elected there he got in.

Q. There was a majority of Republicans in the legislature and the machinery of the county offices was in the hands of the Republicans, was it not?—A. I do not know what you mean by the term "machinery."

Q. Well, the sheriff, clerks, &c.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The juries were summoned by them?—Yes; not particularly by them either, because they had to have two freeholders as well.

Q. But they controlled it; they appointed the freeholders county officers?—A. Yes; they were generally Democrats; we gave them that portion of the representation.

Q. Yes; and the Army of the United States was distributed in various places over the State?

The WITNESS. When?

Mr. VANCE. During this period from 1868 on?—A. No, sir; not that I know of.

Q. Were not the soldiers in New Orleans?—A. Not that I know of; there was a few stationed at Ba on Rouge; I do not know whether soldiers were stationed at the barracks, or not, any more than enough to keep charge of it, none of them were subject to the call of the governor.

Q. Were there none in New Orleans in 1876?—A. Yes.

Q. Were there none in New Orleans in 1874?—A. Yes, sir; there were some there.

Q. Then you have answered my question?—A. But these are two exceptional years.

Q. Those are exceptional years, are they?—A. Yes, sir; whenever an election was on hand there were soldiers during this administration, if they had been called for.

Q. Whenever there was a general election, you mean when Congressmen were elected?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And notwithstanding all that, violence and bulldozing were resorted to to a great extent in Louisiana to defeat the will of the people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In 1876, or rather in January, 1877, a Democratic governor was inaugurated, was he not?—A. Yes.

Q. A Democratic legislature took possession of the State?—A. A Democratic legislature took possession of the State in 1875. In 1874 you know we had the compromise down there; the Democrats there pledged themselves to Vice President Wheeler, &c.

Q. I do not ask you about the pledges that these dishonest white Democrats made to you; according to your showing they are a set of men I am ashamed of.—A. Yes, some of them were very bad.

Q. Well, in 1877, the Democrats controlled the legislature, did they?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the courts of the State became Democratic?—A. Yes, sir; they did.

Q. And the troops were removed—President Hayes called away the soldiers?—A. He did from the vicinity of the State-house to the barracks.

Q. Yes; they were removed from interference in the affairs of the State?—A. Yes.

Q. Was bulldozing any worse after that?—A. In the immediate vicinity?

Q. Anywhere on God's earth in Louisiana.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was worse then?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Whereabouts?—A. In the parish of Tensas; we never had an outbreak in Tensas until the administration changed hands.

Q. Was it worse than Grant Parish?—A. Since 1873 the Republicans have never raised their heads in Grant.

Q. Taking the State all over, was it worse?—A. There was the reversal of the will of the people in these fourteen parishes.

Q. I asked you not what parishes had changed their votes, but if the violence towards the colored people was worse in the State of Louisiana now than it had been before?—A. No, sir; but it was on a par with it.

Q. Just about on a par with it, you think?—A. Yes.

Q. Did they kill as many as they used to?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You swear that now; I don't ask you if you had as many riots when I ask you if the violence was as bad?—A. Yes, but not in proportion; numerically speaking it was just as bad.

Mr. BLAIR (to the witness). You do not, probably, understand Mr. Vance; he draws a distinction between numbers and manner. The question is between the manner of killing as to whether it was by large congregations or mobs, or by men distributed singly throughout different places.

The WITNESS. Instead of confining the bulldozing, as I may term it, to one parish, now it has permeated the entire State, and wherever there is a parish in the State to-day that is Republican you can look out for it at the next election it will be Democratic.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. You say it will be Democratic ?—A. Yes, sir; if it becomes necessary for them to use that parish.

Q. Did all the parishes in the last election of 1879 vote Democratic ?—A. No, sir; a great many of them voted Republican.

Q. Then they did not carry them Democratic ?—A. No, sir; they did not need them.

Q. They did not need them ?—A. No, sir; they wanted to clear out the Red River Valley first before they struck the Mississippi River.

Q. You say that they have now got to go where they do not want to use so much violence, but they just reverse the votes ?—A. Yes.

Q. A milder way ?—A. Yes; a milder way.

Q. Were not some votes reversed in 1876 down there in the city of New Orleans ?—A. Yes, sir; the vote of my parish was reversed. We had a Democratic supervisor of registration, and he put the polls where we could not find them; he played the dodge on us. I found a ballot-box about twenty-eight miles above the town of Natchitoches over in Black Log, in a sweet potato patch, with a lot of people standing around so that you would think they were roasting potatoes; but when I came to find out it was a ballot-box and they were all voting.

Q. You do not understand my proposition. I asked you whether the vote of Louisiana was not reversed by the returning board, and if your president was not put in as president by that very reversal ?—A. No, sir; I would not say that.

Q. How did Mr. Hayes and Mr. Nicholls get in while Mr. Packard was left out in a sweet potato patch ?—A. Mr. Packard was in no potato patch.

Q. Well, he was in a swamp, which is about the same thing. How did that happen ?—A. I don't know how it was done.

Q. Well, it was understood that the vote was reversed by this returning-board ?—A. I don't know as it was so understood.

Q. Do you swear that ?—A. I understand my oath. I know that I am giving my testimony under oath.

Q. Well, it is necessary to remind you once in a while in these long conversations we get off we sometimes forget what we are about. You say that it was not so understood ?—A. I don't know of any vote being reversed.

Q. Did you ever hear of its being charged ?—A. O, a great many things were charged.

Q. You understood, did you not, that the votes were taken by the returning board into a private room and the votes were filed in the city of New Orleans that were required to be filed at the place where the vote was close; and in that way the vote of the State was given to Hayes and Nicholls left in ?—A. I did not so understand it.

Q. No, you do not so understand it; well, I am sorry you do not understand it that way. You have quoted to us an act there; let us see how you read that. You said these Democrats could not be believed, and that they put their pledges in the shape of an act, and you read it here to us—A. Yes, sir; a joint resolution [reading]. "Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the State of Louisiana in general assembly convened, That we cordially indorse the policy of the President as enunciated in his inaugural, and we pledge our hearty cooperation, aid, and support in the execution thereof."

Q. I reckon you did not quote that right, because the law itself says, "Be it resolved by the senate and house of representatives." Now, the copy you read from says, "Be it enacted"—after you took the pledges,

you and Governor Nicholls—it says, “Be it enacted,” but here the law says, “Be it resolved,” and goes on to give the opinion.—A. Well, that is what it says there.

Q. I know what you say. This that I read from is an official copy of the records of the State of Louisiana.—A. This is, too.

Q. But it isn't a true copy.—A. Well, you can make the discrimination between the “enacted” and the “resolved.”

Q. When you undertake to give a copy of anything you ought to give a true copy.—A. Yes, sir; I understand, a duplicate is a duplicate; the pamphlet I copied this from had it, “Be it enacted.”

Q. What pamphlet do you mean?—A. The pamphlet in which the report of that commission was printed.

Q. You did not take the trouble to go to the law itself?—A. That was not necessary.

Q. Is not the truth necessary sometimes?—A. Yes, it is absolutely necessary, but there are different ways of getting it.

Q. You could not get the truth better than to get the official act itself, could you?—A. I don't think I should be held responsible for a typographical error.

Q. Well, I should think that this was not a typographical error so much as a direct misconstruction of a fact.—A. That is your thoughts.

Q. And I am borne out by the law. There is a difference as to whether this was a joint resolution or an enactment.—A. Well, this we do know, that the pledges they made they did not carry out, and this they themselves will say.

Q. You say they did not carry out any of them?—A. Not a solitary one.

Q. Now let me see whether they did or did not. The pledge they made on the subject of education was this (reading from the laws of Louisiana): “The education of all classes of people being essential to the preservation of free institutions, we do declare our solemn purpose to maintain a system of public schools by an equal and uniform taxation upon property, as provided by the constitution of the State, which shall secure the education of the white and colored citizens with equal advantages.” Didn't they carry that out?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did they fail to carry it out?—A. All over the State. I speak positively, for in the parish of Natchitoches we had twenty two schools there, and after they came into power we had only thirteen or fifteen.

Q. But they didn't promise to keep as many schools going as they had, did they? They promised that the people should have the advantages of education by a uniform system of taxation, fair to both whites and blacks?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't they do that in the parish of Natchitoches?—A. No, sir; they did not.

Q. Did they give the white people more schools at the public expense than the blacks?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you ever seen the official report of the superintendent of instruction in your State?—A. Mr. Lusher?

Q. Yes.—A. I think I have, and I think I speak from the report that the whites had eight schools in the parish of Natchitoches, and we had—

Q. How many?—A. Four, I believe.

Q. You think you took that from his report?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And now you make the charge here that the school fund raised

in the State of Louisiana under the law was not fairly distributed as between the whites and the blacks?—A. I do safely say that.

Q. Yes; and therefore that was a violation of their pledge?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did the money come from that supported these schools—I mean from what source of taxation?—A. We derived some from the poll-tax. We derived a percentage from taxation of real estate.

Q. What is the taxation, and what proportion does it bear to the real estate?—A. One dollar is the poll-tax, ninety per cent. of which goes to the school fund.

Q. Ninety per cent. goes to the school fund?—A. *Should* go to the school fund.

Q. Do you know what proportion of that was paid by the colored people?—A. I cannot say positively, but will say this much, that the colored people in the parish of Natchitoches pay a great deal of money in taxes, and every man there pays taxes on real estate, certainly the poll-tax, in conjunction with the rest of his taxes.

Q. Do the colored people in the parish of Natchitoches own any real estate?—A. Yes, sir; a great deal of it is hereditary, handed down to them from their fathers.

Q. They were free before the war, were they?—A. Yes, sir; down at Iberville we had six hundred voters there who were free before the war, and pretty nearly all owned property.

Q. You say you do not know what proportion of the black people pay a poll-tax relatively to the whites, or which pays the best on the poll-tax?—A. I think the colored people pay the best; in fact, I can say that they do pay the poll-tax more promptly than the whites. I have known many wealthy white men protest against paying the tax.

Q. Did you ever know them to get rid of paying their tax by protesting; is that the way you do in Louisiana?—A. Well, they just say they won't pay it, and the sheriff won't collect it. They have regular meetings and denounce the tax-collectors.

Q. And they get rid of paying their taxes in that way?—A. Yes; they get rid of paying for the time being.

Q. They finally pay?—A. I do not know whether they do or not. We have got a very large delinquent list.

Q. Every negro, then, pays his tax on what real estate he may have, and pays his poll tax at the same time?—A. Well, those that don't have any real estate, if they have got a horse or a cow, they pay taxes on it, and some person informs the collector that they have got it, and when they pay on that they pay their poll-tax as well. I am speaking of the owners of property, that they pay in conjunction with their poll-tax.

Q. If they give to the support of the schools, I ask you if it is not a fact that the whites and blacks are nearly equal, and therefore the number of polls is about the same; but is it not the fact that the whites pay four-fifths of the tax that goes to the support of the public schools; your records do not show that, do they?—A. I would be willing to agree with you there, provided the majority of them paid at all; but I know that in the parish of Natchitoches, and the State of Louisiana, there is a great deal of land sold, or advertised to be sold, for delinquent taxes, and they have to put the screws on them to make them come up and pay the taxes. I know that there is more actual land that is taxed now than is paid for.

Q. I am still talking about the poll-tax, and you will get back on the

land. I ask you if it is not a fact that four-fifths of that tax was paid by the white people?—A. No, sir.

Q. You said you would agree with me in part?—A. I want to give you this explanation of the poll-tax: It is not separated from the other taxes in Louisiana; it is really a separate tax, but when we receive the notice the poll tax is attached thereto.

Q. Your poll-tax you mean is in your bill of taxes, of course?—A. But when they pay one, they have got to pay all; but if a person, white or black, has any other tax to pay, if they own any real estate, or stock, they never receive a notice relative to their poll-tax.

Q. You mean they do not pay at all then?—A. Why, no, sir; and the collector don't bother his head about it.

Q. The collector don't bother his head about it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then very few of your people who have got nothing but the poll-tax, pay at all?—A. O, they all have to pay the poll-tax.

Q. How is that if what you say is correct?—A. Why, they have got a horse or something like that. I told you they have a horse and were assessed for their horse.

Q. O, I thought they were starving to death. I am glad to hear that they have something to pay tax on.—A. Well, in the parish of Natchitoches they have a very nice time, some of them.

Q. I am sorry they are exodusting if they have such a nice time.—A. Well, they are getting away from there, too.

Q. You spoke about the way the election was managed, the way they got these colored people all in a line and herded them together, as you called it, and made them vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was such a thing as that ever done?—A. That was done on the 6th of November.

Q. Where?—A. In Natchitoches. No, it was in 1878.

Q. Can you give me the names of any white men who told them they it all meant. An old colored man, who came up on the cars, when they had to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. O, they will all tell them that; any Democrat will tell them that.

Q. But can you give me the name of any one man who did tell them that when they were standing in line and about to vote?—A. Yes, I could do so.

Q. Well, let us have the name?—A. We will take Ex-Congressman William Levy for one.

Q. He told them so, did he?—A. Yes.

Q. Did he use any threats?—A. He told them what they must do.

Q. You can state his words?—A. I didn't hear him myself.

Q. Then you are swearing to something that somebody quoted, but that you didn't hear?—A. Yes.

Q. And you heard that he was one of the men that told them to vote the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes.

Q. And they marched them up to the line and made them vote the Democratic ticket and had to ticket them?—A. Yes.

Q. Did they have any United States supervisors there?—A. No; it was not a healthy region for a United States supervisors.

Q. I thought I understood you to say that the bulldozers respected the authority of the United States?—A. When a Congressman was to be elected I said, distinctly.

Q. In 1879 when Congressmen were to be elected?—A. No, sir; in 1878.

Q. You speak of 1878?—A. Yes.

Q. And there were no supervisors there then?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say the colored men generally were armed—that everybody, white and black, went armed, but that the black people never came to the polls with arms?—A. The black men never came to the polls with arms, but the white people always had them?

Q. I understood you that the white people never were them when they came to an election?—A. No, sir; the black people.

Q. Why do not the black people carry them at an election as well as the whites?—A. Because they never allow that.

Q. Who never allows that?—A. Their leaders; there was a law against them—that if any person came to the vicinity of the polls with arms that they should be arrested.

Q. Well, did not that law apply to the white people?—A. Yes, sir; it applied to all.

Q. You say it applied to all but nobody respected it but the black people?—A. They are the ones generally who are the law-abiding people of the South.

Q. They respected the law and the white people did not?—A. No, sir; the white people did not, and they did.

Q. Well, you told Mr. Windom why the colored people never resisted, that if they made any effort to fight for their rights at the polls or at their house or anywhere else that they were immediately killed; and that if any rose to defend themselves the white people would come in from the adjoining counties, bulldozers, men of violence, &c., to assist in the work?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I said to Mr. Windom; and that is the name they call them, "bulldozers."

Q. Yes, I understand that is the technical term. Well, suppose the black people in the adjoining counties had stood on their rights at the same time, then these bulldozers that came into your county would have had enough to do at home?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why don't your people attack them?—A. I cannot speak for other parishes, but I can speak for my own.

Q. Well?—A. The colored people in the parish of Natchitoches obey the law.

Q. Well, it is the law to defend yourself, is it not?—A. Yes.

Q. Self defense is the first law of nature, is it not?—A. Yes, but it is not the law to leave your home and go and defend another person's home; that is not lawful; that reduces you from a defender to an aggressor.

Q. Then you mean that if you should go to help a neighbor to defend himself against murder or rapine it would be a violation of law?—A. No, I don't say that; you paint it in a different color; I don't look at it in that way; for instance, if the white people should attack the colored people in the parish of Sabine it is not the duty of the colored people of Natchitoches, but it would be unlawful for them to go out of Natchitoches to the parish of Sabine to assist the colored people there to fight, for the simple reason that such a case is provided for by the law; the sheriff has a right to put that down, and in default of his ability to put it down he has recourse to call on the governor, and if the governor is not able to put it down he calls on the Federal Government.

Q. Now, in the Republican counties you have a Republican sheriff, don't you?—A. Yes, sir; sometimes.

Q. Why cannot he call on a *posse comitatus* to assist him in repelling violence?—A. That has been attempted.

Q. Was it attempted with success?—A. You ask me a very funny question; I think it can be better answered by an illustration; I think it has been stated here before, and very truthfully, that your people are

asking us why we do not defend ourselves down there. I remember that Senator Carpenter went down in the city of New Orleans in 1872, in the Liberal movement, in the interest of Horace Greeley. He made a speech in Exposition Hall. It was hey-day, hail-fellow, well met when he got there, but as soon as he mounted that rostrum and told the negroes present, "If the white men shoot, you shoot back," just so soon he lost prestige, Greeley to the contrary notwithstanding, and he was jeered at until he left the city.

Q. Whom did he lose prestige with?—A. With the Greeleyites and Democrats.

Q. He didn't have any prestige with the Republicans?—A. No; we were Grant men.

The next point I wish to make is this, that during the war it required the entire North, as was before stated here, with their millions and myriads of people to convince the Southern people that they were wrong in their actions and that they should obey the law.

Q. Yes.—A. And they came very near not doing it then.

Q. Yes.—A. They had to call on the negroes to assist them.

Q. Yes; and the Dutch and the Irish.—A. I can illustrate it in this way: Two white men got fighting once over a coop of chickens, and in their quarrel they upset the coop and the chickens got out. And that is how they got free, just by pure accident; it was something like that.

Q. It was something that way.—A. Now, with all the powers of the general government to fail to convince these people that they should obey the law, you expect the negro, with a hoe in his hand or with an old broken revolver, to say to these same brilliant, gallant Southerners, "You must respect us; we are your peers politically; we are your peers before the law; we are your superiors physically."

Q. Yes.—A. So far as the cultivation of this country is concerned—you want them to do that.

Q. I didn't say I wanted them to do that; I asked you why you didn't do it; I don't want any violence to be used by any party, I don't advise that; but are you not a little ashamed for your race to come up here and say that they, being a large majority, cannot stand up against a few bad and violent men and maintain their rights?—A. No, sir; I am not ashamed.

Q. You are not?—A. It does seem as if it did look a little cowardly, and it looks niggardly, so to speak, but notwithstanding, there are causes for all things.

Q. Of course.—A. And we say the cause is patent.

Mr. VANCE. Well, now, as I understand you, you mean to say that—

The WITNESS. You asked me one question and didn't let me answer that.

Mr. VANCE. I beg pardon; I think you have had a pretty fair swing. You may answer the question, then.

The WITNESS. Well, I was going to say, you expect us to defend ourselves when I have here stated in my testimony that it was suicidal for the negro to fight against a white man on any general question. First, they are branded with this invidious line—the negro against the white man—and if the colored people of the South were to attempt to defend themselves and that cry arose, Senator, from the State of North Carolina there would be people of your complexion that would go away down to Louisiana to put that negro down that would dare to raise that line, while they themselves are continually doing it.

Mr. VANCE. I think that is owing to circumstances. If the negro was wrong I think my people would go down to help the white people

in Louisiana; but if the white people were wrong I do not think they would.

Q. I understand you, by a slight intimation you made, to say that not all the white people in Louisiana were bulldozers; that there were a great many of the better class of people that had to take back seats?—A. Yes; I repeat that.

Q. Now, don't you think that, instead of appealing to the government and making everlasting complaints, that if you conducted yourselves as well as you knew how and banded together to maintain yourselves on the day of the election without appealing to any man and without appealing to any sentiments of "the dear people, &c.," that in the long run you would be let alone and the bulldozer would be frowned down?—A. That is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Q. But would it not take place?—A. Well, so far as the colored people behaving themselves is concerned and trying to get closer to the white people, that is a thing that they have always tried to do. They have given proof of that during the war. When they went away to fight in the war to retain them in slavery, they protected their families.

Mr. VANCE. That is true.

The WITNESS. They stood by them.

Mr. VANCE. That is true, every word of it.

The WITNESS. Instead of rising in insurrection against them they were faithful to their trust, although they were menials.

Mr. VANCE. That is true.

The WITNESS. Now, then, does it stand to reason that when the same people are free and are given the rights of every other man regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," does it look for a moment that they would dare do that thing now? When there was no law to punish them for it, then they did not do it when they had an opportunity to do it.

Mr. VANCE. Well, it may look so to you, but I ask you now, speaking of the relative proportions of numbers of whites and blacks you have mentioned in these fourteen parishes, I ask you if the taxable values of the State of Louisiana are not in this proportion—some three hundred million dollars to the whites and only five or six million dollars to the colored people? It is somewhere in that neighborhood, is it not?—A. I think your figures are rather extravagant.

Q. Well, what do you think the proportion is?—A. I think your figures are excessive, but I am hardly able to make an estimate myself.

Q. You spoke of the conduct of your race to their masters during the war, which I freely admit, and always have and shall admit, and which I think a compliment to both sides. I think you will admit that the old masters did not use them quite as badly as our friends in the North pretend they did; but I will ask you, didn't your race just after the war form a combination with those carpet-bag fellows who took possession of the government and imposed taxes upon the people that in their condition they could not pay without ruin, and is not that the cause of so much land as you mention being exposed for sale for unpaid taxes? Didn't you suffer them to plunder that State and aid them to do it by putting them into the offices?—A. I think I can emphatically answer you "no, sir."

Q. Well, there was some of that plundering done there, was there not?—A. I acknowledge that.

Q. Well, who did that plundering?—A. There was a good deal of it done under color of the law. I will illustrate by an instance from the parish of Natchitoches. We had a tax in the parish of Natchitoches

that amounted to very nearly eight per cent. The way this tax was constituted was this: in the drawing of jurors when juries were impaneled—in the drawing of these jurors the parties would come up to the town of Natchitoches, and instead of assisting the people or taking from the tax-collector a certain amount of money as a contingent fund for the police jury to pay off the indebtedness of this court, they failed to do so and issued certificates of indebtedness.

Q. Yes, scrip.—A. Yes. These certificates of indebtedness were paid off to jurors and they could get from ten to twelve and fifteen and twenty cents on the dollar for them.

Q. Yes.—A. This scrip was bought up by Democrats in the parish of Natchitoches; the Republicans there did not have any money at that time to launch out in that, and were a little afraid of it, so they were bought up by Democrats. The consequence was that in 1874 the taxation in the parish of Natchitoches was very nearly eight per cent. That taxation was four per cent. in judgments.

Q. Yes.—A. This scrip was bought up for ten and fifteen and twenty cents on the dollar. The matter was brought up before the parish court. The parish was sued. They obtained judgment from the parish on that scrip dollar for dollar, with eight per cent. interest from the day of maturity.

Q. Yes.—A. And eight per cent. interest from the day of issuance prior to the rendering of the judgment, and after the rendering of the judgment this paper that was bought up at that price caused the indebtedness of that parish to be very nearly eight per cent. on the dollar.

Q. Yes.—A. That gave rise to the first tax resistance in the parish of Natchitoches.

Q. Yes.—A. These taxes and that cause was instigated and gotten up by men belonging to the Democratic party, and the biggest holder of the judgments in the parish of Natchitoches was no other man than your good old Democratic friend ex-Congressman William M. Levy.

Q. The debt was created by Republicans and bought up by Democrats?—A. No, sir.

Q. I understood you to say that. Who was it created by?—A. O, it was created by Republicans and Democrats.

Q. Who was in the majority?—A. The Republicans.

Q. Exactly.—A. But they never bull-dozed the Democrats and made them say, "You shall do this.

Q. O, no; out voted them.—A. Yes.

Q. We do that when you give us a chance.—A. The scheme and everything else was originated by the Democrats. Now, out of \$99,000 and odd in the parish of Natchitoches to be collected on the poor people that knew nothing of this, eighty-seven thousand and some odd dollars were held by Democrats.

Q. Well, was that a pretty fair sample of what was done in other counties of the State? I mean as to the amount of indebtedness.—A. I think that, relative to the incurrence of indebtedness in the several parishes, it was brought about in instances like that.

Q. Was not that indebtedness confined exclusively to Republican parishes, where the Republicans had control of the parish machinery?—A. No; for the legislature of 1876 was Democratic. It was a mere contrivance to allow the parishes to refund their indebtedness, thus creating a regular broker's establishment in each parish.

Adjourned.

THIRTY-FOURTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *Thursday, April 1, 1880.*

Committee met pursuant to adjournment.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN G. LEWIS—Continued.

By Senator VANCE :

Question. Mr. Lewis, I want to ask you some questions concerning the average rate of wages paid to colored people in your State. I mean for agricultural laborers working at raising cotton, sugar, and so on.—Answer. The general manner in which the colored people are paid for their work there is by a division of the crop—by the colored man having a portion of the crop.

Q. How is the crop divided?—A. As I said before, one-fifth, one-fourth, one-third, or one-half.

Q. According to what? What makes such a difference from one-fifth to one-half?—A. According to the person that they are dealing with. They might find a landlord that had been a very disagreeable person to get along with and who needs much labor; and such a man might give more to get his land worked than another man; he might have to do it in order to get anybody to work for him.

Q. Then it does not depend on the character of the land?—A. No, sir.

Q. A man pays the same for very poor land as for very rich land?—A. Yes, sir. He gives the portion he agrees to give for working it, no matter what kind of land it is.

Q. What is the usual custom; I do not care about individual instances—what is the usual share of the crop?—A. One-third; the colored man works for one-third.

Q. When the colored man works for one-third what does the landlord find?—A. When he is to receive a third the landlord finds everything except his private store account. When he gives a third the landlord furnishes the stock only.

Q. The stock only?—A. Yes, sir; when the landlord furnishes the land with stock, and the tenant furnishes the supplies and the tools and everything else, then he gives the landlord one-third and keeps two-thirds.

Q. And when the landlord furnishes all the stock, supplies, and tools?—A. Then the tenant gives the landlord two-thirds and keeps one-third.

Q. That is the usual way?—A. That is the general way; I mean in the parish of Natchitoches, in the State of Louisiana. I speak of my own home.

Q. What can a tenant make—an industrious man—one man with a family and a wife and little children?—A. One man ought to work ten acres of land; he ought to plant ten acres in cotton and fifteen acres in corn.

Q. About what would that yield him?—A. About four hundred bushels of corn, if it is a good year.

What is that worth?—A. About twenty-five cents a bushel.

Q. That is a hundred dollars?—A. Yes, sir; and if he is on first-class land, and it is a good cotton season, he can make a bale to the acre.

Q. Providence has a great deal to do with it?—A. Yes, sir; if we have drought or caterpillars—

Q. We are speaking now of the average?—A. Well, on an average on ten acres of land he will make four bales of cotton.

Q. Not more than that?—A. He will certainly make that.

Q. That is an estimate for very poor land, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; and for very good land, too.

Q. Four bales to ten acres?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much of that would be his?—A. He would get only one third of it.

Q. That would be a bale and one-third?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The landlord furnishes everything?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Would he raise anything besides his cotton?—A. Yes, sir; his potatoes, and ground-pease, and cabbage, and garden vegetables generally.

Q. He gets fire-wood free?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And house?—A. O, yes, sir; they belong to the plantation; they are always there—a standing monument of olden times.

Q. Have you any reason to believe that a colored man could make more than that in Indiana, or Kansas, or anywhere else in the North-west?—A. I am not able to say.

Q. Suppose that, instead of cropping on shares, he hires out by the month?—A. There is no hiring by the month in my parish for that kind of work. In the cotton-chopping time they work by the day.

Q. How do white planters work their crops?—A. Very few white men do any work in the cotton field, except of the poorer class.

Q. There is no hiring by the month in the cotton fields?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is there for any other purpose?—A. Yes, sir; porters in stores, and some other kinds of laborers in towns, are hired by the month.

Q. But in the cotton field they never hire by the month?—A. I have never known anybody to hire in that way.

Q. You said that the average price of corn is twenty-five cents a bushel?—A. No; I did not say that.

Q. What did you say?—A. You asked what corn would bring them. I said that at the time they were gathering the corn they could get twenty-five cents.

Q. Then that is all it brings them?—A. They can get forty cents if they will take it in store pay.

Q. Is that the average price the year around?—A. No, fifty cents is the average price the year around; that is, in that parish. I have known it to be a great deal more.

Q. We had some little talk the other day in regard to taxation in Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You stated then, I believe, that the Democratic party there had not kept their pledges in reference to taxation, and you gave, as an instance of it, that there were not so many schools in your parish since 1876 as there were before. How many did you state there were in your parish?—A. Under Republican rule we had about twenty-two schools; now we have about four, while the whites have eight, or something like that.

Q. That would make twelve?—A. Yes, sir; twelve or thirteen.

Q. Have you ever seen this report of the superintendent of the board of education of Louisiana?—A. Not since the government went into the hands of the Democrats. The Democrats do not report very fast.

Q. The parish board of school directors for the parish of Natchitoches is organized as follows: President, William A. Ponder; secretary, William H. Jack; other members, John Martin, H. H. Hathorne, Henry Levy

E. B. Hamitt, R. L. Falkner, N. P. Metoyer, Richard Brown. They have made a report, in which they say that in that parish there are twenty-six schools in operation; now which is right, you or the board?—A. I guess I stand for veracity about the peer of any of them.

Q. And you say, notwithstanding this report, there are but four colored schools and eight white schools in the parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Notwithstanding they say there are twenty-six schools in the parish?—A. Yes, sir. They may have found twenty-six schools when they took charge of that board. They superseded the Republican school board.

Q. Let us see how that is. After the statistical report are the following remarks:

We have the honor to submit for consideration the above report. It will be seen that the report embraces only two months of the year 1877, the reason of which is our inability to obtain from the former school board of the parish the reports of teachers for the year 1876; hence we have only reported the operations of the various schools since our induction in office, and we have no data by which we can be guided in reporting the operations of the schools for the year 1876, although our best endeavors have been made toward that end. Our schools now reported are all of primary grade.

WM. A. PONDER,
President.

WM. H. JACK, Secretary.

So it seems that you are wrong again. They did not report the number of schools that they found, for they could not get the reports from the former board.

The WITNESS. They got everything from the former board except a statement from the treasurer. They did not get that; and I doubt whether they have got that statement yet.

Senator VANCE. No, and I venture to say that they never will. Now, I ask you if it has not been charged that the school fund of the State had been embezzled and destroyed by the Republican party?

The WITNESS. It has been charged that the school fund of the parish of Natchitoches had been embezzled, and the treasurer of the school board was indicted; and on every indictment that they found against him he has been cleared and fully exonerated after the case had been put off from court to court for five years at a great expense to him, reducing him to a state of beggary. By the by, he was an ex-Confederate soldier, too. He finally got his trial, and was cleared of each one of the counts against him. There is now one count pending; that is, that he did not produce the vouchers and books as the treasurer of the school board of the parish of Natchitoches. That count has not been decided yet.

Q. Now, you see, you have gone on and answered questions that I have not asked you at all.—A. I fail to see it.

Q. I asked you whether it was not charged that the State school funds had been embezzled in the parish of Natchitoches?—A. Some of them.

Q. I understood you to deny that the other day?—A. Which?

Q. That the funds of the State had been embezzled by the Republican officials of the county of Natchitoches?—A. I still deny that the funds of the State were embezzled by the Republicans.

Q. Let me read a little more from this report—the official report of the board of education. It says:

It is respectfully suggested that the general assembly abrogate and annul act No. 81, of May 25, 1872, which the honorable supreme court of Louisiana has solemnly declared to be "An act of spoliation, intended and designed to deplete the treasury of every available asset or fund in it, and violative of the act of Congress of the 15th of February, 1843, and of article 139 of the constitution of this State.

The "free-school accumulating fund," which this act No. 81 pretended to abolish, was a sacred trust fund derived from the sales of sixteenth sections of lands donated by the United States expressly for the support of schools in the townships; and in all the successive constitutions of the State it has been defined a perpetual and inviolable fund, on which the State would annually pay six per cent. interest toward the support of the free public schools. Yet this inviolable fund was grasped by sacrilegious hands, and the bonds, which represented its "perpetuity" in the State treasury, were sacrificed at public auction, making the fund itself a myth, in defiance of constitutional restrictions and in utter contempt of the honor of the State. Moreover, the interest due the townships on this annihilated fund was appropriated, in 1874, 1875, 1876, out of the current school fund; thus diverting not less than \$150,000 from the State at large for the exclusive benefit of a minority of parishes entitled to the interest.

You may not, gentlemen, be able to reach, with the arms of the law, the spoliators who committed this double wrong, to the detriment of free education in this commonwealth; but you can vindicate the honor of the State by reintegrating the free-school fund on the books of the State auditor and State treasurer, and by authorizing the levy of a special tax for the payment of the annual interest due thereon to the townships.

The loss of this interest during the year 1877 was very prejudicial to the cause of education in rural Louisiana, particularly in those parishes in which the colored children required a much larger number of schools than could possibly be established with the current school fund; and hence the greater necessity is there now of an active restoration of the fund, and of the payment of interest for the past year and all future years.

That act was passed in 1872—the act by which those bonds were sold at auction. Who were in power in the State, in 1872?

The WITNESS. Yes, sir; the Republican government was in power there then.

Senator VANCE. So it seems that you and the board disagree also in regard to that.

Now, you told us the other day that the colored men paid more poll-tax which went to the support of the free-schools than the white men did.

The WITNESS. That they paid more tax?

Senator VANCE. That they paid more poll-tax.

The WITNESS. No; I did not say that.

Q. What did you say?—A. I said this, particularly: that the colored people, as a general thing, when they paid their taxes, paid their poll-tax; no matter if they only had a horse or a cow, somebody had it assessed, and when they paid that tax, they paid their poll-tax in addition.

Q. I asked you whether four-fifths of the poll-tax was not paid by white men; you said no; you said that the colored men paid their taxes more promptly than white men, because rich men get off, while poor men cannot?—A. No, I said nothing of the sort, either in letter or spirit.

Q. Well, what you said is down, and the reporter's notes will show. But I want to read to you again:

The proviso in section twenty-seven of the school act of 1877, declaring "that all the poll-tax collected in any parish shall be appropriated to said parish," has stimulated the tax collectors, in many parishes, to a vigorous collection of the tax, as may be seen by reference to the state treasurer's report of the amounts paid in for 1877. Yet it is apparent that this tax has been levied chiefly on property holders, and that other persons have been exempted, notwithstanding the imperative provisions of revenue laws requiring its payment by every adult male in the State. This is not only inequitable in its operations, but it is a positive violation of article 118 of the constitution, which says that "taxation shall be equal and uniform throughout the State." It is obviously requisite, therefore, to enforce the payment of this tax, if continued to be levied at all, by every male inhabitant of the State, as contemplated by the same article of the constitution; and there seems to be but one effectual mode of accomplishing this necessary end. Its payment should be a prerequisite to the exercise of suffrage, and every dollar collected should revert to the parish in which paid, and be devoted exclusively to the promotion of free education in that parish.

So it seems that you differ from the board in another respect.

The WITNESS. I always beg to differ from that board; we are opposite to each other in everything. I am more fortunate than you are, governor; I am well acquainted with each one.

Q. Well, I will not read any more from an authority so obnoxious to your criticism. You said something, when you were on the stand the other day, about being afraid to go back.—A. No, sir; I never said that, sir; I told you that I expected to go back.

Q. Did you not say something about how dangerous it would be, but that the ties that bound you there would induce you to risk it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is the particular danger that you think you are subject to down there?—A. In the first place the same thing that was the cause of my leaving there; because I was popular and influential with my people. That is the first reason. Next, because those parties were indicted before the Federal courts, and I was a witness against them.

Q. What were they indicted for?—A. For a violation of the rights guaranteed to citizens by the general government.

Q. What particular act? For any particular massacre or riot?—A. Yes, sir; for their action on the 21st of September.

Q. Of what year?—A. In 1878.

Q. What became of those indictments?—A. True bills were found against the parties, and they were tried before the courts.

Q. What court?—A. The United States district court.

Q. What was the result of that trial?—A. They were acquitted.

Q. Who presided over that court?—A. Judge Woods.

Q. Was he a Republican or a Democrat?—A. He was said to be a Republican.

Q. Who prosecuted them?—A. Colonel Leonard.

Q. What is he?—A. He used to be a Democrat, but he is a Republican now.

Q. He is a Republican convert?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are the fiercest sort, are they not? Those that come in late have to make up for lost time, generally?—A. Yes, they are rather savage.

Q. Who was the marshal that summoned that jury?—A. Colonel Wharton.

Q. Is he a Republican convert, too?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he come in late?—A. Well, no; he came in when he saw that the vessel was sinking.

Q. You started to explain why you were afraid to go back South.—A. No, sir; I am not afraid to go back.

Q. Well, then, why you thought you were in danger, in case you should go back?—A. It is not very safe for a person who had any hand in the prosecution of those cases to return there.

Q. Have you been back there since those cases were tried?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where have you been all the time?—A. In the city of New Orleans.

Q. What have you been doing down there?—A. I worked a portion of the time in the custom-house.

Q. What position did you hold?—A. I held the position of entry clerk in the surveyor's office for some time.

Q. Are you still there?—A. No, sir; not in the surveyor's office.

Q. Do you hold any position there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What position do you hold?—A. I am an inspector.

Q. That is a promotion, is it not, from the position of clerk in the surveyor's office?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is not the pay greater?—A. No, sir; it is less.

Q. You think you will risk going back home?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know of any particular threats that have been made against you?—A. No, sir; I have heard it said generally that all those who had a hand in that prosecution could not return home.

Q. Do you know of any of those who took part in that prosecution who have gone back there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have they been molested?—A. No, sir; that is the thing that gives me courage to return home.

Q. You said they made you leave there because of your being influential and popular among your people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is not the reason they gave, is it?—A. They gave this as the reason—that we were in their way. They said they were tired of Republican rule, and were not going to have us rule over them any longer; that so long as we staid there we controlled the vote, and outnumbered them; and that the best thing they could do was to get us out of the way—to get rid of us.

Q. Was that what they openly assigned as the reason?—A. It is the only cause that I know of.

Q. Did they not accuse you of making incendiary and inflammatory speeches to the colored people?—A. I never was accused of that in my life. They have accused other parties of doing that; but they never accused me of it.

Q. Who procured for you this appointment in the custom-house at New Orleans? By whose influence was it obtained?—A. I think by my own.

By Senator WINDOM:

Q. You dropped a remark, while you were being examined by Senator Vance, as to a change in the constitution of the State of Louisiana relative to schools; that under Republican rule it was obligatory to have a given number of schools, for a given length of time, while under Democratic arrangement it was optional. Did I understand you aright?—A. No, sir; I did not say that under Republican rule it was obligatory; but under Republican rule the first action of the school board, after being sworn in, was to establish a number of schools for the facility of teaching the children—for the benefit of both races alike. For instance, in the town of Natchitoches there are two public schools; one is taught by colored teachers—one or two of them; and one is taught by a white teacher. In the eleventh ward—a very large ward—we had one at Hill Brevel; one seven miles from that, on Old River; and another at Twenty-five Mile Ferry. Wherever there were enough children in one ward to constitute two or more schools, they were established.

Q. I see that this report, from which Governor Vance has read, reports twenty-six schools in Natchitoches Parish; but it does not say whether they are white or colored schools. You say that only four of them are colored schools?—A. Yes, sir; that is all I know of.

Q. Are you well acquainted in the parish?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You said the number of white schools was eight.—A. Yes, sir; to the best of my knowledge; I have never known more than that under that board.

Q. If anything has occurred to you tending to throw light on this subject, since your former examination, please state it.—A. I stated in my examination-in-chief, that the main cause of the colored people

going to Kansas, or emigrating to any other State, was a political cause. I also stated what those causes were. Now I am prepared to prove that this fraud, this system of fraud and unjust dealing, has not only taken effect in a single parish, but has permeated the entire State, and reached even the city of New Orleans, where prominent Democrats have arisen before the courts, and demanded that justice be done them, even against their own party. In the year 1878, a citizen's party was organized in opposition to the Bourbon Democracy. This party, taking the name of the Citizens' Conservative party, was composed of what you might term the commercial interests of the city of New Orleans and State of Louisiana. The colored people did not put any ticket in the field. They had intended to nominate, and I believe actually did meet and nominate, what was known as a National ticket; but as soon as the Citizens' Conservative amendment went into effect, the colored people determined to cast their influence with the better element of the Democracy, as represented on that ticket. After the election was over, the Citizens' Conservative Association filed a protest—and here is the protest:

[New Orleans Times, November 14, 1878.]

THE CONTEST OF THE CITIZENS.—THE LETTER TO GOVERNOR NICHOLLS.

Up to a late hour last evening Governor Nicholls had not replied to the communication of the Citizens' Association, but promised to do so at an early day.

The following is the letter served on the governor on Tuesday:

To his Excellency, Governor FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS:

The undersigned committee from the Citizens' Conservative Association have been directed to call your excellency's attention to facts connected with the election recently held in this city, and to acts of fraud perpetrated and wrongs committed in that election, which stand as a reproach against this city, and call for the intervention and action of its judicial officers.

The events which preceded and followed upon that election have passed into current history, are familiar to all, and have justified the pre-existing suspicion of the existence of a combination of individuals in this city who control the machinery of local politics, and who are chargeable with the violation of the rights of the people.

The denial of proper representation to the Citizens' Association placed the management and manipulation of the election entirely in the hands of those politicians who control the primaries. Thus conducted, the election could not prove other than the result has shown it to be—a travesty upon fairness and a mockery of justice.

With scarcely a pretense at concealment, unsanctioned by any form of law, wrongs have been committed and the boldest frauds perpetrated by the officers at many of the polls, in the following particulars:

1. In excluding from the polls citizens legally entitled to vote, and registered as the law requires.

2. In knowingly permitting and conniving at the voting of men under assumed names and upon false registration certificates.

3. In receiving ballots cast upon papers of persons notoriously absent from the city.

4. In excluding from the polling booths citizens who claimed the right guaranteed them by the law, of witnessing a proper count and compilation of the votes as cast.

5. In falsely changing votes as cast and the substitution of others.

6. In counting for candidates votes cast for their opponents.

These charges are based upon affidavits made voluntarily by numerous citizens, and which will be duly produced to the proper tribunals.

The people are uneasy and dissatisfied. They feel that justice has been outraged and a wrong committed which threatens the purity and sanctity of the ballot.

These illegal acts, so much calculated to bring reproach upon the first popular administration vouchsafed to us after so many years of misrule, are the more heinous, because the perpetrators claim to be acting in the name of the great party of the people, the Democratic party, which has no more devoted adherents than those who compose the association which we represent.

We ask, therefore, that your excellency will give the matter your earnest consideration, and that you may direct and urge upon the law officers of this State to take all

the measures afforded by law to vindicate the sanctity of popular suffrage, to insure the future security of the rights of the people, and to bring the offenders to justice.

J. ALDIGE.
C. G. JOHNSEN.
JACOB HASSINGER.
F. LANGE.
J. G. PARHAM.
W. FLOWER.
W. C. RAYMOND.

Those who represent the attorney-general claim that the prosecution referred to by the citizens does not come within the province of that officer, but that of the district attorney.

It is further stated that the attorney-general would simply regard the offenses alleged as crimes, and refer them to the district attorney.

I will also read the notice of contest of the election as entered into court by the Citizens' Conservative Association (reading):

[New Orleans Times, November 16, 1878.]

THE ELECTION CONTESTS GETTING INTO COURT.

The clerk of the sixth district court was informed yesterday morning that six contests would be filed, in fact contests for all the administratorships excepting that of improvements, but only three were filed yesterday. It is thought that Mr. Mandeville Marigny will institute suit in the sixth court at an early hour this morning, and that Capt. R. B. Pleasants will also bring suit.

In this connection it may be mentioned that Mr. Thomas Askew yesterday served Mr. Gautheraux with a notice of contest, as the subjoined communication indicates:

NEW ORLEANS, November 14, 1878.

J. R. ALCEE GAUTHERAUX:

SIR: In compliance with law, I hereby give you notice of my intention to contest your election as civil sheriff of the parish of Orleans at the election held on the 5th day of the present month, and assign as grounds for such contest as follows:

1. The exclusion from the several polling-places in the parish of Orleans of all persons not belonging to the straight Democratic party, especially the exclusion therefrom, during the counting of the votes cast, of representatives of and persons belonging to the National party, in violation of law, and for the purposes of fraud in the counting of such votes.

2. The manner in which the votes cast were counted at the several polling-places in the parish, to wit, by placing the tables and ballot-boxes so that witnesses, if present, were not able to inspect the tickets as taken from the ballot-boxes, all in violation of law, and for the purposes of fraud in counting said votes.

3. At the several polling-places in the parish more than five thousand (5,000) votes cast for me were counted for you, the officers pretending to make the count at the polling-places being detected in counting votes cast for the ticket on which I was a candidate as if cast for the candidates on the Democratic ticket, on which you were a candidate, and also in obliterating the names of candidates on the National and other tickets upon which my name appeared.

4. After the close of election the ballot-boxes were not opened for counting the votes at the several polling-places in the parish until after many hours, contrary to law.

5. In excluding from the polls citizens legally entitled to vote and registered as the law requires.

6. In knowingly permitting and conniving at the voting of men under assumed names and upon false registration certificates.

7. In receiving ballots cast upon papers of persons notoriously absent from the city. I assign that all the foregoing irregularities were done in the interest of the several candidates on the Democratic ticket, including yourself, and that effect of the same was such as to prevent a sufficient number of the votes actually cast for me being counted for me, and thereby prevent me from being declared, and to cause you to be declared, elected.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
(Signed)

THOS. ASKEW.

Attested:
(Signed)

THEO. RENSHAW.
JAS. H. COLLINS.

The following gentlemen attached their names as witnesses to the petition already filed, being the twenty citizens required by law :

Chas. G. Johnsen, H. S. Michel, H. C. McGuigin, M. B. Chilans, O. L. Putnam, W. E. Kirk, Alf B. Barnett, E. T. Manning, P. M. Dunn, J. M. Vance, M. Marigny, Clement B. Penrose, John Fitzpatrick, R. Arnauld, I. Tharp, O. H. Violet, J. Paris Childress, E. L. St. Ceran, J. B. Gervais Arnauld, R. B. Pleasants, Geo. D. Hite, J. Aldige.

At a late hour last evening Judge Rightor returned into court, and securing from the law library several books, consulted numerous authorities, but it was finally announced that no order would be issued last evening, and the court adjourned unto-day at ten o'clock.

THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

At ten o'clock last evening the executive committee of the Citizens' Conservative Association had not received a reply from Governor Nicholls to their note, which has been already published, and a reply was not expected during the night.

At four o'clock yesterday afternoon Governor Nicholls had partially completed a reply, but it was still in an unfinished condition when a Times reporter left his office.

By Senator WINDOM.

Q. Without going into the details of the trial, was that case ever tried?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was the result, given in brief?—A. It amounted to Mr. Gautheraux holding the sheriff's office.

Q. Was any attention ever paid to that protest?—A. Very little, sir; very little; the courts there are all of one class.

By Senator VANCE:

Q. That contest down there between the Conservatives and the Bourbons, as you call them, was about city taxation, was it not?—A. I do not think you can strictly style it so, sir.

Q. What did these Conservative men fly off from the regular Democratic organization for?—A. Because in the regular Democratic organization there was not the class of men they wanted; they wanted a class of men representing the commercial and financial interests of the city and State.

Q. The property-holders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was not the Republican party pretty equally divided between both factions?—A. I do not think so, sir.

Q. Did not a portion of the Republicans vote for the "Bourbons," as you call them?—A. Some of the Republicans voted for some of the Bourbons.

Q. Did you ever hear of any respectable number of Republicans protesting against the corruption of their own party?—A. Yes, sir; but I will tell you how Republicans fight each other; they fight each other in the party, and not out of it.

Q. They did not officially protest in public, charging each other with fraud and corruption?—A. No, sir; not unless some of them got dissatisfied because they did not get anything.

Q. Did they ever sign a protest like that which you have just read?—A. Against the action of a Republican administration? No, sir. We could always settle our affairs at home, without parading them before the general public.

Senator VANCE. That is so; I did not think of that.

Senator BLAIR. I want to call attention to the fact that this school report, from which Senator Vance has questioned the witness, is a report for the year 1877, the year in which the transfer of power from the Republicans to the Democrats took place, and must, of necessity, in its data of statistics and expenditures, represent the condition of things as left by the Republicans.

Senator VANCE. The date of it is 1878, but it details the operations of the year 1877.

Senator BLAIR. So far as it represents a state of facts existing at that time, it must represent a state of facts growing out of the Republican administration; and if the assertions of that report are true, they must, being for the year 1877, represent a status which grew out of Republican administration rather than Democratic.

Senator VANCE. The report I read from said, expressly, that the school-board could not get data from the outgoing officials, and only gave the state of things under their own administration.

Senator BLAIR. They give the state of things as they existed in the earlier part of the year 1877. I have not had time to examine this report at length; but the data which they complain of not being able to get, can not be the data in regard to the number to schools, for that they do give.

Senator VANCE. Well, the report will show for itself how that is; so we need not cumber the record with our arguments upon the point.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES T. RAPIER.

JAMES T. RAPIER called, was sworn and examined as follows:

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Rapier, where do you reside?—Answer. At Calhoun, Lowndes County, Alabama.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived five years in Lowndes.

Q. Where did you live before that?—A. In Lauderdale County; I am a native of that place.

Q. To come directly to the point, have you given any attention to this exodus movement and its cause?—A. Yes, sir; I suppose I have, so far as my time would allow, and opportunity presented itself.

Q. State what are the causes of it.—A. I suppose that question covers Alabama, only?

Q. No, it covers anything in the South.—A. Well, sir, there are several reasons why the colored people desire to emigrate from Alabama; one among them is the poverty of the South. On a large part of it a man cannot make a decent living. Another is their want of school privileges in the State; and there is a majority of the people who believe that they cannot any longer get justice in the courts; and another and the greatest reason is found in the local laws that we have, and which are very oppressive to that class of people in the black belt.

Q. State what some of them are.—A. First, we have only schools about three months in the year, and I suppose I need not say anything more on that head. In reference to the poverty of the soil, 33 to 40 per cent. of the lands in Alabama is about all on which a man can make a living.

By Mr. BLAIR.

Q. Do you mean the parts that are subdued?—A. Yes, sir; the arable land. The average is one-third of a bale of cotton to the acre, not making three bales to the hand; and a hundred bushels of corn to the hand, on an average. Then take the price of cotton for the last two years; it has not netted more than \$45 to \$47.50 to the bale; and I

suppose it would not be amiss for me to state something of the plans of working the land in Alabama.

Mr. VANCE. It will be very proper.

The WITNESS. The general plan is that the landlord furnishes the land and the teams and feed for the teams and the implements, for which he draws one half of the crop. I remarked that the three bales of cotton and a hundred bushels of corn is about all that you can make to a hand. We allow in Alabama that much, for that is as much as a man can get out of it, and that is not enough to support his family, including himself and the feed of his family; \$.75 to \$1.00 is as much as a hand can make, and that is not enough to feed any man in a Christian country. I have compiled a little table here respecting the charges that we have, and, to be short, I will state that the average interest charged in Alabama on supplies is a hundred per cent.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You mean that is the average profit ?—A. Yes, sir, that is charged by the men who furnish supplies. I have a table here.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Will you read it ?

The witness reads as follows :

Unit of labor, one mule and 30 acres of ground to a family.

The following is the most popular way to work labor in the South :

The landlord furnishes land, implements, stock, and feeds the stock. The laborer boards himself; cultivates and prepares the crop for market; and receives one-half of proceeds.

The following figures show cost for cash and cost on time for necessary supplies to make crop :

180 pounds meat at 6½ cents per pound.....	\$12 15; at 12½ cents,	\$22 75
13 bushels corn at 40 cents per bushel.....	5 20; at \$1	13 00
2 bats at \$1	2 00; at \$2	4 00
2 pair shoes at \$1 25	2 50; at \$2 25,	4 50
6 yards jeans at 25 cents, for pants	1 50; at 50 cents,	3 00
4 yards jeans at 25 cents, for coat	1 00; at 50 cents,	2 00
9 yards shirting at 10 cents	90; at 16½ cents,	1 50
6 yards Osnaburghs at 10 cents, for summer pants ..	60; at 16½ cents,	1 00
12 bushels salt	25; at 50 cents,	50
4 pounds tobacco at 45 cents	1 80; at \$1,	4 00
	27 90	56 25

In round numbers 100 per cent. interest, payable 1st day of October, following.

When land is rented the following are the rents :

Rent of 30 acres of land at 3.33½ per acre	\$100 00
Rent of mule.....	25 00
Feed for mule.....	40 00

165 00

Blacksmithing, \$5.

When in shares the laborer's half would amount in round numbers to \$150—\$112.50.

When land is rented the laborer would receive 6 bales of cotton, valued at \$50, \$360—\$112.50—\$170, being rent for land and mule and feed of mule.

In the first place he would clear \$37.50; in the second place, \$17.50.

When work for part of crop, owner hires extra hands and picks out the cotton, he charges the amount paid out to the laborer. In this way

the cotton is often gathered in my neighborhood by the middle of November. From that time until contracts are renewed for another year the laborers will be forced to be idle.

Under the plan of working on shares the family clears \$37.50, and by way of renting, \$17.50. Out of this amount the remaining portion of the family must be fed and clothed and educated, and buy medicines.

You will see by these figures that what he gets is an average of 100 per cent. for the money invested in business.

Q. That is an estimate for a family?—A. Yes, sir. Now, it is very clear that a man cannot live on such terms, and hence the conclusion of many of these people, that there is not a decent living for them in that State. They are like the white people, and their living no better. Numbers of them, probably not less than 20,000 whites, have left Alabama since the war and gone to Texas to better their condition, and the blacks are doing the same thing, and that is the whole there is of it. So far as the negroes are concerned now they have a high desire to submit their fate to their own keeping in another country. Now here is one of the laws which also affects us, to which I will call attention. It is found in the acts of Alabama for 1878-79, page 63, act No. 57, section 1.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of Alabama*, That section 4369 of the Code be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows: Any person who shall buy, sell, receive, barter, or dispose of any cotton, corn, wheat, oats, pease, or potatoes after the hour of sunset and before the hour of sunrise of the next succeeding day, and any person who shall in any manner move, carry, convey, or transport, except within the limits of the farm or plantation on which it is raised or grown, any seed cotton between the hours of sunset and sunrise of the next succeeding day, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be fined not less than ten nor more five hundred dollars, and may also be imprisoned in the county jail, or put to hard labor for the county, for not more than twelve months. But this section shall not effect the right of municipal corporations to establish and regulate under their charters public markets within their limits for the sale of commodities for culinary purposes, nor the right of any proprietor or owner of any plantation or premises to sell on such plantation or premises the necessary grain and provisions for the subsistence of man and beast for the night to traveling or transient persons, or for the use of agricultural laborers in his own employment on such plantation or premises: *Provided*, That the provisions of such section shall not apply to any person carrying seed cotton to a gin for the purpose of having the same ginned.

Now, the effect of this upon the labor of the South is this: A great many laborers work by the month, but all of them are under contract. If I live three miles from a store, and I must work from sunup to sundown, I cannot go where I can do my trading to the best advantage. A man is prevented, no matter whether his family is sick from sundown to sunrise, from going and selling anything that he has, as the landlord will not give him time between sunrise and sundown.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What was the purpose of this law?—A. It was, as appears from the debates, to keep the negroes from going to stores and taking off seed cotton from the plantation. Certainly it was to have that effect, but it goes further and prevents a man from selling what he has raised and has a right to sell. If a man commits a crime he ought to be punished, but every man ought to have a right to dispose of his own property.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Is there any particular limitation of time to which this law applies?—A. No, sir.

Q. It runs all the year round?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. After the division of the crops as well as before?—A. Yes, sir; it operates so that a man cannot sell his crop at all in many cases.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Do you say that the landlord will not let him sell his crop or that he can prevent it?—A. I say he will not let him do it, because the landlord will not let him take two or three hours out of the time due him in the day to sell it, and the law prevents him from selling at night.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You say the effect of it is not to let him sell his crop at all?—A. I do; for if a man agrees to work from sunup to sundown he is made to do it. I work them that way myself, and I believe all the rest do.

Q. They get a chance to swop knives sometime during the day, do they not?—A. Well, sir; they do not get much time. Now, I desire to read act No. 176, page 206, in the same book.

The witness read as follows :

AN ACT to prevent, in certain cases, the sale, exchange, and transportation of cotton in the counties of Montgomery, Bullock, Dallas, Russell, Lowndes, Wilcox, Sumter, Autauga, and in beats Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of Hale, and of cotton produced in said counties.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of Alabama,* That it shall not be lawful for any person to sell, or offer for sale, barter, exchange, or buy, in the counties of Montgomery, Bullock, Dallas, Russell, Lowndes, Wilcox, Sumter, Autauga, and in beats Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of Hale: *Provided,* This section shall not be construed to apply to any sale of cotton made under any legal process, or under the order of any court, nor to any sale of cotton at public auction in any mortgage or deed of trust, nor to the delivery or surrender of cotton by any tenant to his landlord in payment of his rent or advances, nor to cotton delivered by one tenant in common or joint owner to another, on division of the crop.

SECTION 2. *Be it further enacted,* That it shall not be lawful for any person to transport or move, after sunset or before sunrise of the succeeding day, in the counties of Montgomery, Bullock, Dallas, Russell, Lowndes, Wilcox, Sumter, Autauga, and in beats Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of Hale, any cotton in the seed: *Provided,* That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to prevent the owner or the producer of the cotton from transporting or removing it from the field where it is grown to the gin-house or other place of storage of such owner or producer.

SECTION 3. *Be it further enacted,* That any person receiving seed cotton in said counties or parts of counties, not his or her own in whole or in part, shall enter, in a book to be kept for that purpose, each lot of seed cotton received, and the said book shall be kept open for inspection of any person who wishes to examine the same; and if any person who shall receive such seed cotton fails or refuses to comply with any of the provisions of this section, such person, on conviction thereof, shall be fined not exceeding the sum of one thousand dollars.

SECTION 4. *Be it further enacted,* That it shall not be lawful for any person who is a public ginner, or who gins for pay, in the counties of Montgomery, Bullock, Dallas, Russell, Lowndes, Wilcox, Sumter, Autauga, and beats Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 of Hale, to buy, barter, or exchange for any cotton ginned at his gin, or at any gin in which he has any interest, or suffer any ginned cotton to be sold, bartered for, or exchanged on premises where such cotton is ginned: *Provided,* That nothing in this section contained shall be construed to apply to the cotton produced upon the premises or premise under the control or by the tenants or laborers of such public ginner, or one who gins for pay: *And provided further,* That the provisions of this section shall not apply to any cotton ginned by such public ginner, or one who gins for pay, when it is sold, in merchantable bales, off the premises of such public ginner, or one who gins for pay, and in the usual and customary manner of selling cotton in bale.

SECTION 5. *Be it further enacted,* That any person who knowingly violates any of the provisions of sections 1, 2, and 4 of this act shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and must, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years.

Approved February 1, 1879.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. That is to say, it shall not be lawful to buy or sell seed cotton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At any time?—A. Yes, sir; night or day.

Q. From nobody?—A. From nobody.

Q. White or black?—A. White or black; but you see it applies wholly to black counties.

Q. But there are some white people there, are there not?—A. Yes, sir; but I do not know many who raise seed cotton.

Q. I thought something, may be, was left out of that act?—A. No, sir; that is to say, the gist of the matter is this: I may raise as much cotton as I please in the seed, but I am prohibited by law from selling it to anybody but the landlord, who can buy it because he has advanced to me on the crop. One of the rules is this: I have people working for me to day, but I give them an outside patch. If a man makes outside 1,200 pounds of seed cotton, which is worth \$2.50 per 100 pounds, he cannot sell it unless to me. I may say I will give him \$1.50 per 100 pounds for it, and he will be forced to take it; but I cannot sell it again unless I have a merchantable bale, which is 500 pounds, or 450 pounds by the cotton congress.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Then the effect of that law is to place all the seed cotton into the hands of the landlord?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is the only purchaser who is allowed by law to buy it?—A. Yes, sir; nobody else can buy it. Now I desire to read also from page 190 of the acts of 1878-'79.

The witness read as follows:

AN ACT to make it lawful for the sheriffs of Marion and other counties therein named, to execute all processes issued by justices of the peace and notaries public, and receive the usual fees for the same.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of Alabama,* That from and after the passage of this act, it shall be lawful for the sheriffs of Marion, Green, Fayette, Marengo, Shelby, Walker, Choctaw, Cleburne, Bibb, Pike, Winston, Washington, Escambia, Dale, Conecuh, Lowndes, Monroe, Macon, Covington, Coffee, Cutler, Clarke, Crenshaw, Baldwin, Lee, Elmore, Perry, Saint Clair, Tallapoosa, Autauga, Blount, Jackson, Lawrence, and Bullock Counties, to execute all processes issued by justices of the peace and notaries public in their respective counties, and receive the usual fees by law allowed constables for the same, and the said sheriffs shall be liable on their official bonds as in executing other process from courts of record.

Approved December 18 1874.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Are those counties you name the Black Belt?—A. Yes, sir; they are the Black Belt proper, and include the best counties in the State. I desire now at this point to read from acts of 1874 and '75, page 260, on the subject of grand larceny, to amend section 3706 of the Revised Code, and it reads as follows:

GRAND LARCENY.—Any person who steals any horse, mare, gelding, colt, filly, mule, jack, jenny, cow, or animal of the cow kind, hog, sheep, goat, or any part of any outstanding crop of corn or cotton, and any person who steals any personal property other than that hereinbefore enumerated exceeding \$25 in value, is guilty of grand larceny, and must, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary or sentenced to hard labor for the county, for not less than two nor more than five years.

Approved February 20, 1875.

The WITNESS. Now the point in that is this: It is a general law and not a special one, and I do not say that it is, if any man should steal any part of any outstanding crop of corn he is punished also. Suppose the chairman and I are farming; it is a general thing in Louisiana to stop his advances, and if I get out any of the crop that I have made and attempt to sell it or do sell it to get necessary supplies I am guilty of grand larceny.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Where do you construe the stealing, or do you think stealing is purely a technical word. I read it that that is construed to be stealing in our State, the taking of anything without permission?—A. The best

evidence that it is so construed is, that we have convicted men there under this law for taking two ears of corn, or certainly less than a peck of corn.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Do you mean taking it out of his own field?—A. No, sir; out of the field that he had made in part with the landlord.

Q. I thought the law said that grand larceny should consist of as much as \$25 worth?—A. No, sir; you have not got it right yet. Two ears or a stalk of corn is a part of an outstanding crop, and any man who sells any part of an outstanding crop can be prosecuted and convicted of grand larceny.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Every taking, Mr. Rapier, is not stealing, is it?—A. It may not be in North Carolina.

Q. Well, it is common sense all over the world?—A. This is what I complain of, that it is not so considered in Alabama.

Q. Does that say "the taking of it," and not "the stealing of it"?—A. Well, sir, it is construed as stealing, but I say that if I had helped to make a crop, then I ought to have a right to take my share of it.

Q. If you take it fraudulently and never gave any account of it, it is stealing, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; but I say that is what I complain of. I say they construe it into stealing there when it ought not to be. Now here is another law, to which I will call attention, on the subject of securing competent jurors. It is on page 190, acts 76 and 77.

The witness read as follows:

AN ACT to secure more effectually competent and well-qualified jurors in the counties of Montgomery, Lowndes, Autauga, Dallas, Perry, and Bullock.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the general assembly of Alabama,* That five commissioners shall be appointed by the governor in each of the counties of Montgomery, Lowndes, Autauga, Dallas, Perry, and Bullock, who shall discharge and perform in their respective counties all the duties in relation to the election and drawing of grand and petit jurors, now required by law to be performed by the judges of probate, sheriffs, and clerks of the circuit or city courts of said counties, &c.

The WITNESS. The point is this: Under the laws of Alabama the probate judge, the clerk, and the sheriff have had the drawing of jurors, and have had since Alabama was admitted as a State; but this bill comes in and covers those counties where the Republicans are likely to have a majority, and where they would draw the jurors. The proper heading of the law might have been, "An act to keep negroes off the juries." I want to state that it is the general opinion of the colored people in Alabama, and I will say of some of the judges, that it is a difficult matter for a colored man to get justice when there is a case between him and a white man. I will cite one of those cases: There was a case in Montgomery in which Judge J. Q. Smith presided. It was a civil suit. A white man had a black man's crop attached, and he had lost it. The colored man sued him on the attachment bond, and employed Judge Gardiner to defend or prosecute it for him. Soon after the case was given to the jury they brought in a verdict for the defendant. Judge Gardiner moved for a new trial, on the ground that the verdict was not in accordance with the facts; and the judge said, "I have observed that where an issue is between a white and a black man before a jury the verdict is almost invariably against the black man. The grounds on which the judge said he would not grant a new trial

would be because he thinks the next verdict would not be different from that rendered, and as I do not think there would be a different verdict, I decline to give the new trial."

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What was the date of that?—A. I cannot say; I think that it was some time last year. I will see Mr. McAfee, the former district attorney for the northern district of Alabama, and ascertain. He had a case where his client was charged with stealing a hog. He proved by the man who employed the black man that he could not have been there at the time the hog was stolen; but Mr. McAfee concluded that his client could not get justice before the jury, and he made a speech to this effect: "Gentlemen of the jury, I have no hope for my client in this case. Being tried before a white jury, I think you are afraid to bring in a verdict in his favor." He said to the judge: "You are afraid to instruct them properly; and, after a long practice in this court, all you need when you want to convict a negro of stealing a hog is only two things: you have first to prove that a hog was stolen; and, second, that there was a negro somewhere in the neighborhood," and on that they brought in a verdict of guilty; but the judge set it aside.

Q. Who was that who made that speech?—A. N. S. McAfee.

Q. Where does he live?—A. His address is Talladega.

Q. Who was the judge?—A. I think it was Judge Henderson. He is the judge of the Talladega circuit. Now, there have been some amendments to our election laws which operate against us. Whilst I admit that all these things are done in a general way, it is the application of them that we complain of, and I say that it is these local laws, and the opportunity they afford for oppression, that the colored people complain of, and from which they are trying to get away. When the Democrats came in power, in 1874, they proceeded to change the election laws in three or four ways. Under the Republicans, a man could vote in any way he pleased, and in any precinct in his county. They change it so that he must vote in his own precinct. But that is all right. We do not complain much about that. Then the law said that if any man failed to do his duty as an election officer, he should be guilty of a misdemeanor and be punished. They amended it by saying that no man should be an officer until sworn in; so that if a man should come there and would not open the polls they were not officers and could not be sworn in, and hence the election would not be had. Then they said that the ballots should not be numbered. That is the law in other States. But the complaint in the ballots was that a number of frauds would be committed, and that if their ballots were numbered they could be detected and drawn before the United States court. I have heard of men doing business on the square, but in this case they vote on the square, for the ballots are required to be not over seven inches long, and not under five in width. The law provides that they shall not be partly written and partly printed, but wholly written or wholly printed. This last election we voted for twenty officers, but I do not know whether we elected any or not. They counted us out, and so I do not know whether the election was square or not. Some of the colored men cannot write, of course, and do not know whether the tickets are according to law or not. He may have a ticket given to him over seven inches long but he cannot tell it. They were first used at the election in Madison County some months ago, when they had an election for intendant.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. How long ago was that?—A. Probably a month ago. There were

only 19 votes polled, I believe. One party polled 10, and the other 9. I think, on reflection, some of them thought they would measure the tickets, and they found one whose ticket was too short, and they drew straws as to which should be the mayor, and the fellow who was beaten at first was made mayor. That law complicates us very much, as you will see, in voting down there.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Was there anything more you desired to say ?—A. I think if the committee want any more of the subject of elections they ought to get the United States marshal, who has all the ballots that were cast in Shelley's district. There are more than five thousand over what he is entitled to, and there were indictments made against a number of these people for false voting and ballot stuffing.

Q. Is there much bulldozing carried on in Alabama ?—A. I cannot say much of the bulldozing there since 1874. In 1868, if I just go back to that, they had an organization known as the Kuklux in Alabama. Prominent among the men whom they tried to hang was a Mr. Sheets, who had a rope put around his neck, and they afterwards came and paid their respects to me.

Q. How many of them were in the party ?—A. There were four or five hundred who came to me. I was a very popular colored man at the time, and they wanted to give me a dose of their regulation tactics, but I ran faster than they did. I fought some and ran a good deal ; and now, as an answer to why the negroes do not fight more down there, I desire to say that when they heard I was armed and ready to fight, the Federal soldiers came there to hunt me down and see if I was armed.

Q. Do you mean the Federal soldiers did that ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you think that all those parties who came after you were Democrats ?—A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Are there any Democrats among the negroes ?—A. Yes, sir ; there are a great many of them. They become Democrats on the principle that they will do the best they can for themselves.

Q. What do you think of the Republicans and their general treatment of the colored people ?—A. Well, sir, I do not think they have done as well as they might have done.

Q. Then you ought to quit voting for them.—A. No, sir ; we generally make the best of a bad lot.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. What further can you say about the bulldozing down there ?—A. Well, sir, we went through several stages of it, and there was a great deal of riding about at night, especially in the county of Barbour. When the negroes were going to vote down there, they were shot at, and then they rushed in and destroyed the ballots. Since those days, though, they have been adopting the Christian plan, or Sunday-school plan, of counting us out, and we rather prefer that.

Q. Now they cheat you on the square ?—A. Yes, sir ; and by the square foot.

Q. Well, that has produced some dissatisfaction among the colored people ?—A. Yes, sir. I desire to say something about the exodus. It is my opinion that there has not been an agent for Kansas down there, because they put a man in jail down there for soliciting emigrants unless he pays a tax of \$100 ; so that there are not many emigrant agents who come there. I think I am very well acquainted with

the State, especially in the forty-two counties that I have been in from time to time. I have, however, seen the map of Kansas in Alabama; but I advised these colored people to leave Alabama, because 32 per cent. of the lands are so poor that they cannot make a living on them; and I think I have demonstrated that fact to them in figures. I think the colored people are leaving there in order to better their condition, and I think they can do it anywhere except in the Southern States. Whatever is the law in one Southern State, that will operate against him part of the time in the other; and it is my further opinion that you cannot develop mentally and morally the colored children of the State, for at every spring branch and cross roads he will find something to remind him that he is a negro.

Q. You say the negroes leave there to better their condition; do you mean to better it financially, or educationally and politically?—A. Yes, sir; in all those ways. I have stated that there are schools in Alabama only three months in the year; that is not time enough to school a child. I have shown that after a man has paid his expenses out of an average crop, he will not have \$60 to educate his children and feed and clothe his family. The average yield of corn there is 11 bushels to the acre, while anywhere west of the Mississippi he can make at least 33 bushels. In other words, a man in the West can make as much as three men in Alabama. Now, in regard to its being too cold out there for them, I have advised them that it is not too cold; that Kansas—but I do not speak to them particularly of Kansas—lies between 37 and 40 degrees, on the same line pretty much as Richmond and this place, and if Virginia could be the hot-bed of negro slavery and they could live there, they certainly can live in the same latitude in Kansas.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Do you think it is no colder in Kansas than it is in Virginia?—A. No, sir.

Q. It is higher, is it not, although on the same latitude?—A. No, sir; but it is farther west, and farther off the Atlantic coast.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Do the white people in Alabama think that the colored man's right to vote is a right that they may cheat him out of as best they can?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do they think that slavery was rightfully abolished?—A. I do not think they do, but they submit to it.

Q. But if they can, by such laws as you have quoted, appropriate that labor, do they not believe they are reclaiming what belongs to them in so doing?—A. I think that is the opinion of Southern men.

Q. In reference to their cheating, if under the present situation, the abolishment of slavery having increased their vote and representation in Congress, they can still control the negroes vote, and labor, and at the same time keep this increased representation, are they not really in as good a condition as when they owned the slaves, and are they not ready to have it remain as it is?—A. Undoubtedly; because it gives them better representation in Congress.

Q. And they are better off than they were in the days of slavery?—A. Undoubtedly; they have more political power and less responsibility.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Are there some colored men in your State who have accumulated property?—A. Some few.

Q. Some are worth a good deal of money, are they not?—A. I have heard so, but I have never seen the assessments.

Q. You speak of your plantation ; I suppose you have property ?—A. I have some personal property.

Q. Do you not own your plantation ?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say among other things that the poverty of the soil, and the want of the free exercise of their rights, and all those things are driving the negroes away ; and, then, I understand you to say that one of the causes of the exodus is this act about the sale of seed cotton ?—A. Yes, sir ; it includes the sale of seed cotton or any kind of farm produce.

Q. I live in a cotton district, and I want to ask you if this state of things does not exist in all such districts, that a bad man can establish a little grocery store in a settlement, and buy the seed-cotton which bad white men and bad colored men steal and carry there at night ? I will not say that that state of things does exist, but that is what is alleged, is it not, in all cotton communities ?—A. Yes, sir ; in the debates upon this law they say that, but the point is this : I say the law prevents me selling instead of my stealing.

Q. That is the argument, though, that was used to pass the law, that these white men would steal the seed cotton, and sell it at night to mean merchants for whisky, tobacco, and things of that sort ?—A. Yes, sir ; that was alleged in the debate, but they do not say anything about potatoes, which they are just as liable to steal and sell. And, by the way, you are the first white man I think I ever saw that would admit that there are bad white men.

Q. You have some of them there in Alabama ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I did not know that you would admit it.

Q. Well, I do not think that you would admit that all the bad men were colored men.—A. No, sir ; as we have bad men of both kinds.

Q. Well, the law punishes the stealing or buying of this cotton secretly and fraudulently, by white or black men, so it operates equally on both ?—A. Yes, sir ; but the point I make is that a man cannot sell anything after dark, and I say that the grievance is more on the black man than on the white man.

Q. But it applies to white men as well as the black ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then all that it does is to deprive either kind of men from stealing cotton and selling it off of the plantation ?—A. Yes, sir ; but I say the thing in it is that it puts the whole thing in the hands of the landlord.

Q. Do you raise any tobacco in Alabama ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know that there is a law of the United States that prevents a man from selling tobacco to anybody but the licensed dealer ?—A. Yes, sir ; but that is done to protect those who pay taxes.

Q. Well, if a farmer down there is taxed for the stealage that is committed on him, has he not a right of protection ?—A. I think it is very far-fetched to make that comparison ; it is not a tax.

Q. But it is a loss to him ?—A. Yes, sir ; provided there is any stealing done.

Q. But the possibility of stealing is prevented by this law ?—A. I do not admit that.

Q. Well, it is lessened ?—A. Yes, sir ; I admit that ; but we have laws against stealing under which we might convict a man and punish him if he were caught stealing.

Q. But the other is a law to punish them for stealing it by day or night when it does not belong to them ?—A. Yes, sir ; it may not belong to them, but it places the settlement between them and the landlord all in the hands of the landlord of the place ; in other words, he has a right

to see all that goes out of the place, and he can convict me if I take anything without his permission.

Q. Well, that law was made necessary on account of the alleged taking off of the crops by the tenants before the landlord was settled with?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your complaint is then that those laws are too hard on stealing?—A. No, sir; I do not admit that.

Q. But they are hard on stealing, are they not?—A. No, sir; but I say they deprive the tenant of his constitutional right to enjoy the fruits of his labor and to sell what he pleases. There was a case of that sunrise and sundown law before a Republican judge who decided that it was unconstitutional.

Q. Perhaps it is, and if it is it will be repealed, will it not?—A. I do not know whether it will or not.

Q. You say that jurors in some counties are selected by commissioners appointed by the governor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know that the juries of the United States courts are selected by the marshal and the clerk?—A. I think they were, but I think the marshal has nothing to do with it now. If the clerk is a Republican I think he is authorized by law of Congress to select a Democrat to put on the jury.

Q. Was that a law passed by a Democratic Congress?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then up to that time the clerk and marshal put on whom they pleased?—A. Yes, sir; but that change was made to prevent convictions for violations of the election laws.

Q. Have they got convictions before that time by packing the juries?—A. No, sir; they got fair-minded men on the juries.

Q. Do you think they did?—A. Yes, sir; the clerk and marshal always got them. Sometimes they might make a mistake, that was not impossible, but I see the Democratic commissioner in making up his list puts on every man a Democrat that he can find and makes them all Democratic, while the other man will put on half and half, so that makes about three Democrats to one Republican.

Q. Then the Republican acts fairer than the other man?—A. I leave that for you to say. I say he was fairer, and it is to his credit and to the detriment of the other man that he is.

Q. But that is no objection to the law, is it?—A. No, sir; we had a case there where we tried to convict a man for destroying a ballot-box, but now he is a candidate for office and I do not think anybody will oppose him.

Q. You say the first election under this square ticket system was a month ago?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And do you think that was one of the causes of the exodus several years ago?—A. No, sir; it was the laws made before that.

Q. Yet we had nothing to do with it?—A. I just called up that amendment to show you the character of the legislation that we are under there and the kind of election laws.

Q. Now as to the poverty of the soil in Alabama, is it not true that there is a large proportion of the State that is very rich?—A. It is moderately rich, but not like it was twenty-five years ago.

Q. Is there not a large proportion of cane-brake country where they raise a bale of cotton to the acre?—A. No, sir; it may be so in spots, but the average is a bale to three acres.

Q. Now I want to ask you about that speech of McAfee's about the stealing of hogs. I ask you if it is not a fact that the raising of hogs, chickens, lambs, and all that has not been almost entirely abandoned

by the planters in the South as hopeless since the negroes were set free?—A. That county is not a very large Republican county.

Q. You heard my question; now will you answer it?—A. No, sir; I do not think they have; but I will say that the reason is on account of the fence law.

Q. Is it not a fact that all kinds of petty pilfering has gone on there until the farmers cannot raise those things, and that all the meat they have on their tables nearly comes from Tennessee and the Western country?—A. No, sir; let me explain to you how that is; it is because absenteeism is as much practiced in the South as it is in Ireland.

Q. Is it not a fact that the reason of much of the absenteeism is because the people cannot raise crops and make a support in the country where this pilfering and stealing is going on?—A. No, sir; I say it is the practice there for a few men to have tenants and they will rent to second parties and they will rent to a third and he will rent to a colored man. Many times a man who rents a plantation has not a dollar of credit and could not buy hogs, and the only chance to get his supplies is to have ten, twenty, thirty negroes, when he goes to the merchant and says, "Advance me the supplies for the year and I will see that you are paid out of the crop." So he gets his supplies furnished and he has got no reason to raise hogs.

Q. I ask you again if that kind of pilfering is not very general in the State?—A. It is in nearly every place, but I will not admit that it is there more than anywhere else.

Q. Well, what there is of it there is it not confined to your race?—A. I say where the most of the people are blacks it is, and where they are whites it is among them.

Q. Of course, but is not that one of the reasons for the passage of these laws about which you complain?—A. It was alleged so, but I think it was more to oppress the laborers. I think it was to make all that the laborers had go through the hands of the landlord, and the other thing was only said as an excuse to pass the laws.

On motion the committee adjourned to 10 a. m. Friday, April 2, 1880

THIRTY-FIFTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 2d*, 1880.

Committee met at 10 o'clock a. m. Present Messrs. Voorhees, Vance, Pendleton, Windom, and Blair.

JAMES T. RAPIER cross-examined.

By Mr. VANCE:

Question. Mr. Rapier, you said yesterday, among other reasons why the exodus was taking place, or why it should take place, from the South, that a colored child could not be raised in the South, and educated, under any circumstances, without being made to remember continually that he was a negro?—Answer. I would be glad if you would give my words.

Q. Well, I cannot do that.—A. I said this: that in my opinion, no colored child could be fully developed, mentally and morally, in the South.

Q. Did you not also say something like this: that at every branch

he crossed, and at every cross-roads he came to he would be reminded of the fact?—A. Yes, I said that—that is what I meant to say.

Q. Do you suppose it would be any better in the country your people are going to?—A. That depends upon where they go.

Q. Well, in the North?—A. Yes, sir; it would be much better there.

Q. Is there any State in the North where you would be received on a social equality with the whites?—A. That is not the question. I did not intend to answer that, because I do not know. But I will tell you what I do know; if I go to Atlanta, Ga., a thirsty man, I cannot get a glass of beer at the depot there, simply because I am a colored man. If my child sees that, and sees that I am not considered as good as a white man, that is bound to chill one's ambition and everything else. That is what I said.

Q. Could you not get a glass of beer at any other place besides the depot?—A. Well, I do not know, because I have not been to try. But I will say further, that I might go to Atlanta, and have money to pay my way, but I could not be accommodated at a hotel without being reminded of being a negro; that is, that a negro is not as good as another man.

Q. Can you go to the fashionable hotels at the North, and sit at the table, and eat with white folks?—A. Not eat at the same tables, perhaps; but I can be accommodated. About being put at the tables with white folks; I do mean that I can be accommodated in the public dining room at any of the hotels in the North that I have been at.

Q. At the same time with the white men?—A. Yes, sir; so far as that is concerned, I have done it in the city of Washington here.

Q. Yes, sir; and you saw nothing when you got up there, in this northern country, to remind you that you are a black man?—A. No, sir; I did not see a thing, after I crossed the Ohio River, to tell me I am a negro, so far as treatment to me was concerned.

Q. You did not see a thing?—A. No, not a thing.

Q. How would it be if you wanted to vote here in the District of Columbia?—A. I do not believe that they vote here at all.

Q. Well, that would remind you of something, would it not?—A. That applies to all classes here; it does not apply only to colored men. I was speaking of where it applies to colored men only.

Q. But that would remind you of the promise of the Republican party to give you the right of suffrage, would it not?—A. No, it would remind me of this: that the black man is as good as the white man, so far as voting here is concerned.

Q. Suppose you went to Rhode Island?—A. If I went to Rhode Island, and subscribed to the support of the constitution and laws of the State, and to obey the law, I should certainly abide by the law of the State.

Q. Well, did you not do that in Alabama?—A. Yes, sir; undoubtedly I did—what they told me was the law.

Q. But you complain of it?—A. Yes, sir; but in Alabama, it applies to the colored man only; while in Rhode Island it applies to the white folks also. All we want in Alabama is to be put on the same footing.

Q. Were any of the laws in Alabama applied to the white people that were not applied to the blacks?—A. Custom is law in our country now, and was before the war.

Q. Let me understand what you mean by law?—A. I suppose you mean the statutory law.

Q. Yes, sir; the constitution and statute law of the State. Is there any law there that applies to white people and not to black people?—

A. None that I know of; but what we complain of is the administration of the law—the custom of the country.

Q. Well, this man Judge Smith—you spoke of his making this remarkable charge to the jury—now, he is a violent political partisan, is he not?—A. Well, I know that eight years ago he published a card in the paper, saying that he was a Democrat.

Q. What is he now?—A. Now he claims to be a Republican.

Q. What is the use, then, of going back to eight years ago? I asked you what the status of the man was, politically, when he gave that charge to the jury.—A. Well, I was saying this, and I will tell you why I said it; he announced then that he was a Democrat, and he has not retracted it since; though he is a Republican.

Q. He claims now to be a Republican?—A. Not publicly.

Q. Is he not a candidate for Congress?—A. Yes, sir; he is a candidate for nomination.

Q. That is what I mean.—A. Yes, sir; but a great many men are out as candidates for nomination that do not get it.

Q. Is that a fact?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I am obliged to you for that information! I did not know, but every man who was a candidate for nomination got it!—A. O, no!

Q. Now, in regard to all those extraordinary charges that were made, is it not true that where white men have to rent, and on credit, and have to buy of planters, that they are also charged more than cash prices?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Exactly.—A. I do not dispute that, sir, in the least—have not done so.

Q. You did not mention it, though?—A. No; I spoke of “laborers;” I did not say negroes alone. And that very thing is what is making the white people leave Alabama, too—more than ten thousand of them within the last twenty years.

Q. Yes?—A. That is one of the things that drives out white and colored people alike.

Q. About school facilities: I believe you stated yesterday something about that.—A. Yes; I said we had about three months’ school in the year, in the State.

Q. And that the same facilities were not extended to the blacks as to the whites?—A. I beg pardon, I did not go that far.

Q. I did not say that you did—I only asked you the question.—A. Well, I say this: that, as a general proposition, the school fund is pretty evenly divided. The only thing I see objectionable about it is, that where there are five hundred and twenty-five thousand white people, they have two hundred and ten thousand children able to go to school; and where there are four hundred and seventy-five thousand black people, they only credit us with having one hundred and fifty-five thousand children, which would make a difference of some thirty to forty thousand.

Q. Well, is that fact—the fact that the white people have more children than the black people—is that one of the things you complain of down there as “oppression”?—A. No, I do not say that. Under our laws, the county superintendent appoints the town superintendents, and it is his duty to enumerate all the scholars in the township who are of school age; and if we have any complaint to make, it is of the action of the town superintendents, who have failed, in my opinion, to make a full census. I make no charge of this, but I believe it to be the fact.

Q. Was the same proportion observed between the children of the two races when the enumeration was made by the Republicans, previous

to 1874?—A. I cannot say as to that; it has been a long time since. I merely speak from the report of the last superintendent.

Q. Then you do not know that it is right?—A. That is the question that was put to me; I only say, if there be any difference at all, that is the way it must come about, because I have no statement and am compelled to go by their reports.

Q. I believe you told us, as an evidence of fraud that the Democrats practiced on you down there, that General Shelley received five thousand more votes than the registered vote in his district amounted to.—A. I beg pardon; I say that if you want to get at the truth in the matter, you ought to summon the United States marshal; that evidence before the committee showed that there were a great many votes for the Republican candidate that he ought to have got, that did not appear at all; I say now, that the marshal has all those ballots in his possession, and if you want that particular case, that is the way to get it. I only give this from general rumor.

Q. You did not say that General Shelley received more votes than were registered, then?—A. I can not say that; I can only state what was the evidence before the marshal; I have no knowledge whatever of the thing.

Q. Well, you complain, then, that there were not as many Republican votes cast as there ought to have been, by the proportion that the colored men were entitled to by the census.—A. I claim that the evidence says that.

Q. Do you know any reason why the full colored vote was not cast for Haralson; he was the Republican candidate, was he not?—A. He was.

Q. Well, why was not the full colored vote cast for him?—A. The reason why is, that there was not a good canvass made.

Q. Did you take a part in that canvass?—A. To this extent I did. I offered my services to speak for him, the last two weeks of the canvass, but he did not meet his appointment with me.

Q. Did you not advise the colored people not to vote for him?—A. No, sir. On the other hand I advised them to vote for him.

Q. You do not know, then, the number of white votes registered in that district?—A. I think it is about six thousand.

Q. You do not know that it was eight thousand?—A. No; I do not think they are there.

Q. You do not know that General Shelley received over six thousand votes?—A. No; but I can run up the vote in a minute (consulting a memorandum) —

Q. Was there not another Republican candidate?—A. No; only he and Shelly ran.

Q. Did not Haralson, himself, urge his friends in Perry and Dallas Counties not to go to the polls?—A. I never heard that before.

Q. Well, I am just asking you?—A. Certainly I would not do it; if I were a candidate, I would try to get them all out.

Q. You say there cannot be eight thousand registered in the district—white votes?—A. There cannot be that many—no, sir; not registered in the district.

Q. Did you not see an affidavit of Mr. May, of Selma, an attorney-at-law, of that place, certifying that Haralson had advised the people not to go to the polls?—A. I did not know there was a person of that name there.

Q. You can say whether you ever saw such an affidavit?—A. No, sir;

I never saw anything about Mr. Haralson on that subject. I never read the contested election case at all.

Q. You were probate judge in Lowndes County ?—A. Never.

Q. You were not a probate judge ?—A. No, sir.

Q. What offices have you held ?—A. Collector of internal revenue for the second district of Alabama. I am collector now.

Q. You have been a candidate for Congress, yourself, several times, I believe ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is probate judge in Lowndes County ?—A. Mr. McDuffie.

Q. He is a Republican, is he not ?—A. He says so.

Q. Were not he, and other influential Republicans, opposed to Mr. Haralson ?—A. I cannot answer that; McDuffie said he was for Haralson, and went around the country, I think, and promised to give him his support; but inasmuch as I have my doubts about the sincerity of the man, that forces me to the conclusion that I do not know what he did.

Q. You have spoken of your plantation a time or two.—A. No, sir; I beg pardon; you may have heard me speak about my being interested in planting, but I do not own a plantation at all; I advance on crops, like other men; I am engaged in that business.

Q. Well, you did have a plantation, or an interest in one ?—A. I have an interest in one, yes, sir.

Q. Well, how do you run that plantation; by renting it, or by hiring men to work it ?—A. The working would be on shares, or renting it; since I have been in the revenue service I have rented it.

Q. In what way ?—A. I rent every man twenty-five acres of ground for one bale of cotton.

Q. That is, so much without regard to what he makes ?—A. Yes, sir. He just pays that much rent.

Q. For twenty-five acres ?—A. Yes, sir, for twenty-five or thirty acres; that is just half what my neighbors are charging, exactly. And I loan them money at 22½ cents.

Q. You mean you loan them money at an interest of 22½ cents on the dollar ?—A. Yes, sir; that is about one-quarter what my neighbors are charging.

Q. Well, that is very reasonable.—A. It is, compared with those beside me.

Q. Yes.—A. That is only a little over bank rates, when they get good security.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do bank rates there come to twenty per cent. ?—A. Bank rates are according to the money market—from twelve to eighteen per cent.

Q. And with real estate security ?—A. No, gilt-edged paper, as we call it; men that are known to be good.

Mr. PENDLETON. The banks ought to pay a pretty good dividend at that rate.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. Rapier, here is the affidavit that I referred to :

STATE OF ALABAMA,
Dallas County :

Before me the undersigned, commissioner of the circuit court of the United States for the middle district of Alabama, came personally Moody H. May, known to me, who, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he resides in Selma, in said county and State, and is a practicing attorney in said city; that in the month of November, 1878, a short time after the Congressional election held in that month, he was in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, in attendance on the United States circuit court, as a witness, summoned before the grand jury of said county, and was at the time in the office of

the United States marshal, when Hon. Jeremiah Haralson came in, and a conversation was had between him and affiant. Affiant said to him, "Jere, you thought you were playing a pretty sharp trick." He asked, "Why?" Affiant replied, "You would not let the negroes vote down in Dallas. I understand the negroes did not vote at Veto or Warrenton; that they were there all day, and tried to get them to vote, but they would not do so." He said, "Yes;" that he had sent word to them not to vote; that as far as he could he had done so; that his intention was to keep all the negroes in Dallas County from voting; and that he would have done so if he could have got word to them; that he thought he could beat General Shelley in the other counties in the district and leave Dallas out.

MOODY H. MAY.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 8th day of May, A. D. 1879.

HUGH S. D. MALLORY,
*Commissioner of the Circuit Court of the United States
for the Middle District of Alabama.*

The WITNESS. I never heard of that before; I never heard of the man before. Most candidates try to get their men out; I always did so.

Q. Yes, sir; when they are honest, they do.—A. I cannot see the advantage of trying to keep men from voting, and trying to get elected too.

Q. Maybe he had some trick to play; there is the affiavit; you say you never heard of it before?—A. Never.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Mr. Vance has asked you whether the laws apply equally to the white and the black people in reference to labor interests and so on. As I understood you yesterday, you quoted from certain laws that applied solely to the black counties of your State.—A. Probably you did not understand me, Mr. Windom. I answered the question in this way, that the laws, as passed, were generally equal; but I always said that in the application of the laws they fell upon us; that is one of the points. For instance, it has been the law in Alabama, for years, that the clerk of the county and the sheriff and the probate judge always made up the jury list; and they do it now in all those counties where the whites have a majority; and it is only in those black counties where we had a reasonable hope of electing county officers that they passed the law empowering a jury commission to select the jurors.

Q. By whom was that commission appointed?—A. By the governor.

Q. So that in counties where the Democrats have the majority the jury commissioners are appointed?—A. No, no; where the Democrats have the majority the law still stands that the probate judges, the clerk, and the sheriff make up the jury list.

Q. I see; and where the Democrats have a reasonable hope of electing their county officers, the law has been changed?—A. No; but in Republican Counties they have changed the law, so that the jury lists are made up differently from what they are in other counties of the State.

Q. That seems an unjust discrimination.—A. Yes.

Mr. VANCE. It is a discrimination against party politics, but not on account of color.

Mr. WINDOM. I do not care what you call it.

Mr. VANCE. Well, it is no harm to proscribe a Republican, none in the world; but to proscribe a black man would be a sin and a shame.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And the same discrimination applies to the whole of the county?—A. Yes, sir; to the black counties, but not to the white.

Q. And to names, too?—A. Yes, sir, undoubtedly. I could read the names.

Q. What change, if any, has occurred in the moral condition of the colored people of the South since the war by virtue of the freedom of the race, Mr. Rapier?—A. Well, my conviction is this, that upon the whole we have advanced materially in morals.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you have reference to the entire white and colored population?—A. No; Mr. Windom asked me about the black population; my conviction is that they have advanced materially. Lewdness amongst what is known as the better classes of the South was not nearly so great as now. The best evidence that I can give of that is this: that the lewd houses have increased materially in the South, and that in order to keep up with the demands of the South, since they can no longer draw upon the colored population as they used to do, there has been the greatest importation of white women to Alabama that I have ever seen—at least two to where there used to be one.

Q. So you think that in that respect your people have improved?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are those bad houses to which you refer in the cities or in the country, or both?—A. In the cities principally; we have railroad connections there, you know.

Q. Is there any complaint on the part of the colored women of insults, or anything of that kind, now?—A. Well, I can name no particular case at all; I would not undertake to do that; but I do know this, that there is a far greater number of marriageable young women of color being married now than before the war. I have heard of no particular cases of the kind to which you refer down there; I have seen nothing of any trials in court, or anything of that kind, and cannot name any cases.

Q. Did I ask you yesterday what, in your judgment, is to be the future of the exodus, so far as you have been able to judge?—A. No, sir; not in that shape.

Q. Well, I will ask you now; is it likely to increase or decrease?—A. It is likely to increase, as I said before. The same causes that originated it exist to day, and will probably increase the exodus in the South. That being the case, I can see nothing to decrease it.

Q. Sometimes we think the committee ought to confine their questions to recent events, but let me ask what is your judgment as to the impression that events occurring a year ago, as your people remember them—the Ku-Klux and the like—upon their present condition. Does their remembrance of the old condition of things still tend to create a fear, or otherwise, on their part now?—A. I think, without going back to Ku-Klux times, there has been enough since 1874 and 1875—since the Democrats came into power—to increase the exodus of our people; that together with what I said about the poverty of the soil. For ten years past the whites have been leaving that State. If you were to grant us all the law and gospel necessary to make all the people good, still one-third of the people of Alabama ought to leave the State on account of the poverty of the soil.

Q. So you think that in Alabama there is no remedy for the exodus, even if your people received better treatment there?—A. No; for even if they made the best kind of laws, we advise them to go. And, another thing we would urge about that. The colored people, as everybody in this country who is acquainted with the history of it knows, have been slaves; as a result, the majority of them have contracted super-

stitious habits and ideas that you cannot rid them of very readily. There are only two ways for men to learn; one is by books, and the other is by observation. As there will be no chance for the colored people to get rid of these old habits and ideas by books, because their children have only three months of the year to go to school in, I would advise that they had better scatter and go among other classes of people who do not have these views and rub them off in that way. Being surrounded as we have been, our people have become habituated to these slavish feelings. It is so in other cases. If you go to the county of Galway, in Ireland, you will find the Irish there as servile as the negro in Alabama, and oppression has made them so. The only way to change this, to get rid of these feelings, is to go among a class of people that do not believe as he has been taught to believe, and thus rub it off.

Q. Is there any other statement that you want to make to the committee?—A. As you are on the exodus question, I will say this, that, in my opinion, anywhere in the Western country where a colored man can get ten dollars a month for his labor, together with his board, such as he has, it is preferable to any business that a colored man can carry on in the South in the way of planting. I have visited Kansas; and I want to see the negroes scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and not huddled together. This has been our weakness. We have always thought that banding together was our strength; but in this particular case it has been our weakness. We do not want to go in crowds that will excite the prejudices of the people; we do not want to go to any particular State or any particular Territory, anywhere.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Let me ask you a question there. Do you not think that if the colored vote of the South were divided, a part of it given to the Republicans and a part of it to the white folks, that you would fare better than when you all combine together against the white folks?—A. We are compelled to band together in self-defense.

Q. But you say that has been your weakness?—A. I do not speak of politics only, but so far as making a living is concerned; I speak of that more particularly. That is governed by the laws of supply and demand, like any other business.

Q. Do you not think it is natural to suppose that the white people, the old planters, would treat the negroes better if they did not regard them as their political enemies?—A. Well, no; business is business, and must be carried on upon business principles; and because you like a man you are not going to give him twenty dollars for his labor when you can get it for fifteen.

Q. Well, he would treat you better than if he hated you?—A. If he hated you, he would not have you about him at all.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. What Congress were you a member of, Mr. Rapier?—A. Of the Forty-third Congress.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES H. STODDARD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1880. *

CHARLES H. STODDARD sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN

Question. Give your full name to the stenographer.—Answer. Charles H. Stoddard.

Q. Where do you live, Mr. Stoddard?—A. At Terre Haute, Ind.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have lived there three years and a little over.

Q. Where did you live before you went to Terre Haute?—A. In Ohio, sir.

Q. Do you know Paul McCoskey, who was examined here as a witness from Terre Haute?—A. I do, sir.

Q. State whether you were present when Mr. McCoskey and Mr. Walker, the colored mail agent at Terre Haute, who carries the mail from the post-office to the depot, had a conversation on the subject of the Nashville convention of colored people and also on the subject of bringing negroes into the State of Indiana for political purposes.—A. I did hear a conversation in regard to something on that question.

Q. Just state what it was that you heard.—A. Coming up Main street going west, Mr. Walker called to Mr. McCoskey, and I wished to see him myself, and came up about the same time; he was a little before me, and I waited; and he spoke about the Nashville convention being a good one.

Q. Who spoke of that?—A. Mr. Walker, the mail agent, spoke of it.

Q. Yes.—A. And said that he had made arrangements to bring some colored men into the State, and he also stated the number, but I have forgotten how many thousands he said.

Q. It was thousands, was it?—A. Yes; from ten to twelve thousand, I think (I could not say the exact number), to carry the State at the election.

Q. For what party?—A. The Republican.

Q. What further conversation took place between them?—A. That was about all the conversation that took place, I believe; as near as I can remember.

Q. Did you take any part in the conversation yourself?—A. I did not, sir; I did not speak to neither one of them.

Q. Did Mr. McCoskey make any reply to Mr. Walker?—A. He asked him, I believe, where he was going to locate them, and he said, "In the southern counties," and mentioned some other places, if I remember.

Q. Did he speak of the number he expected to bring into Vigo County?—A. Not that I remember. He may have done so, perhaps; I disremember whether he did or not.

Q. When was this conversation?—A. Immediately after the Nashville convention.

Q. Have you had any correspondence with anybody in regard to locating negroes in that part of Indiana?—A. I have not, sir; none in the least.

Q. What was said to you about sending help to Sullivan County by anybody?—A. A man that owns, as I understand (I am not acquainted with him), a large farm down there, wrote to a gentleman named John T. Mary, that he wanted two colored men in families there.

Q. What did Mary say to you?—A. When the question was broached to him, he said this man wanted two men, and he would pay eighteen dollars a month the year round, and furnish them with a house and garden. He gave a card to Mr. Walker, and said that Walker needn't send any down there, for it was a Democratic county, and it was no use to send them there. Whether Mr. Walker made that statement or not I do not know.

Q. Mary said that Walker said to him it was not worth while to send any men down there, as it was a heavy Democratic county?—A. I don't

know whether Mr. Walker said that ; it was a statement Mary made in my presence and in the presence of others.

Q. Who else was present ?—A. I. J. Bolton and other parties I did not know. It was in Sears & Quinn's provision store, north of the Indianapolis and Saint Louis Railroad.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Who is this Mr. Mary ?—A. A man that drives a team—a teamster.

Q. Whose team ?—A. Mr. Mary drives a team of his own.

Q. What is his politics ?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. Whom did he say he had received a letter from ?—A. From Mr. Cushman.

Q. Where did he live ?—A. In Sullivan County.

Q. Whereabouts in Sullivan County ?—A. I do not know, sir, his post-office address.

Q. Mary told you that Cushman had written to him to see Mr. Walker about sending a couple of colored men down there ?—A. No ; you misunderstand me.

Q. Well, how is it ?—A. He said he received a card from Cushman to have him send two men and families. He gave the card to Walker.

Q. Yes.—A. Then Walker told him Sullivan was a Democratic county, and he didn't want him to send them down. This is what I understood—it was Mr. Mary made that statement—was the cause for not sending them down.

Q. O, that is Mary's reason ; he didn't quote Walker as saying so ?—A. He put it in these words ; he didn't say that Mr. Walker said he would not.

Q. Well, we will drop that ; it was Mr. Mary's opinion, only ?—A. I asked him what Walker that was, and he said it was the mail agent, that was all.

Q. And he then gave his own opinion as to why Walker would not send the men ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you say you heard the conversation between Walker and Paul McCoskey ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were going down the street, you say, and went over to meet McCoskey ?—A. Yes.

Q. And he met Walker about the same time ?—A. Yes.

Q. Now what was the first thing said about it ?—A. He called him in a kind of familiar way, "Halloo, Mack, how d'you do ? Back, are you ? How's the convention ?"

Q. McCoskey went to the convention ?—A. No ; Walker went to the convention.

Q. Well, what did Walker say ?—A. He said it was a good thing, a glorious thing, something that way ; he seemed very much elated over it, and then went on to give a statement as I gave it.

Q. That he was going to bring several thousand colored people into the State ?—A. That he had made arrangements to that effect, he said.

Q. He didn't say how he had made the arrangement, did he ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is Mr. McCoskey a Democrat or Republican ?—A. Republican, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. He said he had been an intense Republican ever since Abraham Lincoln was elected President.

Mr. BLAIR. He didn't seem to think he had been so "intense" a Republican.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Mr. Walker spoke right out aloud, did he ?—A. Yes, sir ; he did.

Q. And so that everybody could hear him ?—A. O, yes, sir ; loud enough for that.

Q. There was no concealment about it at all ?—A. None whatever ; no, sir.

Q. And that was all that was said about bringing them there ?—A. All I heard.

Q. Did you happen to strike them just at that particular part of the conversation, and heard nothing else ?—A. That is as much as I remember.

Q. Did they go on together and leave you ?—A. No ; McCoskey and I went on together.

Q. Well, about all there was of it, then, was that Mr. Walker made this communication, and you and McCoskey passed on ?—A. Yes ; I think I walked up the street a few doors, and turned back, and thought nothing of it, particularly, at the time.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. Do you think the people of Indiana care much about this exodus, one way or the other ?—A. Well, I think not, so far as my knowledge goes.

Q. You don't think they are profoundly agitated on the subject, do you ?—A. No, sir.

Mr. BLAIR. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what they think of it up in New Hampshire ?

The WITNESS. No.

Mr. BLAIR. You don't live in New Hampshire ?

The WITNESS. No.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Mr. Stoddard, what are your politics ?—A. I am a Republican, sir.

GEORGE W. LANGSDALE recalled.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. I do not remember, Mr. Langsdale, where you left off in your testimony the other day, but you may go on and state as briefly as possible any other points you desire to present, and give us any information you may have with reference to the exodus of these people from North Carolina to your State ?—A. I left off with this general description of Indiana, prepared for the State Board of Agriculture in 1876, and I wish to present this pamphlet giving that description in full as my evidence on that subject.

Q. That pamphlet was gotten up by whom ?—A. It was prepared under the direction of the State Board of Agriculture by its secretary, Alexander Heron, who is a Democrat.

Q. What is the date of the pamphlet ?—A. It bears on its title-page the date of 1876, and the publisher's imprint is 1877.

Q. Where was it published ?—A. It was printed at the Indianapolis Sentinel office, a Democratic paper, and published at Indianapolis, and paid for by the State. Fifteen thousand copies were printed.

Q. For distribution ?—A. Yes, sir ; for general distribution, as its title-page indicates, "for information of those seeking homes." The State government was at that time Democratic, and it was issued, of

course, with their approval and published at the expense of the State. I desire to put it in as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it go in.

Mr. WINDOM (to witness). Are there not selections from it you could indicate, instead of reproducing the whole?

The WITNESS. Selections would hardly give the idea I wish to convey. There is one paragraph I would like to read.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have it read, but to save time we would rather have the whole go in than to take the time by reading it paragraph by paragraph.

The WITNESS. The paragraph is short.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is all to go in we need not take the time by reading it.

The WITNESS. I should like it all to go in as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it go in.

It follows:

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

INDIANA,

INCLUDING

LOCATION, CLIMATE, AGRICULTURAL AND MINERAL RESOURCES, MANUFACTURES, TRANSPORTATION, POPULATION, EDUCATION AND STATISTICS.

(WITH MAP)

COMPILED BY

THE STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE

FOR INFORMATION OF THOSE SEEKING HOMES.

1876.

INDIANAPOLIS:
SENTINEL COMPANY, PRINTERS.
1877.

DESCRIPTION OF INDIANA.

The State of Indiana is located in the great central basin of North America, nearly equidistant from the Mississippi River on the west, and the Allegheny Mountains on the east; and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and the water-shed between the great lakes and Hudson Bay on the north. Its boundaries are: On the north, the State of Michigan and Lake Michigan; on the east, the State of Ohio; on the south, the Ohio River, which separates it from the State of Kentucky; and on the west, the State of Illinois. Within these boundaries there is embraced an area of 33,809 square miles, or 8,760,220 hectares nearly. Of this area about ninety per cent. is susceptible of cultivation with the plow.

There are no mountains in Indiana, and except a narrow border of hills along the Ohio River, or the southern border, the general character of the surface is an undulating plain, with a gentle slope towards the southeast. In the vicinity of La Porte, near Lake Michigan, and thence extending eastward along the watershed between the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and Mexico, the surface attains an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet above tide water; while at the junction of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers the elevation is but 360 feet. The greatest local elevations are found bordering the Ohio River, on the south side of the State. This belt of hills is from ten to thirty miles in breadth, and they attain an extreme elevation of between 400 and 500 feet above low water in the river. These hills are occasionally too steep to be conveniently cultivated, though most of them are plowed annually. Indiana being situated on a direct line between the Gulf of Mexico and the great North American lakes, enjoys an ample supply of moisture, and consequently the crops rarely suffer from drought. The following table of observations made at Indianapolis, for the eight years from 1865 to 1872, inclusive, will show the amount of rainfall and its distribution throughout those years:

Monthly and annual quantity of rain and melted snow in inches and hundredths.

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Annual amount.
1865	4.70	0.69	2.70	5.73	11.80	2.45	4.70	1.98	6.51	1.55	1.25	6.70	50.69
1866	2.95	1.84	5.72	1.69	1.50	2.55	2.95	1.47	0.73	1.46	4.22	2.09	52.44
1867	6.18	7.34	5.53	1.70	4.25	3.80	2.95	4.09	6.73	1.64	7.50	6.43	45.54
1868	6.26	4.90	5.46	5.65	4.95	4.55	1.17	4.28	2.67	1.90	1.73	2.82	45.04
1869	1.87	4.05	2.46	2.32	5.83	4.54	0.90	2.10	1.28	2.97	4.74	2.84	42.98
1870	7.18	2.47	4.74	2.37	3.37	2.88	2.28	2.28	1.22	2.43	1.50	2.15	35.13
1871	2.52	4.39	4.72	2.77	3.16	6.35	5.52	4.06	3.47	1.00	3.07	3.75	36.05
1872	0.75	3.23	1.04	7.18	4.15	6.67	5.16	3.55	3.17	4.05	.....	.....	37.94
Mean	4.17	2.98	4.31	3.63	4.89	4.15	3.73	3.01	4.61	2.85	2.86	4.05	43.60

Monthly and annual quantity of snow in inches and hundredths.

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Amount.
1865	31.00	2.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33.10
1866	1.10	0.10	.....	2.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.88	5.13
1867	19.30	11.75	9.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39.95
1868	9.00	1.00	0.50	3.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13.90
1869	2.00	1.30	0.90	0.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.00	.....	.....	16.40
1870	5.35	7.75	1.75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22.85
1871	5.90	0.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.00	.....	11.90
1872	4.95	9.00	0.20	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.60	14.15
Mean	9.81	4.16	1.54	0.64	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.25	1.44	4.60	19.92

We subjoin also a table showing the annual fall of snow at the same place for the same period. It will be proper to remark, this quantity of snow is, perhaps, doubled along the lake border on the north, while the southwestern portion of the State receives less than half the depth of snow. In the northern section the snow frequently covers the ground continuously for a period of six or eight weeks, while along the southern border the snow seldom lies more than a week. With the slightly modifying influence of the proximity of the great lakes, the climate of Indiana may be regarded as a climate of latitude. In the topography of this part of the Mississippi Valley there are no disturbing causes, except the one named, to modify the influence of latitude in molding climate. Lying between the thirty-eighth and forty-second parallels of latitude, Indiana enjoys nearly a medium climate of the north temperate zone. The greater length of the State stretching from north to south, gives it a great diversity of climate; but everywhere it is marked by the wide range of temperature marking the winter and summer seasons. To present this matter at one view we subjoin a table of the mean temperature of each month for a period of eight years:

Monthly and annual means of temperature.*

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Annual mean.
1865	25.2	37.4	48.7	56.4	64.4	77.6	77.9	74.8	77.2	55.0	44.1	36.7	56.39
1866	32.3	34.6	42.1	61.8	64.4	77.8	84.7	75.9	62.9	58.9	45.3	31.9	56.46
1867	24.7	41.7	38.6	55.7	61.4	79.6	80.3	80.2	74.0	57.9	47.4	34.9	56.33
1868	29.2	33.7	50.3	53.1	67.6	76.9	84.8	76.3	65.2	54.9	44.1	30.1	55.56
1869	31.1	34.0	37.9	51.3	61.2	69.9	75.8	76.6	66.6	46.5	39.1	35.7	52.52
1870	34.7	34.4	39.1	55.4	66.2	72.2	77.9	75.4	71.4	59.1	44.1	32.1	55.95
1871	35.5	37.7	50.3	58.8	68.0	74.9	75.2	77.4	64.7	57.5	42.7	30.5	55.89
1872	22.9	33.2	37.1	57.4	66.2	72.5	77.2	76.2	62.0	54.3	.....	.....	.....
Mean	30.27	36.21	43.01	56.24	64.82	75.25	79.21	76.60	69.59	53.39	43.87	33.13	55.66

* The scale is Fahrenheit

It will be seen by the preceding table that while Indiana enjoys really a tropical summer climate, the winter temperature approaches closely to the arctic standard. This should admonish us to place but little confidence in isothermal lines as indications of agricultural adaptations.

The soil of Indiana may be best studied by dividing it into the timbered and prairie regions. These differ from each other both in physical properties and in chemical composition. If we include the glades or oak openings of the northern counties as prairie land, we may estimate the prairie region as embracing about one-sixth of the State. It is proper to say, however, that the prairie land, entirely destitute of trees or shrubs, has a soil very different in its composition from that of the glades, where an occasional tree is found, and here and there a clump of hazel bushes. The first is a vegetable loam to the depth of a foot or more, made up chiefly of the decaying roots of the prairie grasses. The glades have a sandy, clay soil, generally porous and easily cultivated; and though it contains but a small per cent. of vegetable matter, yet it produces fair crops of wheat, oats, or potatoes. The deep, rich loam of the prairie is peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of Indian corn (zea maize), which, indeed, may be regarded as the staple crop of Indiana. But with proper care in its cultivation large crops of wheat may be

raised on prairie land, though it is never so certain a crop there as on land once covered with timber. The prairies and glades of Indiana are located along the northern and western border of the State. Bordering the lower Wabash the prairies are chiefly confined to the terrace, or second bottom lands of the larger streams, but north of the middle of the State the prairies stretch away over the uplands, and on the west unite with the Grand Prairie of the Mississippi. On the north of the State the prairies are broken by belts of timber, glades, and hazel thickets. This part of the State is diversified by numerous small lakes and occasionally belts of wet prairie, approaching nearly to the condition of the peat bogs of Northern Europe. It has been practically demonstrated that most of these, if not all, may be reclaimed by proper drainage, and made dry, arable land.

The greater portion of the soil of Indiana fifty years ago was covered by a dense growth of native forest trees, rising to the height of from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet, and frequently attaining a diameter of five feet. This forest of deciduous trees threw down every autumn a heavy coat of leaves to serve as a winter protection and as a summer mulch. This process, going on from age to age, kept the soil richly supplied with vegetable matter, so that when the woodman removed the forest the farmer found a soil of exuberant fertility. Excepting the alluvial or bottom lands skirting the rivers, this rich forest loam rests generally on a compact clay subsoil, very retentive of whatever fertilizers may be used in cultivation. Though these forest lands are adapted to a wide range of farm crops, yet Indian corn, wheat, and hay may be regarded as the staple crops found on almost every farm in the State. The maximum and minimum yield of these, as indicating the productive capacity of the soil, may be stated thus: Indian corn, maximum, 80 bushels (50 pounds to the bushel) per acre; minimum, 20 bushels per acre. Wheat, maximum, 40 bushels (60 pounds per bushel) per acre; minimum, 10 bushels per acre. Hay, well dried, maximum, $2\frac{1}{2}$ tons (2,000 pounds per ton) per acre; minimum, 1 ton per acre.

On the uncultivated prairie lands three or four species of native grass completely monopolize the soil in its primitive state, but if these be pastured a few years they disappear, and blue grass (*Poa pratensis*) and white clover (*Trifolium repens*) take their place and maintain a firm foothold. To a large extent the same growth will ultimately occupy uncultivated commons in the forest district, but for the first summer of fallow a heavy growth of rag-weed (*Ambrosia bidentata*) is quite certain to take possession of the soil. On rich alluvial lands, uncultivated, a rank growth of Jamestown weed (*Datura stramonium*) is likely to spring up from year to year; and on damp clay soils, imperfectly drained, a summer growth of smart-weed (*Polygonum hydropiper*) is nearly certain to take possession, to the exclusion of all other plants.

The Government of the United States having by purchase extinguished the Indian title to the soil of Indiana, became the proprietor of the domain, and, to facilitate purchase, the territory was surveyed in townships of thirty-six square miles each. These were divided into sections of one square mile, and these again were subdivided into quarters, eighths, and sixteenths of a section, containing, respectively, 160 acres, 80 acres, and 40 acres each. In the sale of the public domain the sixteenth of a section, or a square embracing 40 acres, is the smallest purchase which a person can make from the government. But on the other hand there is no restriction as to the extent to which a purchaser may invest in government land, if he chooses. But few large purchases of public land, however, have been made in Indiana, and these few are not generally

by the men who cultivate the soil. In the prairie district, occasionally farms of 1,000 acres, or more, are found, but these are exceptional. There are more farms of 160 acres in this State than of any other size. A quarter section may, therefore, be regarded as the average size of a farm in Indiana, though many small farmers own one-half or one-fourth of that amount, and, cultivating it by their own personal labor, live with comfort and comparative independence.

The government sold the land originally at a uniform price of \$1.25 per acre, without reference to quality or location. In the hands of private owners the price of land for cultivation, or pasturage, ranges from \$20 to \$100 per acre, the price being modified by quality of soil, facilities of market, value of improvements, &c. Land is usually rented by the year, though sometimes leases for a longer period are made. Cash rents are, to some extent, varied by the conditions that control the price of land; but about \$5 per acre may be taken as the average price per year, the renter furnishing the necessary teams, implements, seeds, &c., but making no improvements. The more common method of renting, however, is to make payment in kind. If the crop is gathered and delivered to the landlord, one-third is the usual rent, but if the crop, when ripe, is divided in the field, the landlord takes one-half.

The land was secured to the original purchaser by patent from the United States, which patent is recorded in the General Land Office. Transfers are afterwards made by deed, acknowledged before a magistrate or notary public, and recorded in the records of the county. Heirs may acquire title by will, the same being made a matter of record, or, in the absence of a will, by a decree of the court perfecting the title. Where land is sold on execution in payment of debts, the proper officer making the sale by order of the court conveys the title to the purchaser in due form. This arrangement keeps a perfect chain of title, which may, at any time, be traced back to the original patent. Corporations exist in Indiana under general charters, by the provisions of which they are permitted to hold real estate to the extent necessary for the special business in which they are engaged. The title to this land they acquire by purchase, and hold by deed as individuals do. Cities and towns acquire and hold public buildings, parks, &c., in the same manner.

Indiana was settled chiefly by immigration from the Eastern and Southern States, though heavy accessions to its population have within the last twenty-five years been made from Europe, chiefly from Ireland and Germany. This foreign element of population is more commonly found in the cities and larger towns. But a small proportion of them are engaged in agriculture.

The permanent improvements which give value to the farms of this State have almost invariably been made by the owner of the land in person. Seventy years ago Indiana was an unbroken wilderness or uncultivated prairies. The land was sold in small tracts to farmers, who expected to clear away the forest and afterwards to cultivate it chiefly by their own personal labor. To remove the dense forest and place the fields thus reclaimed in a condition to be cultivated was a work of immense toil; but, with the assistance of fire, the backwoodsman increased his opening in the forest and added to his cultivated fields. The dwellings of those pioneer farmers were the primitive "log-cabin," consisting, usually, of one room, from 16 to 20 feet square, one-story, of about eight feet in height, and covered with rough boards split from one of the great forest oaks which overshadowed the site where the cottage sprung up. The walls were made of logs hewn on two sides, and notched together at the corners. The spaces between were filled with

stiff mortar made of clay, and thus made comfortably warm in winter. The stables and other necessary farm buildings were of the same architecture, and were much more serviceable than ornamental. On the prairie lands the labor of making a farm was comparatively light. To break the native sod and inclose it with a secure fence comprised the chief labor of establishing a prairie farm. The "breaking," however, required a heavy force of team, but the sod, once turned and rotted, gave a soil easily cultivated, and in crops adapted to it very productive.

But these primitive farm buildings, and those who made them have nearly disappeared from the State. An investment of \$200 for the purchase of a quarter section of land (64.77 hectares), and an unmeasured amount of rough work in subduing the forest, gave the pioneer farmer, in a few years, a comfortable home; but some newly-arrived immigrant, with a little spare capital to invest, offers the backwoodsman \$2,000 for his home, and the farm changes owners, and the pioneer is next found on some of the broad prairies west of the Mississippi, with land enough to furnish each of his children a farm. But the new owner of the Indiana farm soon changes the appearance of everything about it. The log-cabin has disappeared, and a comfortable and tastefully arranged frame or brick farm-house has taken its place, and a commodious barn has displaced the rude log stables. These transformations have passed over nearly every farm in the State, though not always in this order. Sometimes the original settler prefers the comforts of society to the acquisition of more land, retains his home, and makes the improvements necessary to keep pace with his neighbors.

Tenement houses for the use of laborers are rarely seen on Indiana farms. If the farm is rented, it is generally rented as a whole, including farm-house, barn, &c., and if hired labor is employed, the laborers are usually unmarried men, and board with their employer. It would, perhaps, be safe to say that three-fourths of all the farms in Indiana are occupied and cultivated by the owner of the soil. One of the peculiarities of Indiana is that it is a State of small farms and thrifty farmers. The capital of an Indiana farmer consists chiefly in the value of the land which he owns, or the lease which he holds on it, the implements with which he cultivates his crops, the teams which furnish the effective force of cultivation, and the manual labor of himself, his family, or of hired laborers. Added to these may be named, as a part of the fixed capital of the farmer, the buildings, fences, drains, roadways, &c. A transient form of capital, which is constantly varying, consists in the live stock which is being raised and fattened for the market. The great variety of soil, location, value of buildings, and of agricultural implements employed renders even an approximation to the value of capital, *per hectare*, employed by the farmers of Indiana almost impossible. A farm of good soil, conveniently situated, with fair buildings, fences, &c., with the proper farm implements, teams, and live stock, and consisting of 160 acres (64.77 hectares), will be valued at from \$10,000 to \$12,000. Two thirds of this may be regarded as belonging to the real estate or fixed capital, the remaining third to personal property or movable capital.

While the legislation of Indiana protects and fosters all industries, it does not discriminate in favor of any. Agriculture, in reference to money, is placed in the same relation that commerce and manufactories occupy. Savings banks and other banks of deposit and discount exist in almost every county, open for deposit to all, and generally ready to discount safe paper without regard to who presents it. Loans running

for a term of years may be obtained by securing them with mortgage on real estate. The agricultural labor of Indiana is performed chiefly by the proprietor—either the owner of the soil or the holder of a rent-claim—and by laborers hired either by the day, month, or year.

The increase of population may best be seen by the tables of the United States census, which enumeration of the whole population is taken every ten years. Indiana was admitted into the Union as a State in the year 1816, and the census of 1820 showed a population of 147,178. From that date to 1870 the increase is as follows:

1830—343,031; increase.....	295,853
1840—685,866; increase.....	342,853
1850—988,416; increase.....	302,550
1860—1,350,428; increase.....	362,012
1870—1,680,637; increase.....	330,209

This rapid increase of population is largely made up of the excess of immigration over emigration. While a constant tide of immigration has set towards Indiana from the Atlantic States and from Europe, there has been meanwhile a large emigration from the State to the prairie regions of the West and to the Pacific slope.

The condition of the agricultural laborer of Indiana is improving from year to year. The common schools of the State, which give to every child in the State the rudiments of a literary and scientific education, have greatly improved the general intelligence of laborers and elevated the standard of labor. There are here no societies for mutual aid among farmers, except in a few instances where associations are formed for mutual protection from losses by fire. The Patrons of Husbandry, an American order, instituted for the *social* advancement of farmers and their mutual improvement in methods of culture, &c., has taken deep root in Indiana, and if properly managed may do much to advance the interest of farmers. 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.

The labor of women in Indiana is confined almost exclusively to domestic duties. Women as field-laborers are unknown in this State. Children from six to sixteen years of age are generally in the public schools from six to eight months of each year. The summer vacation is generally spent by the boys in the cultivation of the corn crop and in assisting to secure the harvest, thus acquiring a knowledge of farm implements and the general handicraft of the tools of husbandry. Per-

haps in no part of the world has improved implements and labor saving machinery been more generally introduced among farmers than in Indiana. The polished steel plow, the seed-drill, the corn-planter, the cultivator, and the harvester are found on almost every farm, and each autumn the thrashing-machine, with its portable steam or horse power, makes its round of the neighborhood and prepares the harvest for market. The field-work is done by horses or mules, oxen being only occasionally used for breaking heavy sod. A State agricultural board, created by act of the legislature, and local societies in the several counties, or in districts formed of two or more counties, are organized for the purpose of improving agriculture in every possible way. These organizations hold State, county, and district fairs annually, for the purpose of introducing improved farm implements, new and improved breeds of stock, superior methods of culture, &c.

The Department of Agriculture pertaining to the United States government at Washington exerts no perceptible influence on the agricultural interests of any of the States beyond the intelligence which it sends out in its monthly crop reports and in its general reports annually; nor has the State in its corporate capacity any connection with herds or flocks intended to improve the breeds of domestic animals.

The State, in collecting its revenue, makes no discrimination between different kinds of property or property used for different purposes. Excepting a small poll or personal tax levied on men between twenty-one and fifty years of age, all taxes in Indiana are assessed ad valorem.

Values, whether invested in farms, merchandise, manufacturing, mining, or deposited as money in bank, contribute equally to the public revenues. The general government collects an internal revenue from intoxicating liquors and from tobacco manufactured or sold, and also import duties on foreign goods imported, without regard to State lines, but the State collects neither excise nor import duties.

The public works, consisting chiefly of railroads and graveled or macadamized highways, are in no sense the property of the State. They are constructed, owned, and managed by joint stock corporations, created under a general law of the State, which prescribes the limits of their powers and franchises. They do not directly influence the movement of population, but afford increased facilities for such movement, which has a tendency, by increasing commerce, to build up towns and cities.

There is in Indiana a general law to facilitate drainage by enabling the owner of land to cross the land of his neighbor with a ditch (under certain conditions), in order to obtain an outlet to his drainage.

Indiana enjoys a very good system of public schools, free to all the inhabitants of the State, and without charge. The schools are sustained by a permanent fund of more than \$8,000,000, which is under the control of the State, but cannot be diverted to any other purpose, and is \$2,000,000 greater than any other State in the Union. The annual interest of this fund, together with a small school-tax levied on all the property of the State, is sufficient to maintain a school in each district for a period of from six to nine months in each year. These school districts cover the whole territory of the State, and consist of from four to six square miles each. The school-houses are brick, stone, or neatly-painted frame buildings, conveniently arranged to accommodate the number and grade of pupils which the districts furnish. In these common schools the elementary branches of a literary and scientific education are taught to all the youth of the district without distinction of sex or condition, from the age of six to twenty-one years, if they

choose to attend. In the larger towns and cities the schools are graded, and higher branches are introduced, but in all these schools the education is general and in no sense technical. Above these the State has established and maintains a university at Bloomington, designed to be a thorough school of general literature and science; a State normal school at Terre Haute, where teachers are thoroughly instructed in the science and art of teaching; and a school of the highest grade for instruction in the sciences involved in agriculture and the mechanical arts, and the practical application of this on the farm and in the workshop. This school is known as Purdue University, and is located near La Fayette, in Tippecanoe County. It enjoys an endowment of \$365,000, and has an experimental farm of 200 acres. The institution is new, its buildings, work shops, &c., are incomplete, and the farm is not yet fully arranged for systematic experiments in agriculture, but the agricultural interest of Indiana expects much from Purdue University. All these State institutions, like the common and graded schools, give tuition *free of charge*.

The following table shows the number and valuation of school-houses and the school-property in the State for the last twelve years:

Year.	Number.	Total valuation.
1865.....	7, 403	\$3, 827, 173 00
1866.....	8, 231	4, 515, 734 00
1867.....	8, 360	5, 074, 356 00
1868.....	8, 403	5, 828, 501 00
1869.....	8, 661	6, 577, 258 33
1870.....	8, 827	7, 282, 639 30
1871.....	9, 989	7, 381, 839 73
1872.....	9, 080	9, 199, 480 15
1873.....	9, 202	9, 404, 039 70
1874.....	9, 129	10, 373, 692 58
1875.....	9, 307	10, 870, 338 18
1876.....	9, 304	11, 548, 993 67

The farm industry of Indiana is directed chiefly to the production of grain and forage crops, and the breeding, rearing, and fattening of cattle and hogs for the supply of the beef and pork market. In addition to these branches, much attention is paid to the raising of horses and mules for the general market, as well as to supply the animal labor necessary for the cultivation of the crops. With the exception of potatoes, root crops are not cultivated to any considerable extent in this State. Our intensely warm summers are unfavorable to the growth of turnips, ruta-bagas, or carrots; and moreover a much larger amount of food for cattle, horses, or hogs can be produced with less labor on a given area of ground by cultivating corn (maize) than by raising any root crop, even with a full yield. Potatoes, however, are successfully and extensively cultivated for market, especially in the northern counties of the State.

The grain crop of Indiana consists of Indian corn, wheat, and oats, with occasional fields of barley and rye. Indian corn may be regarded as a universal crop, raised to a greater or less extent on every farm. It is quite extensively used as a bread material, and as such it is nutritious, healthful, and quite palatable when the habit of its use is acquired. In the form of hominy it has, to a great extent, displaced rice, being more nutritious and palatable. Corn is essentially the feed-grain of this State. Cattle, horses, and hogs are fed on it, either in the grain or ground and mixed in various forms. Indian corn furnishes a large amount of forage, equal in nutritive qualities to ordinary hay, and rel-

ished fully as well, especially by cattle. This grain requires a deep, rich loam, well pulverized and relieved of surplus water. After the ground is thus prepared the grain is planted in "hills," so as to form straight lines in two directions, from three and a half to four feet apart, and three or four stalks are cultivated in each hill. This planting is usually done by horse-power, with an ingenious implement which drops the seed and covers it at the same operation. Sometimes the seed is planted in drills from four to four and a half feet apart, planting a grain at intervals of ten or twelve inches in the rows. This is also performed by appropriate machinery operated by horse-power.

The corn crop is planted in the month of May, in the southern counties a little earlier, but as corn requires a temperature of about 60° Fahrenheit to produce germination, very early planting is hazardous. After the young corn has appeared, the cultivation commences, and about once a week for or five weeks the spaces between the rows are thoroughly stirred with a cultivator or small plow. After this the growth is very rapid, and by the first of August the stalks have attained their full height and the ears are formed. On good soil, well cultivated, corn stalks attain a height of from 10 to 15 feet in Indiana, and the crop is expected to yield from thirty to eighty bushels of grain (fifty-eight pounds per bushel) per acre. If it fall below the minimum figure the crop is regarded as a partial failure, and if it exceed the maximum it is considered an extra crop. Corn planted in May ripens in this latitude in September, but if the growth be healthy the luxuriant foliage of the corn-plant will yet be green while the grain is quite hard. In this condition the crop may be cut and set up in shocks to cure. The grain will suffer little or nothing if the cutting be not done too early, and a large amount of excellent forage be thus secured. But farmers seldom avail themselves of this resource, except when the hay crop fails. Usually the crop remains in the field till November, when the ears alone are gathered and put into open bins or cribs to dry. After a few weeks the corn is ready for the market. That portion of the crop, however, which is used for fattening pork and beef for the winter market is usually fed directly from the field, being gathered from day to day as it is needed.

No systematic method of manuring has, as yet, been adopted in corn culture in this State. The virgin soil, rich in both mineral and organic elements of plant food, does not seem to need manure; but the time is near when this matter will demand attention. Indian corn is a grass-feeder and a vigorous grower, and cannot long be cultivated on any soil without exhaustion.

Wheat is as generally, though perhaps not as extensively, cultivated in Indiana as Indian corn. But little spring wheat is sown in this latitude, farmers having satisfied themselves that the winter variety gives the more profitable crop. Red clover (*Trifolium pratense*) is the only forage crop which our farmers use to precede wheat. The better farmers always sow after clover or on fallow, though much wheat is sown on oat stubble, and sometimes two or more wheat crops succeed each other on the same field. The ground intended to produce wheat is thoroughly broken in August, and after careful preparation of the surface with the harrow and roller the seed is committed to the ground, generally with the drill, though much broadcast sowing is yet done in many parts of the State. Wheat in this State is generally sown in the month of September, though with a favorable autumn good crops may be produced sown as late as the middle of October. The wheat crop in this latitude is harvested between the 20th of June and the 10th of July. The laborious and tedious work formerly of saving a cereal

harvest is now performed rapidly and with comparatively little labor. The grain is cut by a reaper which delivers it in parcels ready for the binders. A reaper drawn by three or four horses will cut ten or twelve acres a day. The grain is prepared for market by a thrashing machine propelled by horse or steam power, which effectually thrashes every head and delivers the clean wheat ready for market. The wheat crop cannot be regarded as a very certain crop in Indiana, but if it fall below 15 bushels (60 pounds each) to the acre, it may be regarded as a partial failure, and if it exceed 30 bushels per acre, it is estimated an extraordinary crop. Oats, as food for horses and sheep, are raised on most farms, but rarely as a market crop, and never in Indiana as an article of human food. It is regarded by most farmers as a kind of side crop, designed to save the ground intended for wheat-sowing in September from lying idle in fallow.

Oats are not regarded as a *certain* crop in this State. Twenty days' drought in June will generally cut short the crop of oats, without affecting unfavorably either the wheat or corn crop.

Barley is not raised as a general market crop in Indiana, though both soil and climate appear to be well adapted to it. In certain localities it is raised to a limited extent, and used chiefly in the manufacture of malt liquors. Rye is more rarely cultivated even than barley. As a bread material it never was popular in Indiana, and as horse food corn and oats have almost entirely superseded it.

Meadow grasses and clover are the only crops cultivated exclusively for forage in Indiana. The grasses chiefly cultivated for hay are timothy (*Phleum pratense*) red top (*Agrostis vulgaris*), and orchard grass (*Dactylis glomerata*). These are all perennial grasses, and to some extent cultivated, but the first-named is the most highly esteemed. Red clover (*Trifolium pratense*) is quite extensively cultivated, both as a forage and a pasture crop. It is a biennial, and is favorably regarded as a means of resting lands, and as an excellent preparation for a wheat crop, especially when a heavy second growth of clover is turned under in seeding.

Hay is quite extensively grown in this State for market, and is generally a profitable crop, requiring but little or no manual labor in growing or saving the crop, the mowing and raking being done altogether by horse-power.

As the breeding of improved varieties of cattle is yearly increasing in importance among Indiana farmers, so the improvements of pastures gain corresponding interest. In the prairie sections of the State the native grasses yet furnish a large share of the pasturage; and it is but proper to say that breeding and fattening cattle is a leading industry in this region. Though the native prairie grasses are rough and coarse, yet they are very nutritious, and cattle feed on them with a good relish. But prairie grasses do not endure well, close and long continued pasturing. As they fail, however, their place is supplied by a spontaneous growth of blue grass (*Poa compressa*) and white clover (*Trifolium repens*), which supplies permanent and excellent pasture.

The timbered lands, while covered with the heavy shade of their native forest, furnishes little or no reliable pasturage; but whenever the forest is entirely, or even partially, removed, the ground in a few years is covered with a luxuriant growth of blue grass and white clover. Of the former there are two species in the pastures of Indiana. The Kentucky blue grass (*Poa pratensis*) is the larger of the two, the culms frequently rising to the height of three feet or more. It is a very nutritious grass, and beef fattened on it has an excellent flavor. It is not quite as tena-

cious of life as its companion, the spear grass (*P. compressa*), the culms of which rise to about half the height of the *P. pratensis*. It is an early grass, very nutritious, and withstands the summer drought and heat well. Pastures of these grasses may be greatly improved by sowing the seed of that species which may be preferred on well-prepared ground and giving it a year's growth before it is used for pasture.

Attempts have been made to produce pastures of mixed grasses, after the English method, but the blue grass soon takes possession of the field and displaces all rivals.

Intimately connected with pasturage stands the dairy interest. Butter and cheese have hitherto been entirely domestic products in Indiana. Each farm makes enough of these articles for home consumption, besides furnishing milk for domestic use, and frequently a surplus of butter to supply the market in the neighboring village. Recently several cheese factories have been started in different parts of the State, and though the beginning is small, yet it may be regarded as the introduction of an important industry, to which our circumstances are well adapted.

Cultivation on a large scale is conducted on substantially the same principle on which small farms are cultivated, differing only in the amount of manual and team force employed. The clearing of forest lands and preparing them for the plow was, a few years ago, among the most important industries of the State, but the timber has become so valuable that the owners of land are not anxious to convert their forests into cultivated fields. To remove an Indiana forest and fit the ground for cultivation was an enormous labor, but the process was greatly facilitated by girdling the trees which could not be used for fencing or lumber and removing such as were useful. In about three years the girdled trees are dry, and by aid of fire they can be disposed of with comparatively little labor. The roots in the ground also directly rot, so that they are but a small hinderance to the plow, and in a few years the stumps disappear or are removed by a "stump-puller," and the clearing of the field is complete.

The greater portion of Indiana being a comparatively level plain, with a surface of from ten to one hundred feet deep composed of a glacial drift, much of which consists of a compact tenacious clay, makes the question of drainage one of first importance to the farming interest. Extensive factories for making drain tiles have been erected in numerous localities, and a general system of underdrainage has been adopted, by land-owners, and millions of drain-tiles are made and used in the State with the best results. In the northeru counties numerous marshes and lagoons originally existed. These were partially drained in the early years of the settlement by a system of open ditches constructed under the direction of the State, and the work is advancing to completion by the enterprise of individual proprietors.

It can hardly be said that the farmers of Indiana have any well-defined system of rotating crops. Careful farmers seldom cultivate the same ground two years in succession in the same crop, though, as an evidence of the native fertility of the soil, it is not uncommon for three or four good crops of the same kind to be produced successively on the same ground, and that, too, without the use of manure or any artificial fertilizer. In pasture or meadow lands the same crop is continued for a series of years in succession, but in other crops the general rule is rotation, without any well established order as to how crops shall succeed each other. It is hard to convince the average Indiana farmer that his virgin soils need manures or any artificial helps besides good

ultivation to produce remunerative crops; though, as a general rule, the accumulations of barn-yard manure are removed to the less fertile fields of the farm about once a year. This loose and reckless mode of farming will correct itself in a few years, when the steadily diminishing crops will teach the intelligent farmers of the State that they cannot with impunity take successive crops from the soil and return nothing to it.

One of the prominent advantages which the Indiana farmer enjoys is the facility with which he can put the products of his farm into market at all times. The Ohio River, on the southern boundary, furnishes steam navigation connecting, through the Mississippi River, with the Gulf of Mexico; and Lake Michigan, on the northwest, affords similar communication with the Gulf of Saint Lawrence; but it is to the admirable system of railroads, traversing the State in almost every direction, the farmers are indebted for a constant home market. All kinds of farm products, live stock, lumber, building stone, and mineral products are carried to and from the farmer at a comparatively small cost; thus making the home markets nearly equal to the marts of the eastern seaboard. It is true that these railroads do not all pay dividends satisfactory to the stockholders, but they furnish facilities to the farmers, and these in turn stimulate production, which will ultimately increase the business of the roads to the immediate benefit of the stockholders. No part of Indiana has yet realized more than fifty per centum of its actual producing capacity.

Farmers usually sell their grain, pork, and beef to purchasers who receive these products at a railroad depot designated, and transport them directly to the general market.

There are no fixed prices on farm products, these being regulated by the general laws of supply and demand. The fluctuation of prices, induced by the foreign demand for food material, frequently amounts to 50 per cent. This induces farmers to watch the foreign demand and hold their crops of grain or sell them, as the indications may suggest. Pork and beef, however, must go into the market when fatted, whatever may be the price, but the competition among buyers is such as to generally secure to farmers as high a price as can be safely paid.

Other industries, springing up as a natural result of the extended network of railroads in Indiana, have an important bearing on the agricultural interests. Among these may be named the manufacture of agricultural implements and household furniture. Our splendid forests of hard woods furnish an almost inexhaustible supply of raw material for these manufactures.

The facilities of manufacturing in Indiana rest chiefly on the abundance of mineral coal, which furnishes a cheap and reliable power. The coal field of Indiana lies in the southwestern part of the State, and embraces an area of a little more than six thousand five hundred square miles. Though the coals of Indiana may all be classed as bituminous, yet there are three distinct varieties. These may be described as caking coal, cannel coal, and non-caking or block coal.

The latter variety is found in the lower coal seams, and outcrops along the northeastern margin of the coal-field. The seams will average 4 feet in thickness, and the coal, being deposited in thin layers, splits readily in a horizontal direction, so that, when mined with care, it resembles blocks of stone from a quarry. This circumstance has given it the local name of block coal. It burns with a bright orange-colored flame—the blocks burning on the outside without breaking, softening,

or adhering together. This coal is now used in all the processes of iron manufacturing, without coking or other preparation, and is pronounced by experienced workmen to be equal to charcoal. The large volume of flame produced in its combustion admirably fits it for the production of steam. An average of 4 feet in thickness of seam over an area of 450 square miles in Indiana, this coal can be mined with shafts, in no case more than 300 feet deep. The caking coal softens and adheres together in burning, lies higher in the series, the seams are generally thicker, being from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 feet in thickness, are nearer the surface, and contains more impurities. But it furnishes a strong and cheap steam fuel, and the supply is practically inexhaustible. The average depth to mine the coal is 75 feet.

The cannel coal found in the State makes a delightful fire in open grates, and does not pop and throw off scales as is usual with this variety, and is eminently adapted to the manufacture of illuminating gas, both in quality and in its high illuminating powers, having an illuminating power of 25.2 candles, while the best Youghiogheny coal used in the Indianapolis gas-works gives an illuminating power of only 17 candles. One of the finest seams is found in Daviess County to a depth of three and one-half feet, directly connected with one and one-half feet of jet-black caking coal, with no intervening slate or clay between. It is also found in Parke, Greene, Perry, and Fountain Counties.

The manufacture of iron from the ore with Indiana coal has been introduced into several of the counties of the coal field within the last ten years, and promises to prove an important and successful industry. The ore is in part native and in part imported from Iron Mountain, Missouri.

Woolen textile fabrics are extensively manufactured at various places in the State, the raw material for which is supplied by the sheep husbandry of our own farmers.

One large cotton-mill and several small ones are in operation in the State. They derive their raw material from the cotton fields of the Lower Mississippi. These manufactories furnish a home market for farm products to the extent of the food consumed by the operatives which they employ. If manufacturing were properly encouraged, Indiana might, with her cheap steam-power and her easy access to raw material, build up a system of manufactures which would employ operatives enough to consume most of her surplus produce, thus saving the cost of transportation to market.

In 1870 Indiana stood seventh in rank among the States in the number of her manufacturing establishments. The total number in the State that year was 11,847; the total number of hands employed was 58,852; total capital invested in manufacturing, \$52,052,425; annual wages paid, \$18,366,780; value of materials used, \$63,135,492; value of manufactured products, \$108,617,278.

The following table shows the total number of manufactures in the State by selected industries, together with the number of hands employed, capital invested, wages paid, material used, and products in each branch. These statistics are derived from the census report of 1870; we have no means of knowing what the increase has been since that time:

Mechanical and manufacturing industries.	No. of establishments.	Hands employed.	Capital invested.	Wages.	Value of materials used.	Value of products.
Agricultural implements	124	1,268	\$1,622,760	\$484,546	\$952,714	\$2,128,794
Boats	9	301	58,256	194,853	167,690	434,390
Boots and shoes	88	689	397,275	829,892	445,860	1,001,792
Bread and other bakery products ..	101	334	225,300	946,909	415,586	685,951
Brick	275	2,069	536,772	361,588	307,386	924,264
Carriages and wagons	770	3,326	2,196,485	1,034,146	1,276,633	3,616,068
Cars, freight and passenger	10	1,403	625,333	634,134	1,639,340	2,677,726
Clothing	267	1,649	781,659	508,527	1,326,317	2,329,787
Confectionery	30	107	59,325	32,820	180,034	289,154
Cooperage	357	1,968	641,637	584,241	950,743	1,920,678
Cotton goods	4	504	551,500	113,200	542,875	776,047
Flouring mill products	611	2,301	6,711,289	735,183	17,230,717	21,390,182
Furniture, not specified	319	2,780	2,346,373	1,110,660	12,067,081	23,463,200
Furniture, chairs	33	416	210,626	123,724	141,098	363,660
Glassware	3	448	410,000	320,000	320,500	789,000
Hubs and other wagon material	33	593	719,800	200,788	307,764	799,400
Iron, forged and rolled	9	989	1,580,050	519,202	1,924,668	2,845,005
Iron, nails and spikes, cut and wrought	2	67	98,000	37,767	250,000	304,550
Iron, pig	4	169	425,000	159,400	825,435	1,191,834
Iron castings, not specified	96	949	1,281,582	470,733	1,619,851	2,592,908
Iron castings, stoves, heaters, and hollow-ware	9	254	390,600	141,400	243,805	474,800
Leather, tanned	197	514	875,740	142,469	905,347	1,310,042
Leather, carried	156	319	303,810	84,981	909,776	1,150,397
Liquors, distilled	38	280	658,838	126,150	1,358,096	2,038,490
Liquors, malt	99	443	1,117,400	175,730	627,576	1,305,116
Lumber, planed	53	512	687,600	512,631	711,704	1,221,860
Lumber, sawed	1,307	7,814	5,113,116	1,752,398	5,040,619	11,452,847
Machinery, not specified	62	1,148	1,047,376	628,714	652,089	1,490,694
Machinery, railroad repairing	3	453	427,000	154,800	100,560	265,360
Machinery, steam-engines and boilers	33	1,006	1,352,716	578,653	1,359,004	2,387,320
Marble and stone work, not specified ..	31	295	141,900	145,256	162,835	421,460
Meat packed, pork	11	452	1,598,000	92,862	2,262,737	2,780,021
Monuments and tombstones	63	281	149,365	86,018	136,459	329,823
Oil, vegetable and linned	7	75	386,000	24,022	534,069	600,912
Paper printing	10	294	393,000	100,145	327,902	561,302
Printing and publishing	69	810	754,952	511,330	513,617	1,408,142
Saddlery and harness	436	1,333	625,680	321,202	806,903	1,654,341
Sash, doors and blinds	59	640	663,650	291,856	536,004	1,089,404
Sewing-machine fixtures	2	200	251,000	130,000	171,200	500,900
Starch	3	130	220,000	46,500	256,720	348,575
Tin, copper, and sheet-iron ware	322	996	751,005	275,017	620,560	1,293,206
Tobacco, chewing, smoking, and snuff	15	147	134,700	39,165	187,114	354,034
Tobacco, cigars	133	670	258,565	235,078	294,304	790,561
Wood, turned and carved	25	293	213,823	81,042	20,000	280,439
Woolen goods	146	2,395	3,770,513	717,176	2,595,604	4,212,737

The various fruits adapted to the latitude of Indiana are cultivated to a sufficient extent to supply the demand for home consumption on almost every farm in the State, and in northern counties apples are becoming a common article of export. That part of the State, both in climate and soil, is well adapted to apple and pear orchards. Peaches are successfully cultivated in the southern and southwestern parts of the State, and in some sections this fruit is put up in cans for the market quite extensively. Cherries are cultivated with but moderate success in this State, and plum culture has proved a failure, from the ravages of the curculio. Grapes, as a summer fruit crop, are cultivated on almost every farm, but beyond this little has been done in the culture of the vine. Varieties of the native grape (*Vitis labrusca*) are exclusively cultivated.

That which has tended to modify the processes of the farm and to greatly augment its products within the last forty years in this State is the great improvement in farm machinery and the implements of cul-

ture. The introduction of improved plows, cultivators, seed-drills, reapers, mowers, horse-rakes, thrashers, &c., have changed nearly all the old modes of farming, and have diminished the amount of hand-labor for a given amount of production fully 50 per cent. But while this is true, the new methods demand a higher grade of intelligence and mechanical skill to manage and keep in working order the present machinery of the farm than was required under the old *régime*. But our common schools supply this want, and the present race of farmers operate and keep in order their reapers and mowers with no more difficulty than their fathers had with the scythe and grain-cradle. The present tendency of agricultural improvement in Indiana evidently looks towards multiplying and perfecting labor-saving implements and machines for performing farm labor, rather than to any improvement in the processes of farming, or any means of increasing the crop-producing capacity of the soil. It is evident, however, that here, as well as elsewhere, practical farming must be placed on a substantial basis of science to secure its permanent prosperity. Much is hoped from the experiments and teaching of Purdue University in giving the public mind a proper direction.

NOTE.—To Dr. R. T. Brown, of Indianapolis, we are largely indebted for valuable assistance in compiling the foregoing matter. His ripe experience of almost a lifetime spent within the State, on services as State geologist, give reliability to the statements, and a remarkable fact as connected with the above is worthy of mention: although over seventy years of age, his manuscript is written in a very neat, plain, steady hand, and without the aid of eye-glasses.

County statistics—1876.

(Compiled by the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture.)

Names of counties.	No. acres of land in the county.	No. of farms.	Value of farm lands and improvements.	Average value per acre.	Value of lots and improvements.	Total value of all taxes.	Rate of taxation on the \$100.	Value of railroad property.	Miles of railroad.	Value of school property.	No. of school-houses.	Average attendance.	Total tuition revenue for schools.
Adams	212,608.31	1,553	\$2,730,925	\$12.88	\$250,245	\$4,006,004	\$1.74	\$145,478	23.76	\$42,883	92	2,376	\$20,088.46
Allen	507,441.81	4,910	8,241,375	50.23	8,467,423	21,867,550	1.05	1,662,710	112.13	321,021	186	6,917	90,963.91
Bartolowew	256,773.21	1,846	6,789,575	36.79	1,340,030	11,141,778	1.00	353,686	41.38	133,965	101	3,353	34,462.92
Benton	666,783.21	631	4,476,036	18.91	4,761,751	6,575,069	1.78	375,384	45.90	46,118	70	1,472	14,860.27
Blackford	100,035.46	780	1,496,700	14.84	344,455	2,367,630	1.21	215,355	27.86	27,440	44	1,342	7,969.02
Boone	565,172.00	2,607	4,004,210	30.20	1,136,940	12,001,690	1.14	356,919	32.28	104,315	136	4,561	33,366.95
Brown	199,039.65	806	1,136,925	5.63	24,042	1,695,455	1.27	351,128	35.90	36,025	69	1,905	10,656.16
Carrall	236,610.41	1,541	5,509,765	23.26	709,145	8,294,714	1.17	894,413	61.52	142,225	105	3,315	32,372.66
Cass	255,649.36	1,356	5,500,420	21.52	3,602,525	12,400,705	1.04	518,169	61.32	256,525	115	4,579	39,921.33
Clark	234,934.06	1,526	4,078,927	18.21	2,553,632	4,771,547	1.81	537,472	37.42	133,935	105	3,450	39,747.16
Clay	224,947.00	1,503	4,930,576	21.91	257,110	7,475,765	1.21	208,975	63.27	124,942	104	3,681	33,192.33
Clinton	258,466.00	2,585	5,200,625	30.46	746,700	8,468,890	1.21	208,975	63.27	97,800	114	3,234	34,261.91
Crawford	197,381.46	1,365	755,590	3.82	159,075	1,266,925	1.50	35,635	67	33,635	67	1,715	12,244.10
Daviess	266,509.96	1,871	4,129,224	15.00	706,257	6,601,860	1.66	204,808	18.30	63,675	113	2,500	24,021.01
Dearborn	192,928.37	1,879	4,070,560	21.14	1,931,310	8,746,060	1.27	538,430	52.09	113,015	102	3,669	37,291.54
Decatur	268,704.18	1,790	4,030,565	15.11	1,024,510	6,671,160	1.27	915,160	19.80	120,710	92	4,445	40,037.35
DeKalb	228,147.91	1,963	4,275,162	18.74	753,260	6,506,726	1.06	966,991	60.63	119,615	120	4,008	24,630.48
Delaware	252,018.65	1,855	6,496,942	35.27	1,170,248	10,067,587	1.06	519,500	50.78	133,160	129	6,912	42,901.80
DeWitt	269,723.11	1,238	1,877,619	6.96	287,525	3,150,281	1.28	1,117,500	1.12	34,140	79	2,142	19,332.00
Elkhart	291,364.00	8,459	9,404,689	52.97	2,337,850	15,437,396	6.88	242,617	41.46	70,875	50	1,504	43,623.91
Elkhart	133,047.67	951	4,506,005	13.55	4,750,865	8,290,959	1.58	48,938	12.64	176,860	50	3,660	31,472.36
Floyd	91,461.11	963	1,604,005	17.55	4,519,365	10,305,085	8.11	45,073	51.05	120,225	101	3,192	27,109.84
Fountain	249,051.30	1,511	6,567,925	26.37	673,790	9,270,955	1.58	144,524	30.27	107,225	93	2,711	32,618.25
Franklin	248,591.76	2,295	4,644,125	19.14	574,360	8,092,215	1.00	61,017	13.37	50,045	89	2,667	24,481.65
Fulton	220,977.71	1,420	3,163,120	13.67	394,245	4,747,315	1.91	238,045	35.57	104,505	96	3,440	42,804.76
Gilson	290,544.43	1,610	6,045,231	30.18	1,023,974	9,092,215	1.03	306,892	39.60	73,721	116	4,130	23,156.35
Graham	265,278.16	2,422	6,394,165	24.11	762,825	9,392,800	1.04	306,892	39.60	73,721	116	4,130	23,156.35
Grant	339,689.78	1,973	4,338,106	14.24	386,927	7,057,870	1.10	199,810	29.34	97,122	148	6,110	34,666.31
Greene	248,904.00	2,359	8,508,945	33.28	808,945	11,314,105	1.87	176,111	30.40	129,310	133	4,723	28,987.33
Harrison	198,117.37	1,674	5,478,090	29.96	608,945	7,734,303	1.39	380,630	34.70	97,122	93	3,533	27,967.50
Hancock	209,109.45	2,674	9,211,040	41.80	561,040	4,377,957	9.07	7,068,304	58.15	67,482	144	3,750	36,689.50
Harrison	255,798.91	2,093	4,633,051	37.69	983,960	13,353,064	9.07	4,633,064	62.18	115,975	105	3,615	37,945.72
Hendricks	247,471.74	2,147	8,996,390	26.48	1,472,390	14,901,080	4.45	541,886	62.18	115,798	116	4,113	37,945.72
Henry	183,128.24	1,325	3,906,610	21.10	1,843,905	6,978,860	1.43	281,571	30.30	110,265	99	2,139	29,475.19

County statistics—1876—Continued.

Name of counties.	No. acres of land in the county.	No. of farms.	Value of farm-land and improvements.	Average value per acre.	Value of lots and im-provements.	Total value of all tax-ables.	Rate of taxation on the \$100.	Value of railroad prop-erty.	Miles of railroad.	Value of school prop-erty.	No. of school-houses.	Average attendance.	Total tuition revenue for schools.
Hanilton	239,844.36	2,116	\$4,636,735	\$19.32	\$757,925	\$7,292,719	90.96	\$341,568	90.25	\$135,704	112	3,950	\$24,460.00
Jackson	324,222.12	2,066	4,408,365	13.76	1,833,225	7,047,045	1.00	567,025	50.83	92,285	110	1,344	33,551.20
Jasper	369,222.86	832	2,642,535	7.00	960,787	4,949,789	1.97	67,363	8.83	29,260	71	1,934	94,828.00
Jay	242,773.58	1,919	3,816,825	15.72	465,620	5,916,820	1.19	293,583	97.24	95,361	111	1,968	92,284.22
Jefferson	226,173.70	2,446	3,114,000	13.78	990,250	6,757,840	3.57	198,930	27.20	124,270	114	4,024	41,526.51
Jennings	298,682.06	1,752	2,039,538	8.99	318,408	3,184,408	1.10	430,780	55.37	54,180	105	2,651	94,185.32
Johnson	198,081.65	1,706	7,435,120	37.91	918,050	11,624,442	7.73	925,977	41.67	159,500	87	3,169	38,518.48
Knox	315,971.62	1,824	2,887,030	15.65	387,030	10,678,660	0.91	505,003	78.00	109,672	103	3,339	37,506.49
Kosciusko	340,082.41	1,471	6,154,800	18.10	826,995	7,957,705	1.07	1,354,453	16.57	191,470	110	2,484	70,327.50
Lake	229,210.69	1,350	4,470,182	14.94	379,160	6,242,390	0.82	1,823,060	110.13	64,030	110	2,484	96,016.00
Lamar	307,247.69	1,751	3,701,625	11.94	779,160	7,574,660	1.04	1,265,945	16.57	191,470	110	2,484	96,016.00
Laporte	368,154.80	1,119	4,104,160	16.92	776,960	11,747,713	1.80	1,782,062	156.09	258,739	119	2,484	96,016.00
Lawrence	263,441.20	2,253	4,187,968	19.50	669,340	7,016,318	1.02	354,834	50.83	71,960	83	3,081	54,518.72
Madison	292,682.00	2,268	7,707,795	21.32	1,106,375	11,872,965	1.11	1,782,062	156.09	258,739	119	2,484	96,016.00
Marshall	281,232.58	2,309	4,510,545	16.03	61,042,915	100,050,277	69	1,607,927	123.01	1,042,000	136	11,459	67,689.91
Marshall	206,862.32	1,077	1,430,123	6.96	166,922	2,245,321	1.40	216,360	19.38	120,035	131	1,542	33,207.93
Miami	254,892.91	1,078	3,597,415	21.83	1,876,985	9,196,321	1.15	639,033	76.14	171,312	127	4,006	39,516.55
Monroe	253,867.80	1,556	3,432,440	13.49	896,975	6,479,410	1.00	75,092	29.34	92,102	87	2,317	22,158.41
Montgomery	254,332.93	1,761	10,013,610	31.08	1,560,190	13,106,495	0.98	439,877	62.11	170,750	127	3,314	31,184.45
Morgan	248,158.49	2,201	6,184,638	24.23	346,121	4,724,769	0.94	152,513	40.31	96,235	111	3,014	31,413.32
Newton	257,458.18	682	3,310,030	13.33	346,121	4,724,769	0.94	1,094,434	74.85	118,116	126	4,065	31,413.32
Ohio	54,388.74	500	4,642,025	18.03	1,044,260	7,938,760	1.10	149,921	14.96	53,060	56	1,515	14,863.22
Orange	243,966.07	1,705	1,074,100	19.74	2,901,060	1,885,980	1.20	None	None	35,430	30	983	7,814.07
Owen	246,220.00	1,621	2,807,145	9.51	468,740	3,877,086	1.33	24,505	9.61	31,245	92	2,459	16,112.34
Park	279,313.03	2,041	7,350,312	14.64	816,770	10,757,918	1.16	138,179	35.09	76,960	108	2,646	24,944.43
Percy	237,036.00	1,416	1,069,650	4.59	540,904	2,869,370	1.15	166,590	29.68	126,625	132	3,445	46,286.48
Pike	207,360.00	1,694	2,800,371	11.04	963,780	3,996,750	1.01	None	None	90,075	94	2,541	20,166.72
Porter	258,742.85	1,390	4,030,735	15.57	4,030,735	7,998,750	1.16	1,450,109	90.01	53,150	90	2,651	33,826.50
Posey	247,569.00	1,733	3,925,863	18.51	998,710	7,290,523	1.16	164,579	29.81	113,440	69	3,263	32,385.22
Pulaski	365,968.00	1,102	8,029,560	7.62	1,964,450	3,043,300	1.00	256,849	39.13	45,055	73	1,764	13,140.23
Randolph	304,799.64	2,095	9,158,500	29.84	1,545,635	14,734,605	5.53	680,747	72.06	122,657	132	3,410	42,072.39
Randolph	284,177.65	3,099	7,628,556	26.85	1,484,119	12,140,665	8.88	674,762	58.51	176,635	132	2,916	40,878.11
Ripley	579,689.36	8,473	2,721,390	9.72	3,905,445	4,435,640	1.29	342,373	30.50	61,965	113	2,876	23,439.58
Rush	251,942.00	1,691	8,867,945	35.87	535,030	13,389,675	1.70	245,949	30.07	110,725	106	3,084	36,863.63

Scott.....	111,008.00	966	971,328	874	94,705	1,514,888	173	219,968	21.51	24,785	47	1,268	9,646 17
Shelby.....	251,013.85	2,213	10,170,485	40 59	1,070,190	14,079,885	65	482,707	58.08	156,265	124	3,988	33,121 64
Spencer.....	237,815.09	2,233	3,329,000	13 99	1,069,935	5,884,185	92	53,190	22.58	89,171	129	4,039	33,193 25
Starks.....	188,040.00	351	904,201	4 81	34,651	1,133,059	1 94	384,896	28.67	20,950	41	1,357	7,823 13
Saint Joseph.....	266,107.93	1,693	6,209,085	19 00	3,801,390	13,481,843	72	136,465	18.38	267,135	110	4,800	43,740 67
Steuben.....	192,566.35	2,103	4,116,060	21 37	4,968,045	5,481,122	86	789,393	61.27	74,450	96	3,246	19,065 67
Sullivan.....	285,451.66	2,125	4,814,155	14 37	601,660	6,203,815	1 13	217,468	25.00	97,690	117	3,750	29,768 91
Switzerland.....	139,855.98	1,393	2,563,865	18 33	348,000	3,281,595	1 13	None	.....	75,125	72	2,148	17,041 58
Tippacanoe.....	308,955.93	2,264	9,654,376	31 33	5,620,324	22,157,324	99	866,515	92.51	334,945	138	5,055	76,894 13
Tipton.....	165,127.40	889	2,620,995	17 08	251,975	4,003,090	1 07	291,313	45.11	53,830	78	2,854	19,560 72
Union.....	104,401.94	672	3,228,045	30 93	1,967,595	5,144,275	7 78	132,080	16.33	53,810	41	1,086	14,604 16
Vanderburgh.....	145,353.96	1,447	5,232,870	36 00	10,734,135	23,133,945	1 09	505,870	28.13	578,853	69	5,109	67,210 71
Vigo.....	157,529.25	910	7,847,687	32 50	9,835,885	23,907,187	1 03	825,966	78.74	318,360	113	5,293	25,865 22
Wabash.....	246,232.19	2,067	5,401,980	24 00	1,237,850	10,418,170	1 01	370,600	62.84	139,810	141	4,748	73,720 47
Warren.....	228,595.79	1,822	3,664,535	14 74	539,795	7,594,985	1 11	31,968	10.45	73,640	90	1,843	29,952 34
Warrick.....	282,594.90	2,048	3,664,535	11 20	394,015	5,964,185	1 23	70,529	27.61	83,575	116	3,228	29,546 63
Wayne.....	250,905.14	1,989	11,154,950	44 85	4,570,035	21,882,060	1 00	649,844	53.98	306,038	122	3,278	71,568 48
Wells.....	274,545.46	1,919	3,902,021	16 91	504,305	4,023,525	86	139,744	25.12	68,573	105	2,761	90,179 50
White.....	316,012.16	1,063	4,376,630	13 84	468,405	6,545,247	98	320,649	51.40	196,797	98	2,298	18,768 63
Whitley.....	209,233.54	1,161	3,775,410	18 00	597,215	6,397,704	75	523,110	40.29	82,350	100	3,116	20,657 83
Grand total.....	22,564,870.06	176,769	462,008,077	20 44	177,877,058	834,203,064	1 03	36,203,207	3,791.25	11,993,992	9,484	314,277	2,952,421 46

Norg.—The principal of the school fund is a perpetual fund, which may be increased but not diminished; amounts to \$8,870,872.43, the income of which is appropriated to the support of the common schools, and to no other purpose whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Langsdale, have you anything else to say to the committee?

The WITNESS. I have a note to Governor Williams, of Indiana, written during the past winter, from some point in the South, by a colored man, in which he states the condition of his people and asks what the chance is for men of his kind in Indiana; and Governor Williams replies that wages are twelve to fifteen dollars a month, but that he don't think winter is a good time for them to come—as I thought myself—but that the better time for them to come was the spring and summer and autumn.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that may be considered as proven by your statement, without finding the letter (witness having failed to find the letter after searching among his papers).

The WITNESS. As to Putnam County, I find in looking over the census returns since 1850, that it sustains my assertion that the rural population of Putnam County has decreased rather than increased.

In Clinton Township, which is Democratic, there was a population in 1850 of 1,230 persons; in 1860, 1,262; and in 1870, 1,036; a decrease of 194 persons since 1850.

In Cloverdale Township, which is Democratic, there had been an increase of 442 since 1850, the census then showing a population of 1,298, in 1860 of 1,595, and in 1870 of 1,740. There is a village there, the village of Cloverdale, that probably accounts for that increase; there had been an increase in that since 1850 of 169 in the population.

In Floyd Township, Republican, there was a population of 1,386 in 1850, of 1,440 in 1860, and of 1,269 in 1870; a decrease of 117 in the population since 1850.

In Franklin, Republican, the census of 1850 gives 1,218 population, that of 1860 gives 1,259, and that of 1870, 1,266, making an increase of 48.

In Greencastle Township, Republican, in the rural portions the population in 1850 was 1,201, in 1860 it was 1,610, and in 1870, 1,699, being an increase of 498 over 1850; while in the city of Greencastle the increase is 810, there being 1,375 in population in 1850, 2,092 in 1860, and 3,185 in 1870.

In Jackson Township, Democratic, there was in 1850 a population of 1,217; in 1860, 1,334; and in 1870, 1,498; being an increase of 281 over 1850.

In Jefferson Township, which is Republican, the population in 1850 was 1,046, in 1860 it was 935, and in 1870, 960, being a decrease of 86; that is, outside of the town of Mount Meridian.

In Madison Township, Democratic, in 1850 the population was 1,199, in 1860 it was 1,189, and in 1870 only 1,042; being a decrease since 1850 of 157 persons.

In Marion Township, also Democratic, the population in 1850 was 1,320, in 1860 it was 1,424, and in 1870, 1,187; a decrease of 133, outside of the town of Fillmore.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Have you the aggregate of the county there?—A. No, sir; I have it in townships.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You make the general statement that there is a decrease?—A. Yes, sir; between 1850 and 1870 the rural population has decreased.

Now, there was a recent arrival in Putnam County. Dr. Moriety told me that a young man saw him and wanted work. He said he was

just from Kentucky. A young man also saw Mr. O'Hara and told him that a party had come from Kentucky to Indiana, and their transportation had been paid; that it cost \$12 for each one for their tickets; and that they came to vote the Democratic ticket, and were promised free tickets back to Kentucky after the election. I published that statement in the paper and have heard nothing from the young man to contradict it.

The WITNESS. The colored man that wrote to Governor Williams is from Kingston, N. C. His name is Charles F. Dunn.

The young man who came from Kentucky and stated that he had been sent into Indiana to vote the Democratic ticket was named Calvin Harrison. He stated further that a man had been passing through Kentucky—a white man—saying that labor was in great demand in Indiana and that all white men who would go there would get fifteen to twenty dollars a month wages. The impression of our folks was that this particular party were the recently discharged convicts from the Kentucky penitentiary, but we had no positive proof of that fact.

Now, I wish to state as to the manner in which these people have been treated that have come to Indiana. I assert that not a man of them—not a man, woman, or child—has been injured in any way; and while there has been a disposition on the part of some persons to get up a feeling against them in order to deter others from going to the State, the better class of people there have believed in protecting them in their rights and in giving them perfect equality before the law, and in treating them just the same as white people.

The charge is made that these people are paupers. I asked Adam Hanna, county treasurer, before I came away, if the township had been affording relief to the colored people coming there as emigrants, and his reply was, not any whatever.

Q. So that they were not a charge upon the county or the town in any respect, except in so far as voluntary contributions were made for their relief?—A. They were not. The town has not given them any support; the only relief they have had at all has been given by way of assisting those who had no money when they got there, in providing food, and they have been lodged for a day or two until they could get homes and go to work. I have never seen people who seemed more anxious to get work. They would state that those who came there and had nothing were ready and anxious to get work, and that in all their lives that they had lived in the South they had been able to accumulate nothing, and they believed that if they got to Indiana they would be able to accumulate property and enjoy it the same as the white man. I will say for the colored people of our county that I have never heard of but one colored pauper in the county, and that was a poor sick woman—an insane woman; and I will also say that while we have a great many white tramps passing through our town, I have never heard of but one colored tramp passing through the town. In my former testimony I spoke of the demand in our State for men to work, but I omitted to say that there has been quite a demand for miners—coal miners—a great many coal miners could find employment readily in Indiana.

As to our connection with the exodus, if you wish to know anything about that I will say—

Q. I would like you, Mr. Langsdale, to inform us at this point concerning the editorials you have written on the subject; if you have any statement to make with reference to them I wish you would make it now.—A. Do you mean the nature of the editorials?

Q. Well, there was some proof adduced from your paper showing that you had advised these people to come into Indiana, so as to change the

census—something of that kind—to be on hand in time for the census, so as to make the North solid as against a solid South?—A. That was about two years ago, was it not?

Mr. WINDOM. I think about that.

The CHAIRMAN. No; it was just after we beat you in the fall of 1878, and when you were feeling the necessity of getting somebody else in there to help you the next time.

The WITNESS. Well, these things are all matters of mental growth. Twenty-one years ago this summer, I spent the summer in New Mexico, and while there I had a chance to study the Mexican system of peonage, as it existed practically in that country; and after the war was over, when we had the so-called reconstruction, I had a notion from what I saw there and from what I would hear from the South, that the condition of the negroes in the South was to become the same as that of peonage in Mexico. Now, I believe, action was taken about that time in Texas looking in that direction. They probably got the idea from Mexico. After the defeat of the so-called force bill, that conviction grew on me that the eventual fate of the colored race in the South was to be a peonage similar to that in Mexico; and I frequently said so in my paper, and that we did not have a State convention that I did not ask the Republicans to take some action looking to that matter. In 1878, I asked them to put this resolution in their platform:

Resolved, That having given the late slaves their freedom and the ballot, they are our wards, and it devolves upon the Republican party to protect them in their weakness, until by education and experience they reach a condition no longer needing such protection.

I felt that the national government had failed to give the colored people the protection they were entitled to, in the South, and that something ought to be done. In the fall of 1878, nothing had been done. We seemed to have a solid South; and that idea naturally came up to me, that, of course, I was willing to do anything to make the North solid as against a solid South, the solid South having grown out of the use of the shot-gun and revolver. I saw no impropriety in the colored people of the South coming to the North and making a solid North against them. It seemed to me to be a legitimate defense on their part, and I must confess I had no other idea. For some time the conviction had been growing on me that the only thing the late slaves could do to become men in the true sense of the word, would be for them to come to the North; and in order that they might have a warm welcome to the North, I must say, I was willing to appeal to the selfish side of our nature, and, of course, if the Republicans of the North could understand that their coming would benefit them politically—would strengthen them—it would make them disposed to give them a warmer welcome than otherwise. That was only a natural and, I think, legitimate conclusion. I had two reasons for this, as I have stated, but the political one has now passed away. We are no longer under the necessity of having any outside help to make the North solid against the South. We already have that. Other circumstances have arisen to bring that about. Last spring we had an extra session of Congress!

Q. Do you think that the extra session of Congress has helped to solidify the North as against the solid South?—A. Yes, sir; I most certainly do; and this exodus committee has done as much, I must say, to consolidate the North against the South as anything I know of. Republicans of any sense regard it as an invasion of the private rights of American citizens and an invasion of the rights of the State to interfere with the right of these people to go and come as they please, and it has done as much to arouse our people and to bring up the old issues that

made the Republican party, the party that fought the war, suppressed the rebellion, and liberated the slaves, as anything we have had.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will give you enough of that sort of music before you get through.

The WITNESS. We like that sort of music, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will see.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You say that the political reasons have substantially passed away, and that now humanitarian reasons mainly operate upon you ?—A. Well, I have thought this : that it would be a great benefit to the party to have a few negroes come from the South into Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. It will help the Republican party you think ?—A. Not in numbers ; that is a small consideration ; but by forcing the Democracy of our State to show their devilish spirit.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it will show it if anybody could show a more devilish spirit than you can.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not think that's hardly a proper remark to this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not know ; the chairman is hardly ingenuous in his remark.

The WITNESS. I have learned by experience that nothing causes the Democratic party to display its real *animus* more than to stick the negro at them. I thought that would help us to make an issue and I am thankful to see that it has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Have you any further statements to make ? If not, I have nothing more to ask.—A. I don't know that I have.

Recross-examination by the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Mr. Langsdale, how many negroes do you know were brought into Indiana ?—A. Well, we have enough there now to suit our purposes.

Q. Well, answer my question, if you please. How many have you got there ?—A. I could not say ; I kept no account.

Q. You kept no account, still you think you have enough ; you don't want any more ?—A. If they want to come I would like to have them come. I speak from a political standpoint ; so far as our people are concerned this thing seems to be growing. As I said before, our farms are not properly cultivated for want of help.

Q. We have heard you on that ; we do not wish to go over that again.—A. Very well.

Q. You are a member of the Republican State central committee of Indiana, are you not ?—A. No, sir ; I am not.

Q. I thought you were ?—A. No.

Q. Have you any official relation to the party in the State ?—A. None at all.

Q. You are simply Hayes's postmaster at Greencastle ?—A. I am the people's postmaster.

Q. Yes, and appointed by Mr. Hayes ?—A. Of course.

Q. You say you do not want any more negroes in Indiana now for political purposes ?—A. Not since this committee was organized and is doing the work I anticipated it would do.

Q. We will answer for this committee, Mr. Langsdale.—A. We do not need any more.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe there is anything I want to ask of you, and if you will give me your name I will discharge you.

By Mr. VANCE :

Q. Did I understand you to say, Mr. Langsdale, that the condition of the negroes in the South was pretty much the same as that of the peons of Mexico?—A. I said my impression was, from what I saw in New Mexico, from what I could hear of their condition in the South, that it was tending in that direction; I did not say it was the same.

Q. Yes?—A. And my opinion now is that the only chance of these people to escape from that condition is to leave the South.

Q. Their only chance, you think, is for them to leave the South?—A. Yes.

Q. What feature of their condition in the South and what circumstances of their condition resembles that of Mexican peonage?—A. Well, I will take the statement of Dr. A. C. Stephenson, of my county; his statement corresponds with what I have seen in the newspapers, and from what I have got from others. Dr. Stephenson is a well known gentleman, and that makes his statements of value. He says that the system of Mexican peonage is something like this: a man would become indebted to one of the wealthy men of that country, and would be unable to pay the debt.

Q. Yes?—A. Suit would be brought against him, and judgment rendered and the man's labor put up for sale.

Q. Yes?—A. The man to whom he was indebted would go down to the sale and buy in his labor at 25 cents a day; that is my recollection of the amount.

Q. Yes?—A. The labor of that man then belonged to the purchaser till the debt was liquidated at the rate of 25 cents a day. That man would go to work for him, and while working for him would, of course, contract another debt. These wealthy men all keep stores much as the Southern gentlemen do. By the time the man gets through the first debt he probably will have contracted a larger one than the first. And now suit is brought, and judgment would again be rendered against him.

Q. Yes?—A. And so on *ad infinitum*.

Q. Yes?—A. Until finally the man in despair would give up and resign himself to fate and become to all practical intents and purposes a slave.

Q. Well.—A. Now the resemblance to the condition of things in the South is this: Dr. Stephenson told me that he had learned from a gentleman in the South last winter—a most reliable man—who explained to him the method in which they deal with the colored man there; some facts concerning this. He said they treated these people, personally, with great kindness, because they found that the better way to get along with them. For instance, he said, Tom Brown would work for Mr. Smith, say. Mr. Smith would keep an account with Tom; and at the close of the season would settle up with him. Tom would go in and find himself credited with so many bales of cotton, so many bushels of corn, amounting to so much money. When he came to the debit side he would find charged against him a bushel of corn-meal one dollar, a barrel of flour ten dollars. Tom would say, "Massa, I didn't have no barrel of flour; no, I didn't get that; I didn't have no barrel of flour all the year." And Mr. Smith would say, "Well, Tom, you have been a good, faithful fellow, but you must have had a barrel of flour or it would not be down against you; but you have been a good, faithful man to me and I will strike that

out." And he would take his pencil and strike through that item, but would leave it stand in the account, all the same.

Q. You have given enough, perhaps, to illustrate that system; now tell us where the Mexican peonage comes in, Mr. Langsdale?—A. Well, when they would settle up Tom would find himself indebted to this man.

Q. Exactly.—A. And if he could not pay the debt, Mr. Smith would sell what he had, move on his property, take his mule that he had probably charged him \$100 for and sell it for \$15.

Q. Well, don't you know that that is not so?—A. It is what Dr. Stephenson told me.

Q. But don't you know that there is a constitutional enactment in the State—a law which exempts every man's property in the State from seizure to the amount, of some \$1,500 or to \$2,000?—A. I do not know that; no, sir.

Q. Well, it is so in all the Southern States. It is in some cases \$1,500 and in some \$2,000 that they cannot attach a man's property for. And you pretend to say that the system of Mexican peonage resembles that, when you do not know the laws of the country you are slandering?—A. But you do not deny the conclusion that the condition of things in the South keeps growing worse and worse for the colored laborer.

Q. I do deny it; not one word of it is true; the majority of them have testified here that they are gradually acquiring property, every one of them.—A. Well, I have not talked with a single man from the South who did not say that his condition was growing worse, year by year.

Q. You have not talked with men that have told you the truth, then. They have been gradually acquiring property, and the tax lists show it.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. The evidence is, that in scarcely one in a hundred has it been real estate.

The WITNESS. They tell me that their condition has been growing worse and worse; that they have got more and more in debt, and that the only thing they can do is either to stay on indefinitely, and work for these men, or leave; and they concluded to leave.

I desire to say this: I think the men who have left the South know fully as much about their condition as any others; and their condition when they reached Indiana shows for itself. They came there in rags. They say that, for their life's work, all they have to show they have with them; and we know, from what we have seen, that they are not lazy men, but when they came they had nothing but rags to cover their backs. That shows they have been cheated out of their labor; it is at least good evidence of their telling the truth; and I think they know full as well why they came to Indiana as any men who know nothing about their case.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Just at this point, Mr. Langsdale. You quoted Mr. Charles Dunn pretty elaborately. You say that these people know their own condition; and while they know it better than others can, do you know that when Mr. Dunn left the South, in 1877, that he had married two women, and was indicted for bigamy, and had to leave the State to prevent his being put in jail; do you know that fact?—A. I know nothing about it, except that I was shown that letter. If that is the reason for his leaving North Carolina, I presume that for the same reason many white men would leave the State too. If he has taken up with some

other woman in North Carolina, probably he has learned that from the example set him in the time of slavery.

Mr. VANCE. Mr. Langsdale, that is another slander, and I take the liberty of telling you so; it is a violent slander upon my State and people. There are forty divorces in your State to one in North Carolina.

The WITNESS. I was not speaking of divorces.

Mr. VANCE. But divorces for conjugal infidelity, sir. There were more divorces—dissolutions of the highest social tie—than runaway negroes from North Carolina, of the lowest social tie.—A. Well, in Indiana our people don't submit to anything of the kind; they get divorces; in North Carolina, they cannot do it.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 2, 1880.

WILLIAM MURRELL (colored) sworn and examined.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Where do you live?—Answer. At Delta, La.

Q. In what parish?—A. In Madison Parish.

Q. That is your present home?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your business?—A. Well, sir —

Q. Have you a newspaper?—A. I did run a newspaper for several years, but it was suspended; I am not running it now.

Q. To get your evidence as directly as possible, I will ask if you have given attention to the condition of the colored people in the South, and to the causes of the exodus from that region to the North?—A. I think, sir, somewhat.

Q. Have you given any special attention to it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You may go on and state in such a way as briefly as you can to convey your idea what you understand to be the causes of their leaving?—A. To start with, the first notice I had taken of the colored people leaving Louisiana in my district—the Congressional district in which I live—the first notice I had taken of it when any great numbers were going was in March, 1878. The first colored man that left North Louisiana to my knowledge that I know anything about, to go to Kansas was a man by the name of George Washington, who lived on a plantation in my parish of Madison. I had just returned from New Orleans as a member of the legislature, and when I got back home in March I found the colored people, to my great surprise, in Madison Parish in a fearful uproar. They were getting ready to leave. I found seven hundred camped out on the banks of the river.

Q. Was that in 1878 or 1879?—A. In 1878; in March, 1878, that was.

Q. Two years ago?—A. Yes, sir; that would be two years ago this March.

Q. Are you not mistaken about that?—A. O, I beg pardon, I am mistaken; I will correct myself; it was March, 1879.

Q. That is what I thought. Well, go on.—A. I noticed on the morning I landed at Delta, a crowd of seven hundred colored people and the Rev. Curtis Pollard, a Baptist preacher, who had been State senator from that parish and district for eight years—that he was among the crowd. In company with Governor Pinchback and myself we went on the bank of the river to talk to these colored people. At that time I was bitterly opposed to the exodus; I was not in favor of the colored

people leaving the State in such large numbers. I said if they could better their condition there was no objection, but there was objection to their leaving in such large numbers. I made a speech to them, and Governor Pinchback also did, asking them what was the matter. Well, there was one gentleman by the name of Mr. Shelby who mounted the stand, and made a speech, and in his speech said this: "Do you want us to stay here in Madison Parish when all around us there is a reign of terror, and our people have been dying and falling all around us?" That was about his language. "Well," said I, "up to this time we have not had any murders or outrages in Madison Parish." "Well," he said, "this Democratic legislature has called a constitutional convention, and as soon as another election is called for the State they will get into Madison, too, and we are going to flee from the wrath to come." That is the language of the man who made this speech.

Q. He was a sort of leader of the crowd, was he?—A. Yes; he was a leader and he carried them with him, too. Senator Pollard made a speech at that time.

Q. What was the result of the matter?—A. Well, they kept on leaving till about May.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Did these seven hundred go?—A. Every single one of them; sixteen hundred having left up to date from Madison Parish. There were sixty families left the other day a plantation known as the Mare's plantation; they left on the steamer Grant; some got off at Cairo; others of them went to Saint Louis. This kept up until the convention of white people, known as the Mississippi Valley convention, was held at Vicksburg. I was a delegate at that convention. When that convention met, they drafted resolutions and put them before the people. After this the exodus quieted down in my immediate vicinity for a while. The white people came out and made promises to our people that there should be no more bulldozing, murdering, or outrages, and they would see that the colored people were paid their wages and treated right. I was a member of the committee that draughted the resolutions. A majority of those who attended that convention were old planters in the Mississippi Valley, some representing the wealth and intelligence of the valley.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. That convention was called, you say, for the purpose of stopping the exodus?—A. Yes, sir; it was called for that purpose. These pledges were made, and the exodus for a time stopped, until about the 25th of December, the last of December, 1879. Up to this time, they have been going away from that district in droves and squads—ten, fifteen, twenty, and as high as sixty from the different towns of Water Proof, Vidalia, San José, Delta, and Milliken's Bend—from all of those points on the river they have been leaving in small squads, and it has been the case to a great extent from my parish—more so than any other parish in that district. The reason they are leaving now—and they will all leave as soon as the weather gets a little warmer—the reason, in my opinion, for their leaving, and from what I know from the organization I am connected with in that district—the fifth Congressional district—and if I am to believe what preachers and the church people say, if this Baptist Association is a great power among the colored people there, my opinion is that by the first of June there will be an exodus from that district that will astonish the people of this country. You have not read of any exodus yet as there will be from that section this summer, and the reason of 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 Ouchita 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. From the Democratic standpoint the registered vote was 2,506, and only sixty white Republicans. We had always elected our ticket, and had peaceable and nice times. We had had a good government. The police jury had not been charged with misappropriating money or stealing, with the exception of one clerk of the court, a colored man, who was charged with being ineligible—not capable; that was about the only charge; and the courts have taken charge of that. That is about the only thing in Madison Parish since the war to create any feeling of any disturbing kind. Last December, when this crowd came in from Ouachita on the cars and divided themselves up into squads of fifteen and twenty-five, they rode all over the parish, catching some of the leading colored men—presidents of clubs—and whipping them, and in one instance there was an article appeared in the dispatches which said three colored men were hung and shot, and it proved afterwards that two of the men were alive. I am the responsible party for that dispatch. I am the one by which publicity was given to that dispatch, and the way that it got out wrong was that there was simply a misstatement in the names. Mr. Peck was never killed; nor Brown; but Mr. Armstrong was killed.

Q. Were the three killed?—A. No, sir. I think one was killed; but the other two were whipped. In the dispatch there was a mistake in the names, and that mistake got out in the newspapers; they got hold of it and published it wrong.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. What parish is it you speak of?—A. Madison Parish.

Q. Was it at the last election?—A. Yes; in the election last December. This colored man by the name of David Armstrong was at the election of Tuesday, the second day of December, and on Sunday—

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. The Sunday next preceding the election?—A. Yes, sir; on the Sunday before the election Mr. Armstrong, who was president of the Third Ward Republican's Club in the parish of Madison—that was one of the large clubs of the parish—was in Milligan's Bend. He stood very high with the merchants; was born and raised a slave on a plantation, and was a good, faithful man—what the white folks call "a good nigger." He was in Milligan's Bend on Sunday, and he 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. That was the only man they killed in Madison Parish, although they had whipped several. When the day of the election came, the colored people—a majority of the leaders—were in Vicksburg, and most of the local leaders were in the woods, with their families; some sixty to seventy people from one plantation were in the woods, and they staid in the woods till these bulldozers disappeared, three days after the election.

That disturbed the people, made everything unsettled, and established a reign of terror. They are now moving away every chance they can get. Those that can get a dollar are going, and very many are walking away. That was the only disturbance since the war, when these men came in and whipped Charles King, a preacher and leading colored man there, who was president of a Republican club; they had taken him and whipped him.

Q. What was the character of the whipping?—A. They just took his breeches down and hit him fifty or sixty.

Q. What did they use to whip him with?—A. A raw-hide; sometimes they take hickory switches. For instance, they used the hickory on a man named Summers. They wounded one man, shot him in the knee, but he got away to Vicksburg; and all of the leaders were out of the parish in Vicksburg, hid away over there; things were so desperate on that side.

We knowed four or five days before that they would come into Madison Parish, and we went to two or three of the Democratic leaders in Madison Parish—to Governor Hawkins, my colleague in the legislature. We went with a committee appointed by the Republican executive committee and convention, to see if we could not make terms with the white people not to bring these men in. The white merchants and planters said they were opposed to all this, and did not know anything about it, and were not going to give any of their money to support such men; nevertheless, when they came in they did not say or do anything to prevent them, and just took a back seat and let them do their devilment and carry the parish. Therefore we did not have any confidence in them.

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 we 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's 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 that you suggest, even if we was to accept this. 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." I asked him, "How?" and he said, "Why, there's more eloquence in a double barreled shot-gun to convince niggers than there is in forty Ciceros!" That is just what he said, that there was more eloquence in a double barreled shot-gun to convince niggers than 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." "You have not nominated your ticket yet. Who is your ticket?" I asked. "O, you will see the morning of the election," and sure enough, the morning of the election they carried the parish by 2,300 majority, and not one in a dozen colored people voted at all.

Q. How many whites voted?—A. About 250; and the Democrats were split up among themselves. There is a class of white men there who are opposed to bulldozing, and they got up an independent ticket the night before the election, and there were three tickets in the field. I was on the Republican ticket, and there was the regular Democratic ticket and this independent Democratic ticket, and yet they managed to count 2,300 majority!

Q. On 200 votes they got 2,000?—A. Yes; the total white vote will not exceed 360, and they counted their majority 2,300. It is as true as Holy Writ, sir!

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Have you the official returns?—A. I have the official returns made by the bulldozers to the secretary of state; that is all the returns I have.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You mean that the total number of votes cast would not exceed 360?—A. Yes.

Q. And they returned how much majority?—A. 2,300 Democratic majority.

Q. And how many negroes voted?—A. Not more than eighty negroes voted at all.

Q. Not more than eighty?—A. No, sir; not more than that out of the whole colored population there.

Q. Was that the result of this bulldozing, or did it arise from some other local causes?—A. It was the bulldozing, sir, and they done their work fine. I told them that after it was over. I told them, "You fellows done your work fine." In fact, they overdone the thing. They made the returns out in one handwriting and then made that clerk resign and Nicholls to appoint a Democratic clerk, who gets charge of the clerk's office and fixes the returns up so that there could be no trace of the dark things done, and they cannot track them up. If you don't believe what I say, there is a life-long Democrat, a simon-pure Democrat, who will confirm every word of it. He has lived there forty years. Sub-

pœna him and bring him on the stand, and he will tell you what I have told you. His name is J. C. Seals, the man who was the independent candidate for judge, and is now contesting for the office, or Kennedy is contesting rather; he is helping him; and Bradfield, the independent candidate in the county against the regular Democratic ticket for district attorney. It would be well to have these two men here to testify.

Q. What is Bradfield's name?—A. George Bradfield I believe his name is. He is at present the parish attorney there, or his time will be out some time this month. George J. Bradfield I think his name is. Mr. Seals told me the other day in New Orleans, before I came here—I had a conversation with him and said I, "Judge, they done things fine this time in Madison," and he replied, "Murrell, I tell you what, you done a wise thing not to stay at the election there; them fellows might have killed you; they were inquiring around for you; I think you done right to leave. Them damned scoundrels that murdered Armstrong was in the crowd that come in from Ouachita; they were that class of men." "Well," said I, "I am told that Major Lucas and them other men had nothing to do with this." "Well," he said, "they may not have had anything to do with it, but, by God, their money helped to pay the expenses of these men that got in."

Q. What is the rule as to these higher-toned Democrats who do not indulge in this bulldozing and massacring of the negroes; are they willing nevertheless to accept of the fruits of these outrageous proceedings, or do they protest against the whole thing and refuse to share in the results?—A. I was born and raised in Louisiana, and there are some Democrats in the State known as "Old Whigs," who were Whigs before the war, and, as a general thing, when you came across that class of Democrat they are inclined to be very fair. Whenever the colored people nominate a good, intelligent man on their ticket—an honest man—as a general thing they are inclined to favor him; they are disposed to favor their having their rights, and they are, as a general thing, fair.

Q. Who are these men—what class of men—that do the bulldozing?—A. The class of men that do the bulldozing are a set of men who enter the county for this very purpose, and none of them enter the county except they make money by murdering and bulldozing generally, and they would not come into these parishes unless their expenses were paid.

Q. Who pays their expenses?—A. They pay them so much while there. There is a class of rich men in the parish that pays the expenses of these men. I know one case of these bulldozers where they got mad, and I was told this—I don't say I saw this with my own eyes, but I was told of it—that these bulldozers went to a certain rich man of the parish and said, "By God, we have done the work, and now you have got to pay us, and if you don't settle up we will do to you as we done to the niggers!"

Q. Would these Democratic missionaries then go from one parish to another to carry on that sort of work?—A. Yes, sir. That class of men that come into these parishes don't own anything themselves. They live on peanuts and sweet potatoes and one thing and another in the place where they come from, and kill niggers occasionally!

Q. Have you ever known of any one being punished for that murder of Armstrong?—A. No, sir; not one. And then, another reason: The colored people have a secret organization known as the Colored Men's Protective Union, and after this bulldozing was all through, they held their little meetings quietly in the churches, and the thing was discussed by the colored people, and, ignorant as some of them are, they seemed to understand the situation better than their leaders. "Now," they said,

"these men have done this and nobody is punished for it, and when they attempt to punish them the Democrats get possession of the courts and the bulldozing ticket is elected"; and one of them told us, "You might just as well sing psalms to a dead mule as to talk about punishing these men for the rascality and meanness they have done." They all passed resolutions that as soon as they could get away they would go in squads—some to Ohio, and some to Indiana, and some to Kansas, and some have gone to Arkansas.

Q. When was that Vicksburg convention held that made these pledges?—A. On the 6th of May, 1879.

Q. Did that convention attempt, by pledges, to correct the evils that this bulldozing had caused?—A. Yes; they admitted that there had been so many sins of this kind committed, and they got up some white-washed resolutions.

Q. Have you a copy of the proceedings?—A. No, sir; not with me now.

By Mr. VANCE:

Q. Can't you get a copy in the city here, so that we may put it in the record?—A. I do not think I can. It was held in Vicksburg, Miss., on the 6th of May, last year.

The following was furnished by the witness:

THE VICKSBURG CONVENTION.

In last Saturday's Picayune there appeared an able and eminently practical address to the Vicksburg Labor Convention, which, replete with assured purpose and wise counsel relative to the exodus movement and the remedy for its cessation, in absolute and uniform justice, had, we doubt not, very much to do in determining the action of that body. This address, issued by such eminent Southern leaders as ex-Governor Foote, General Tyler, son of ex-President Tyler, and Colonel Burwell, of this city, profoundly affected the convention and, as we have indicated, largely influenced its deliberations. We subjoin the concluding portions.

If these great interests regard their own welfare in this perversion of labor, they would by no means treat it with indifference or permit the question to pass into a sectional issue. They would do all in their power to reconcile the difficulties and differences of the Southern people, and contribute to the content and reciprocal employment of the laboring classes North and South. It only remains, therefore, for the undersigned to respectfully tender, through this important and responsible assembly, whatsoever influence they themselves and the class which they represent may possess or be able to exercise in reconciling this great conflict of interest amongst their own fellow-citizens. It is with this motive they proceed to inquire how may this exodus be arrested? How may this population be reconciled and reinstated?

In entering upon the consideration of this question, it is proper to premise that this object cannot be effected by the general declarations of legislatures or conventions, howsoever solemn, imposing and sincere may be the circumstances under which they may be promulgated. Upon a perusal of the guarantees already given, it will be seen that nothing in human language more comprehensive or conclusive than these guarantees could have been uttered. They have utterly failed of their object. It would be an useless waste of time to repeat them. The only means by which this exodus may be counteracted must be by the people themselves in social council assembled. They must decide whether this labor is wanted. If such be their conviction they must employ toleration, justice, and kindness to secure this object.

1. The people can alone enforce these legitimate agencies for the restoration and maintenance of satisfactory relations between the employer and the employé. This will involve no concession of opinion on any subject, but a resolute determination on the part of all to execute these guarantees and to arrest by an expostulation which cannot be disregarded any demonstrations of violence, injustice, or persecution on the part of any persons whatsoever.

2. It will be the further duty of society to provide for all unemployed white young men and women such occupations as will exercise their energies, reward their industry, and secure them an honorable independence. Among the many avenues of usefulness open to the young men may be mentioned the noble profession of navigation, with various mechanical pursuits. These, with the application of science and the employ-

ment of improved agencies, will dignify every industry by the intelligence required to conduct it.

3. To the young women may be assigned such employments as enables the sex in other countries to contribute to the support of society instead of constituting a sacred and responsible charge upon the industry of others. Such provisions will at least relieve the young people of the South from an enforced idleness that is rather a reproach upon those who should think for them than upon themselves, who have neither the capital nor the instruction to resort to new and needed industries.

4. The system indicated would require polytechnic and technical institutions and an organized public department for the encouragement of navigation and manufactures.

5. The development of popular intelligence and morality by schools and churches sufficient to reach all the ignorance and iniquity in the land.

6. The acquisition by all, but by the colored population especially, of small farms and holdings, with the cultivation of crops on the share of tenant account rather than by predial labor. It has never been and cannot well be that the gang laborer of the farm, the ship, the mine, or the itinerant toil of the journeyman tramp can be respectable. The hostage of a home is the best guaranty that can be given of good citizenship. It is indispensable to localize the colored population to protect themselves and society from the rapidly compounding demoralization of successive generations, raised without homes and exposed to the worst influences. The repeal of all exceptional inducements to political employment, thus divesting political contest of any undue motive to restrict, corrupt, or intimidate the voter.

7. The organization of an acclimated marine for the purpose of conducting the equatorial and tropical trade of the Union through the port of New Orleans, and of perhaps rendering unnecessary any quarantine blockade whatever. This will involve the establishment of national stations recruiting acclimated seamen, with the organization of a Southern carrying trade.

8. The introduction of separate cotton mills, for the purpose of employing white and colored female industry, so as to export more of the cotton wrought instead of raw, as at present.

Such is a schedule of the measures in principal which we deem necessary for restoring the trust of labor in capital, for defeating the designs of our industrial or political competitors, and for solving the serious problem of disorganized and disaffected labor which now presents itself.

Whether this exodus continue or subside into a complaint of discontented and itinerant labor, the policy recommended is none the less important. It will gradually effect the transition from slave culture to a system of mixed industries and small holdings, popular intelligence, and public order. It will assure the ultimate assimilation of the colored race to the common interests, development, and defense of the Southern people. Such an organized transition will preserve the standard of civilization maintained by the Southern people before the war, and will enable them to occupy that position in the Union and among the enlightened peoples of the world to which the worth and energies of their race entitles them. Such is the object of the undersigned, and such alone the motive which induced them to address the convention.

Respectfully,

WM. M. BURWELL,
JOHN TYLER, JR.,
H. S. FOOTE,
For themselves and others.

NEW ORLEANS, May 1, 1879.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. They promised you that these evils should be stopped, did they ?—

A. Yes ; they made pledges that the colored people should be protected in their rights, and that they would see that they got their wages for their labor, and promised to rent them lands at reasonable prices, and sell them lands whenever they were able to buy. And just as I told them in my speech, that we wanted less promises and more practical operations, and that unless they put their promises into operation they would not amount to anything, so it turned out. For, instead of keeping their promises, these men came right across the river from where the convention was held, and established a reign of terror in Madison Parish.

Q. And this bulldozing followed ?—A. Yes, sir ; from the 28th day of November up to the 5th day of December the bulldozers in the parish of Madison had full control of the parish.

Q. And the result has been that they are going to leave?—A. Yes; they are going to leave, world without end! You have not seen any exodus yet; O, no!

Q. Does the condition of things in that parish among the colored people affect other parishes there?—A. Well, the murder of these men in Tensas Parish at the last Congressional election down there in 1878, when John Floyd King was elected to Congress from that district—the murdering of these men—

Q. How many were murdered there?—A. About seventy-five were murdered in the parish of Tensas during the Fairfax and Peck scrape—I guess you have read of it. There was in the parish of Tensas about seventy-five men killed—in Tensas and Concordia together.

Q. Were they all colored men, or colored and white both?—A. They were colored.

Q. Were no white men killed?—A. Not over two at the highest. Peck was killed—shot in Mr. Fairfax's house. And, by the way, Governor Nicholls said in his message to the legislature, when it met, that he condemned the action of Mr. Peck—that he was wrong to go to Mr. Fairfax's house, and it was to be regretted, and the Democrats got mad at him for saying that much, and got rid of him as soon as possible.

Q. Was anybody punished for the Tensas outrages?—A. They arrested some of them, and had a sort of mock examination, and sent them back on their bonds, and some of them went back to whipping negroes again. In that Tensas massacre three-fourths of them that were killed were my friends—good friends of mine—whom I was acquainted with, and I can give you the names of some of them that were killed. One of these men I saw hanging in the swamp there. My wife was in Saint Joe at the time of the disturbance, and I was in town during the time. The yellow fever was about, and I helped the Howard Association. The yellow fever was about in my town, the reason I did not go up. It is about forty miles from my town to the town of Saint Joe. It is the parish-seat, Saint Joe is, of Tensas Parish. These colored men were killed in Tensas Parish, and my friends that I spoke of, that I am personally acquainted with, are in the parish of Tensas.

There was Doc. Smith; he was killed in 1878. I saw Doc. Smith as he was hanging there, as I went through the swamp. He was hanging up a tree, with a bran-new grass rope around him. And there was another man hanging by the side of him, by the name of William Hunter. I was not acquainted with Hunter, but I knowed Smith and recognized him. I went on up the plantation there, and I asked some colored men why they did not cut the poor fellows down and bury them, and they said to me, "Why these white folks said that if any man attempted to cut them down and bury them they would be treated the same way." I was told afterwards that some white farmer had sent some colored men and had them taken down and buried them. And no one will deny this—even the Democrats won't deny that themselves.

Now, these men were killed in Tensas Parish, only thirty-five to forty miles from my town. This of course excited the colored people in my parish at that time. And they proved to be good prophets. They said it was only the question of another election, and they would reach Madison, too. And their prophecies came too true. Now, in the parish of Concordia, during all of this same trouble, they killed Hymus Wilson, and Wash. Hillson, and John Robinson, and Charles Cornell, and Peter Young. These men are now dead. They were killed during that time.

Q. What were they killed for?—A. Well, you know it was near the Congressional election, and the Democrats said they were going to carry

Tensas. Tensas was the banner Republican parish, and Concordia is the third, my parish of Madison is next; and the Democrats said they were going to carry the Congressional district, and it didn't make any difference what it cost, they were going to carry it. And these men from Catahoula and men from Mississippi came over there, five or six companies of them, well drilled and well armed and equipped. And I will tell you here, now, that the white people in Louisiana are better armed and equipped now than during the war, and they have a better standing army now in the State of Louisiana than was ever known in the State, and I defy any white man in Louisiana, Democrat or Republican, to deny that assertion. We have brigadiers all over the State, and we have not got a ragged corporal and not a colored militia company in all the State, not one. And we have an excellent army there. You see them parade the streets of New Orleans with their gray uniforms on, and with their improved Winchester rifles and their Gatling guns, and they have now got everything except the rebel flag—even to the gray uniform.

Q. Why do not the colored people get arms to defend themselves?—

A. We are going to get arms. The State authorities will not give them; and the white people are not armed under the authority of the State and appropriation from the State government. They have got rifle companies in every parish and every town in the State of Louisiana. They are well organized with rifle companies. We had a secret meeting among the colored people to decide for ourselves whether we would resist these men that were coming in or not; whether we would make a fight or not to defend ourselves against them; and out of eight hundred colored men assembled in this meeting we discussed the question whether we would arm ourselves with such arms and buy ammunition to defend ourselves in case it was necessary, and it was a fact that we could not buy any powder. And whenever these men got ready to come you can always tell—they put out what we call "a feeler"; the white people begin to talk this way; they say "The negroes are going to burn the white folks' gin-houses; a massacre will come; the negroes are getting ready to burn our gin-houses." And whenever you hear that kind of talk our people understand and know very well that they are fixing to come. That is the excuse they make beforehand.

Well, we held this meeting to decide—

(The hour for adjournment of the committee having come, witness was cut short in his examination.)

Adjourned to Saturday, April 3, 1880.

THIRTY-SIXTH DAY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 3, 1880.

Committee met this day at 10.30 a. m. Present Messrs. Voorhees (chairman), Vance, Windom, and Blair.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Question. Mr. Murrill, when the committee adjourned yesterday, you were speaking about a meeting that the colored men held in Madison Parish; go on, and finish what you were saying in regard to that.—
Answer. Yes, sir; we held a meeting in Madison Parish, when we heard that those bulldozers from adjacent parishes were coming in there to

bulldoze us; we held a meeting of colored men. The purpose of the meeting was to take into consideration a proposition that had been made by some of the leading colored men, whether to resist the bulldozers or not. The question was, whether to ask some of the better class of white men in Madison Parish to join us in resisting these bulldozers, who, we had been informed, were about to come in on us from the other parishes. We held that meeting in a swamp, known as the Hackett Swamp, in the woods. About eight hundred colored men were present at that meeting.

Q. How far was that from the town?—A. It was about six miles from the town of Delta. At that meeting the leaders discussed the proposition as to whether to resist the white men or not. Some of the leaders seemed anxious to have a committee appointed to wait upon some of the better class of white men, and see whether they would act with us, and arm themselves, and resist these men—these bulldozers—in case they should come, as it had been reported they would. But after some speeches on that side by colored men of our parish, some colored men from other parishes, that had been bulldozed before our parish was, got up and made speeches on the other side of the question. They said that in their parishes, that they had lived in before emigrating into Madison Parish, that thing had been tried, and that it was utterly useless to do anything of that kind; it would turn out just as it had turned out before.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. How did they say it had turned out before?—A. They said if we appointed a committee to ask the white men to help resist the bulldozers, the word would go out that the negroes were arming themselves, and were preparing to rise and murder the white people, and the white people would come in from Vicksburg, and Yazoo City, and Natchez, and other cities; the steamboats and the railroads would bring them in upon us by thousands, as on one occasion before, when an old unpleasantness occurred, and not a colored man in the crowd would be left to tell the tale. They said there was no use of talking about resistance; we had nothing to fight with, while the bulldozers had the best guns to be had in all the country—the best made anywhere. They said it was of no use asking the white people to help us, for that would only give publicity to the fact that we had held a meeting, and were talking about resisting; that the whites would misconstrue our purpose, even if we appealed to the better class of white people, while it would give the other class the very excuse the bulldozers wanted for coming in on us. The telegraph operators would get hold of it and would send it abroad all over the country that the negroes were rising and preparing to murder all the white people; but the facts in the case, if they got them, they would never send them. It was of no use talking about resistance; we had had a very sad experience of that thing all through the State of Louisiana; the more resistance the more colored men were killed—that was all there was of that. It was all nonsense to talk about resisting the white people, especially in Louisiana, where there was so much odds against us. There was not, it is true, a majority of white people in our immediate vicinity, but the white people would double in on us from the other parishes all around us, and the result would be not one colored man would be left to tell the tale; so it was concluded not to make any resistance, nor to ask the white people, nor any part of them, to help us against the bulldozers. But it was agreed that we should submit a proposition, and see whether they would accept it, to give them the

local ticket. The meeting then adjourned, with the understanding that everybody should go home peaceably, and do nothing that the white people could take any exception to, or that would furnish any excuse for the bulldozers to come in onto us.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Who was shot at that time ?—A. Armstrong—David Armstrong.

Q. Was he present at that meeting ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his position in that meeting ?—A. He was one of the leaders from his ward.

Q. Well, go on with your statement ; what next occurred ?—A. We went home from the meeting with the understanding that we would do nothing that could be construed into an excuse for the bulldozers coming in onto us. We appointed a committee ; this committee was appointed to act for the Republicans of the parish. They were to see—this committee was—the better class of white men, and ask them to accept certain positions on the local ticket, the parish ticket, in order to defeat this bulldozing ticket, the ticket the bulldozers were going to put up. No convention of the Democratic party had been held yet ; the Democrats had never put up a ticket—that is, hardly ever—until this election. There was simply a remnant of the Democratic party in the parish. I was on that committee to consult with the better class of white men, and Governor Hawkins, and several others. We went and asked Dr. Askew, who was ex-president of the executive committee of the Democratic party of the parish—we asked him to accept the position on the local ticket of clerk of the court. He agreed to accept, providing we would put one white man whom he named—Judge Burns—for member of the House of Representatives. I agreed to withdraw as the nominee of the Republican party, and have Judge Burns put upon the ticket in my place, in order thereby to have a peaceable election, and save the State ticket. All we cared for was the State ticket and the district ticket ; we were willing to give up the local ticket for the sake of peace. Dr. Askew said to me that he would go and have a consultation with the leading Democrats, and see if the matter could be arranged in this way. He went to see the leading Democrats, and after came to tell me the result of his consultation. In his interview with me he said, “ Murrill, it's no use talking ; these fellows want to carry the parish on the State ticket ; they want the State and the district ticket too.” I said, “ You are asking too much ; there is no use of our trying to get the colored men to vote for a Democratic governor, or for a Democratic Congressman, or for a Democratic President ; but on the local ticket we might get some of them, maybe the most of them, to vote a mixed ticket.” He said, “ If you all meet and nominate me for clerk of the court, and Judge Burns for the House of Representatives, I think this thing can be settled.” And then he went out home, at Tolulu. We thought we would see whether we could get the colored men of the parish to accept this condition, though we thought it was pretty hard. But almost anything was better than the bulldozers. So we called a convention.

The day before the convention was to be held, one of the Democrats, who was then at work getting ready to bring these bulldozers in from the other parishes—corresponding with these men all the time—he came to me and said, “ See here, Murrill, I hear that you are going to have another convention.” I said, “ Yes ; another convention will meet here to-morrow.” He said, “ Let me tell you something, Murrill ; if you nominate one white man on that ticket, I would not give

that (snapping his fingers) for your life." You see, the bulldozers had heard that we were going to put up a ticket which would bring the better element of the white people to that ticket. He said, "Let that ticket stand just as they made it." He said, "By God, I tell you for your own good, if you put a single white man on that ticket, we shall hold you personally responsible; for you can put a stop to this thing if you choose." I said, "I am not the people; I am not the convention." He said, "You need not try any evasions; we shall hold you personally responsible; if that convention to-morrow puts one white man on the ticket, I would not give that for your life" (again snapping his fingers).

I went and had a conversation with Governor Hawkins, my colleague in the legislature. Said he, "This looks rather desperate. Here is one class of white men who say that they want this ticket; and here is another class who say that if we do put up this ticket it will be dangerous for us. We are between two fires, and it is hard to say what is best to do." The air was full of rumors. The statement had gone out that the bulldozers were coming, and the colored people were looking for them every minute. I said, "I shall not have anything to do with it. I will withdraw, and have nothing whatever to do with it." Then I went to Mr. Crandall, one of the members of the Democratic committee, and said, "Crandall, I am out of this fight. I do not propose to be killed for the sake of position. If the convention meets to-morrow and nominates a compromise ticket, do not hold me responsible."

The next day the colored men came into town there, but they did not meet—they did not hold any convention, did not nominate any ticket.

The consequence was, that on the 28th of November last, the 27th or 28th, I do not remember exactly which, they came in. When the cars came in, they came in a way that was something unusual. The cars stopped at the court-house, about three miles below the city, and these men got off, the first company, at the court-house, and established their camps at the court-house. It was Captain Tibbals, with a company of men from Washita Parish, Richland Parish, and Franklin Parish.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. How many?—About a hundred and twenty-five men, in the first company. We, up in town, knew that something unusual was up, for the cars hardly ever stopped at the court-house. We could hear the cars when they whistled and blowed down there, and we wondered what it all meant. An old colored man, who came up on the cars, when they came from the court-house to the town of Delta, came to me, very much scared, and said, "Murrill, the white folks at the court-house have all got guns; something is wrong!" Then I met Mr. Joseph, who is keeping a store in Delta. He testified here the other day, I believe, and he told me that they had brought the police jury in with them. It was the strangest thing in the world that they should bring in the police jury with them. They had been out in the parish and got the Republican police jury; at least, it was Republican in the main. We elected two Democrats on the police jury, and four Republicans. We always gave the Democrats a representation in the parish. For president of the police jury we elected a man who had always been looked upon as being a mild and conservative man. These men had him with them.

The law requires that before the police jury convenes, at least ten days' notice shall be given; and also that notice of elections and the places of holding elections shall be given thirty days before election, and that no changes of polling places shall be made within thirty days before election; and that the commissioners shall not be changed without thirty days'

notice. When these men came in they brought the police jury with them ; and they convened the police jury about five o'clock that afternoon. Nobody knew that the police jury was going to meet that day. Crandall and another of the leading Democrats there, who were not members of the police jury, stated that they wanted the polling places changed. So the polling places were changed. Then they changed commissioners, and made my opponent one of the commissioners of election. When the election come off he came out with a larger majority than there pere voters in the entire parish ; that is the way they returned it. The police jury changed polling places in that meeting that night ; and they changed commissioners of election. When the police jury adjourned *sine die*, two of the colored members were to stay there until election. I asked one of them what he came in for. "Come in," said he, "they came and got me!" I said, "Did you vote for all they said?" He said, "Yes; we *got* to do it, I tell you."

The election was held on the 2d day of December. On the 11th the police jury changed polling places and changed commissioners. The Republicans always gave the Democrats a miuority representation ; we gave them one commissioner at each poll ; we published the polling places, and the people all knew where they were. They changed polling places, and made the police jury change commissioners of election. They made three Democrats commissioners of electiou and the clerk. They gave us no commissioner at all.

Q. Not in the entire parish?—A. No ; not in the entire parish ; they changed every polling place and every commissioner.

Q. How many commissioners were there at each polling place?—A. Three ; and one clerk. They made all three of the commissioners Democrats at each polling place ; they occasionally gave us Republicans a clerk ; but when they did give us a Republican clerk it was generally from that class of Republicans who had been controlled by and working with the Democrats all the time ; so that we might as well have had nothing at all.

Q. What followed next?—A. Two members of the police jury came over to Vicksburg that night. I said it is now only about three or four days to the election, and the people do not know where the polling places are, and do not know who the commissioners are. He said it was not necessary that they should know, for the Democrats were going to carry the election anyhow in that parish. After they did that they went to the stable of a man named Roletta, who keeps a stable in town, and pressed into service his horses and mules. They divided into squads of fifteen or twenty. One of the squads went out to the house of a colored mau named Charles King, near Tolulu, and gave him a good whipping ; made a good negro out of him, as they said. Then they went up to Milliken's Bend, on Saturday night ; Monday and Tuesday the election was. On Saturday night they went to Milliken's Bend. David Armstrong was at Milliken's Bend. They said he had been talking a deal too much ; he had said that men from other parishes had no business nor right interfering in the affairs of our parish. They say they went to give him a whipping ; but instead of whipping him they killed him. After the killing of Armstrong, here is what followed : As I said in my testimony yesterday, I was responsible for the statement that appeared in the Associated Press dispatches that three men had been killed, when it turned out that only one of them was killed. I will now state what followed next, so that you will see just how it got into the papers that Armstrong, Peck, and Brown were killed, when it turned out that Brown and Peck were not killed, but Armstrong was

killed. After Armstrong was killed about forty of the colored leaders in the parish went to Vicksburg—ran away. Those that didn't go to Vicksburg went into the woods and hid there; a great many, as many as one-fifth of all the colored people of the parish, were in the woods, and staid there three or four days, while the bulldozers went around whipping such as they could find that had taken any prominent part in politics.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What year are you talking about?—A. I am talking about the last general election in Louisiana in the fall of 1879. After they went to Milliken's Bend and killed this man Armstrong, the most of the leaders of our colored club, about forty in number, went to Vicksburg, while others went into the woods. Judge Price was over there; he is a colored lawyer, and was then candidate for district attorney of our district. They told him about the killing of Armstrong. They told him that Peck and Brown were also killed. I had left for New Orleans. I went down there for the purpose of seeing the governor and laying the facts before him, and finding out whether anything could be done. When I got to New Orleans, however, I did not see the governor; I changed my mind. I will tell you the reasons after a while. Here is a letter I received next day; it was brought me by the porter on a sleeping car running between Vicksburg and New Orleans. Judge Price says:

Dave Armstrong was hung at Maransas Sunday night. R. H. Brown was reported hung on Monday night. Peck was whipped and stretched Monday night. Both Whittens, Bill Johnson, John Hudson, William Allen, Bryant Moore, and twenty others were run off, and are now here in Vicksburg. Jim Smith, A. J. Smith, and others were run off; Bobé and Hawkins have gone to New Orleans. There are four of the bulldozers over here looking for me and Bobé to-day.

Our parish has been counted by over a thousand Democratic majority. Those fellows went to Bridewell's house and forced him to give up the tickets or be hung; he is here. We did not poll a hundred votes in the second ward. They counted three hundred and seventy-five.

It is terrible here. They are sworn to kill you and Bobé, so Milt. has just told me. You better stay in New Orleans.

PRICE.

P. S.—I hear they paid my house two visits.

The way that dispatch got into the papers, that Peck and Brown were killed, was this: when I got to New Orleans, of course the news of the condition of affairs in Madison Parish had reached the city, and the newspapers hunted me up to have an interview. I never allow newspaper men to interview me, because down there they do not report me correctly; I refused to say anything to anybody, except to the correspondent of the National Republican; I showed him Judge Price's letter to me, the original letter, and he copied Price's letter; and so it got into the papers and into the Associated Press dispatches that Armstrong and Peck and Brown were killed, when in reality Peck and Brown were not killed, though Armstrong was. I was very sorry that it happened as it did. One of the Democrats who was mixed up in the matter said to me: "Murrill, that dispatch sent off in regard to that letter Price wrote you has done the Democrats more good than anything that could have happened; after all the ado, Brown and Peck are not killed; and the contradiction has been sent all over the country, and the people will not believe anything now." I said to him, "Nevertheless, that does not cover up the murder of Armstrong; he is dead; those bulldozers killed him, and you will agree that that is not right." Yesterday one of the Senators asked of me a copy of the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley convention, held in Vicksburg last May by the white people of the Mississippi Valley and some of the colored people. I have, since

giving my evidence yesterday, procured a copy of the proceedings of that convention, which I will hand in as part of the testimony.

(The document referred to will be found in the appendix.)

Q. When and where was that convention held?—A. At Vicksburg, Miss., on the 5th and 6th of May, 1879.

Q. Were you a member of that convention?—A. I was a member of that convention. I desire to read to you a resolution which was adopted by that convention. The resolution to which I refer was a pledge made by the white people of the convention to the colored people, in which they said:

Resolved, That to this end the members of this convention pledge themselves to use whatever of power and influence they possess to protect the colored race against all dangers in respect to the fair expression of their wills at the polls, which they apprehend may result from fraud, intimidation, or bulldozing, on the part of the whites.

Of course that is an acknowledgment that the colored people *did* "apprehend" these things. The resolution goes on to say:

And as there can be no liberty of action without freedom of thought, they demand that all elections shall be fair and free, and that no repressive measures shall be employed by the colored people to deprive their own race in part of the fullest freedom in the exercise of the highest right of citizenship.

There was no sense in bringing that last remark in there, for I never knew or heard of the colored men in Louisiana attempting to deprive a colored man of the right to vote in any way he wanted to.

In this resolution, adopted by the white people at Vicksburg, they pledged themselves to give the colored people free and fair elections. That was in May. As soon as November came, in the parish at Madison, right across the river from Vicksburg, in sight of the people of Vicksburg, this bulldozing was carried on; and the white people of Vicksburg who claimed to have the interests of the colored people so much at heart, and the interests of the Mississippi Valley at heart, stood there and without lifting a hand allowed a reign of terror to be established in that parish, and allowed colored people to be run out of the parish, if they did not actually take part in the whippings and intimidations, simply in order to carry the local ticket and half the Democratic State ticket.

Q. How came those pledges to be made? Were there complaints in the convention of these cases of outrage?—A. Up to the time of this convention the colored people were leaving the Mississippi Valley in such large numbers that the white people deemed it proper to call a convention to see what could be done to put a stop to the exodus.

Q. They understood that the colored people were leaving on account of the bulldozing and outrages that were committed upon them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the resolution which you have read was in response to those complaints?—A. Yes, sir; they acknowledge, in one part of the resolutions, that the cause of the colored men leaving was this bulldozing; then they came around with a white-washing resolution, talking about the exodus being caused in part by incendiary parties fooling the colored people by promises of forty acres of land and a mule if they would go to Kansas. Why, that is all nonsense; you could not find a colored man in the most benighted part of the South to believe any such story as that. The negro is ignorant enough, thanks to the white man whose interest it has been to keep them so, but there are none of them so ignorant as that.

Q. Did you ever hear of any such inducements as that being offered to negroes?—A. Never. The first colored man who left our parish was

George Washington, a very wealthy colored man; he sold his land, and mules, and wagons, and other property at a great sacrifice, and went to Kansas. After he had been there awhile he wrote a letter back to Adolphus Prince, a colored field-hand in Madison Parish; he wrote that he was in a place called Wyandotte, Kans.; he advised Price to get out of Louisiana and come to Kansas. He said, "They do not kill negroes here for voting. I am living here as happy as a lark. You can buy land at from a dollar and a half to two dollars an acre." Then Adolphus Prince went out there, and sent back letters to his friends, telling them to come out to Kansas; then the colored men held a meeting, and those letters were read in that meeting. I went to that meeting. It was the better class of colored people that were leaving. I went out and made speeches against their going, and tried to reason with them. And then I found out one thing that was very peculiar—one thing that I would not have believed if I had not seen it—those who had been leading these colored people in political matters could not lead them any more when it came to this matter; the colored people would not pay any attention to them whatever.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. The political leaders of their own race?—A. Yes, sir; the political leaders of their own race. I had been leading them since the war, in a manner, but they would not trust me at all when it came to the exodus movement. This is the mysterious part of it. I never could understand it. I tried all I could to keep them from rushing off to Kansas; from selling everything they had at no matter what sacrifice, and going away into a country that they knew nothing about; but, Lord of Heavens, I might as well have been singing psalms to a dead mule!

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Have you ever heard of the organization to which the witness Adams referred to, which he says numbers ninety thousand colored men, who will not let a politician into it?—A. Yes, sir; there are fifteen thousand in the district in which I live; and they will not take a politician in.

Q. Wouldn't they take you in?—A. No, sir; they got the idea into their heads that we wanted them to stay there in order that they might vote for us. One of them said to me, "You want us to stay here in order to vote you into office."

Q. Have you changed your mind in reference to the propriety of colored people going to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir; since last December, I have changed my mind. When they came to my door, to the door of my own house, and committed such outrages, then I gave up all hope. As I said to one white man of the parish who knew me, "It is of no use talking; the best thing the negro can do now is to get out of the State and teach these white people a lesson." This thing of bulldozing from one parish to another, of whipping and murdering, has got to stop. Now I withdraw all I have ever said against leaving that country, and I pray God to forgive me for ever opposing the exodus. But I fear it is one of the sins that God will not forgive me for, in the last great day. After the way the negroes have been treated, the best thing they can do is to quietly get away in squads—as quietly as possible, and as soon as possible. I think they ought not to go to the same place in too large numbers. I should say a thousand to California, a thousand to Illinois, or wherever they can find comfortable homes—anywhere in God's world except Louisiana. After the pledges made by the white people of the

South in that convention, we thought, some of us—I thought at least—that it was best to try once more, and see whether the two races could not get along together in the South. The men who figured in that convention are the wealth and respectability of the Mississippi Valley; they are the aristocracy of Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, and other Southern States. In the face of their pledges, solemnly made in that convention, they looked on and saw us whipped and murdered, and driven from our homes; some of them undoubtedly helped to do it, or encouraged those who did it, and we do not propose to trust them again. It is the last time. Now we will take ourselves beyond their reach.

Q. How far is it from Madison Parish to the place where this convention was held?—A. The convention was held at Vicksburg, which is on the opposite side of the river from Madison Parish—right across the river, hardly a mile away.

Q. Is it the feeling generally that all confidence is lost? Is the feeling of desperation such as you expressed general among the colored men, or not?—A. Yes, sir. I will give you a few words from a speech from one of the leaders in the movement, in opposition to a speech of mine. He said: "Mr. Murrill comes and tells us that it is unwise to go to Kansas. Now, we remember that when Nicholls was nominated for governor, he said, in his speech at the Baton Rouge convention, that he would see that the negro got his rights and was afforded protection. When outrages were perpetrated under Republican rule, we were told that when the Democrats got possession of the State all that would be stopped. Now the Democrats have got possession of the State, has got the governor and State offices, and murders and outrages are worse than they were under Republican rule." That is what he said, and it is true. Governor Nicholls, the Democratic governor, and the Democratic legislature, have failed to protect us.

The legislature that has just adjourned has called a new constitutional convention. The colored people have great fears in regard to this constitutional convention. They fear that when this constitutional convention assembles it will pass such oppressive laws that the negroes cannot live in the State any longer. As has been well expressed by a witness who has been already on the stand, they are fleeing from the wrath to come. They remember that the white people passed a joint resolution, which was approved by the governor of the State and the presiding officers of both houses, and put upon the statute books of the State, pledging protection to the colored people; and on top of that, they allowed these outrages, but a few months after pledging to the colored people all the rights granted them under the amendments to the constitution—one of the bloodiest outrages that ever blotted the pages of history, blackened the soil of earth, or roused the wrath of heaven. It was not only allowed by them, but led by an organized force under the command a man who now, in consequence of that gigantic crime, represents Louisiana in the councils of this nation.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Whom do you mean?—A. J. Floyd King.

Q. What would be the effect on the exodus of the election of a Democratic President next fall?—A. Why, sir, if a Democratic President should be elected next fall, there would be such an increase in the exodus that what has already occurred would not be worth making any note of at all. And it would go on, and increase until there was not a negro left to tell the tale, in all the State of Louisiana. For they do actually

believe that if the Democrats get into power in the nation again, if they are not actually put back into slavery, they will pass such oppressive laws that we shall wish we were back in slavery. If the Democrats of the South want us to stay in the South, as they claim, it would be better for them to vote for a Republican.

Q. Then these people in Indiana, who are so terrified about a couple of hundred colored people coming into their State, will not be apt to gain anything in the way of keeping them out, by helping to elect a Democratic President?—A. No, sir; they wouldn't gain anything—not a thing.

Q. How can the exodus be stopped, in your judgment; or can it be stopped at all?—A. I do not think it can be stopped now, in Louisiana, for this reason: It has come to be a by-word with the colored people there that "you can't trust white folks." Every pledge the white people have ever made they have gone back on.

Q. That is what they believe, is it?—A. Yes, sir; that is what they really believe. After the Vicksburg convention there was a very good feeling among the colored people in the parish of Madison. It did, to a great extent, stop the exodus, for a while. The feeling was growing very pleasant between the two races. But right on top of that came these November and December outrages again.

Q. Even if the colored people are well treated in a certain parish, there is no security that the bulldozers from outlying parishes will not come in upon them?—A. Not at all. In some of the parishes of Louisiana there are very good white people; but the colored people look upon them as being accessories before and after the fact; because they all sit quietly and see these men come in from other parishes, and do not attempt to drive them out, or to protect the colored people against them.

Q. Is it customary, is it the rule, to borrow bulldozers, as it were, from adjacent counties, to arrange that these outrages shall be committed by men residing in other parishes, in order to avoid identification and shirk responsibility?—A. That is always in order, sir, especially just before elections.

Q. Have any bulldozers ever been sent into your parish from other parishes?—A. Yes, sir; that was what led to our holding that meeting to discuss the question of resisting these men who threatened to come into our parish. In 1873, I think it was, there was a row over in Vicksburg between the Republican officials and the Democrats; at that time it was reported that the negroes in Madison Parish were arming themselves to come over. No such thing was thought of. The report was that I, as colonel of a militia regiment (a regiment that had no arms!)—that I was bringing over my regiment, with the negroes of Warren Parish, to help take the city. This false report was telegraphed all over that region, and all over the United States, for aught I know; and thereupon the white people in the city of Yazoo, and every other city and town for seventy-five or a hundred miles around, armed themselves and made ready to march at a moment's notice. Talk of our defending ourselves! Why, if a thousand colored men were armed, each with a good Winchester rifle, we might be able to stand back a crowd of bulldozers for a time, but what of it? The telegraphs to carry the news, and the railroads to bring the men, are in the hands of the white people; they would pour in upon us by thousands, and in twenty-four hours not a man of us would be left to tell the tale. That is what makes the colored people cowards.

Q. That is why it is impossible for the colored people to defend themselves—because all the surrounding country, and the methods of transportation, are in the hands of the whites?—A. Yes, sir; and the arms.

The white people of the State of Louisiana have a better standing army to-day, they are better armed and equipped to-day, than ever before since Louisiana has been a State.

By Mr. BLAIRE :

Q. Do you mean that they are as well armed and disciplined as during the war?—A. More and better; they have got more guns to-day than when the war was raging; if you don't believe it, you can go down there, and then you will believe it.

Q. How do you account for that?—A. They have got rifle companies, officered in due form, with captains and lieutenants—

Q. I mean, what do they want of this standing army? For what purpose is it organized?—A. To preserve and defend the State, they say.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Are the arms furnished by the State?—A. They are furnished by the government of the United States to the State, and the State furnishes them to the companies; that is, to the State militia. And there are more outside the State militia than there are of the State militia.

Q. What is this general arming of the white people for—to enforce these outrages at the ballot-box, or in view of possible complications with the general government?—A. In order to carry out their devilishness whenever they want to, whether against the general government or the colored people. They are funny people, down there in Louisiana; as I heard one of them say once, they believe in preparing for war in time of peace. They are thoroughly armed and equipped. There is not a store in the parish in which I live that has not a breech-loading Springfield rifle or a Winchester rifle, or some other first class gun; and many of them more than one.

Q. Whom do they expect to fight with these weapons?—A. That depends upon the demands of the occasion. Whenever they want to put a negro down, they generally put him down; whenever they want to carry a largely Republican parish for the Democratic ticket, they take their guns and go in and carry it. If they can carry it without whipping somebody or killing somebody, they do it; if somebody has to be whipped or killed in order to carry it, the whipping and killing is done. That is a matter of record.

Q. What is the condition of the colored people through the State as to making a living?—A. Well, sir, the colored people of Louisiana can make a very good living in time of peace; up to the time of this exodus they were many of them making an excellent living.

Q. Do you think that they would stay there if they could have peace and the enjoyment of their political and personal rights?—A. They have now no faith that any of their promises would be carried out.

Q. But if this just and kind treatment were to be carried out, do you still believe that it would be best for the negro to remain in the South?—A. I still believe that it would be best for the negro to remain in the South. The South is glory for the negro; it is heaven for the negro. He can make more money in the South than anywhere else; he can raise cotton, raise rice, raise sugar, corn, which he understands how to cultivate, and accumulate wealth. But, as I said before, it is impossible now to make a negro believe that he will be protected. Not all the lawyers in America can make them believe it. I have tried to convince them of that very thing, but their answer to me is, "That is too thin; that has been tried too often; we have got nothing for it; promises won't go down any more."

Q. How is it in the courts; have you any knowledge of that?—A. No, sir; I have not; I do not deal in the courts.

Q. You told us, I think, that you would give us the reason why you did not see the governor when you went to New Orleans?—A. When I went to New Orleans, from the fact that the constitutional convention had got Governor Nicholls out of power, a very bitter feeling existed between Governor Wiltz and Governor Nicholls. There was a faction in New Orleans calling themselves the Anti ring Party. I saw some of the Anti-ring leaders. They said to me, "It is of no use, Murrill; you cannot do anything; the election comes off to-morrow." I got to New Orleans on the 1st of December—on Monday, I think it was. At any rate the next day was election day. They said to me, "Nothing can be done now; to-morrow is election day." There were some things said which I do not care to mention as the reason why I did not go and see Governor Nicholls.

Q. Do you know of anything more that would tend to throw light on this question?—A. I want to state this. While we were discussing this question of leaving Louisiana as a cure for the evils that we suffered under there, one colored man, whom we had always looked upon as an ignorant man, made this statement as a reason why we should leave Louisiana; because from 1866 to 1875 there had been killed in Louisiana 2,141 black men, for political reasons, simply because they were Republicans and differed from the Democratic party; that there had been wounded during the same time and for the same reason 2,115, making a total of 4,256 killed and wounded; that is, from 1866 to 1875. In this estimate—I should not say estimate, for these statistics were the result of actual count of the lives lost in various massacres and murders—was not included the murders in Tensas and Ouachita Parishes; the killing of Dr. Dingree in 1876; nor of Eton Lockwood, in Concordia Parish, in 1878, at the last Congressional election; nor of Hyams Wilson, nor Wash. Ellis, nor John Robinson, nor Charles Carroll, all in the parish of Concordia; nor of seventy-five others; nor yet those in Tensas Parish in 1878; nor of Doctor Smith; nor of William Hunter; nor David Armstrong. The last of which I have spoken was that of those killed simply between 1866 and 1875.

Q. About how many were killed in Tensas Parish at the last election?—A. At the last election—the very last election—about seventy-five; some say one hundred and twenty five, but it was, at the very least calculation, seventy-five.

Q. Since 1875, the last year included in that estimate of which you have spoken, is it true, or not, that a general system of outrage has been carried on, continuing all the time, in some part of the State?—A. Yes, sir; ever since the colored men have had a right to vote.

Q. How do the people of the South—the Democrats—generally regard the right to vote?—A. I have had leading, intelligent Democrats say to me that no negro had a right to vote; that it was a damned outrage; that they were ignorant, and had no right to vote. I think this is the opinion of the most of the white people. Since this exodus has commenced, and gone on until it begins to look as though it would cut down the Congressional representation of the South, unless the census takers just appointed can manage in some way to keep up the population, they begin to think that the negro ought to vote. They did not want to lose their representation in Congress.

Q. During the days of slavery, the white people of the South owned the negroes, and of course owned the avails of their labor; do they still regard this as their right—merely their right—of which they have been

robbed, and which they may regain as best they can, or not?—A. I can illustrate that in no better way than by saying what a Democrat said to me on one occasion, some time ago, "If ever we get possession of the national government we will get pay for the negroes we have lost; they had no right to come in and rob us of our property that we had worked hard for."

Q. Do you not think that they actually believe they have been wronged, and that if by cheating they can get the avails of negro labor, they will get only what they have a right to?—A. Yes, sir; I have no doubt that is the way they look at it.

Q. They do not regard it as wrong, as they would to cheat a white man, or prevent him from even the avails of his labor?—A. No, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Mr. Murrill, where were you born?—A. In Louisiana.

Q. How old are you?—A. Thirty-three years last February.

Q. How long have you been a member of the legislature?—A. From 1872 to 1876; in 1876 I did not run; I was re-elected in 1878, and served till this year. The year I didn't run for the legislature I was appointed to office by Governor Nicholls as inspector of weights and measures.

Q. You are in office now, are you not?—A. Not in any State office; I am in a Federal office.

Q. You have not been out of office for a single hour since 1872, have you?—A. Yes, sir; I have been out of office for a single hour.

Q. How many hours?—A. I have been out of office; but it is a fact that as a general rule I have been in office since 1872.

Q. And still you think that Louisiana is a bad country for negroes to get their rights?—A. Yes, sir; it is a bad country for negroes to get their rights when these bulldozers come into a place.

Q. Well, you have not been bulldozed out of an office for the last eight years. How many times have you been elected to the legislature?—A. I will answer the first question first; I was never bulldozed out of office until last December.

Q. But you were bulldozed into another one, at the hands of the Federal Government?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many times have you been elected to the legislature, in this God forsaken country, where a colored man has no rights?—A. I was first elected in 1872.

Q. That is once.—A. I was elected again in 1874.

Q. That is twice.—A. I was elected again in 1878.

Q. That is three times. When again?—A. That is all.

Q. You have served in the legislature three terms?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was appointed by Governor Nicholls to what position?—A. Inspector of weights and measures.

Q. What position do you hold now?—A. A petty position in the custom house.

Q. You have held five offices in eight years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And still, you think, and conscientiously say on oath, that Louisiana is a bad country for a negro to get his rights?—A. Yes, sir; I think, and conscientiously say on oath, that any country where white men go around whipping and killing negroes, is a bad country for a negro to get his rights in. And that is the general feeling, and that is the reason why they have pretty much all concluded to leave.

Q. I am not speaking of the rest now, I am asking about you.—A. Very well; I only spoke of others because I have felt the public pulse, and know how they beat. I am ready to answer any questions you may ask me, individually or collectively.

Q. Just now I am wanting to see how badly you have suffered yourself; so I will take you individually, for the present. What is the position you hold now?—A. I hold a post as night officer in the custom-house.

Q. How much are you paid?—A. Fifty dollars a month.

Q. That is six hundred dollars a year?—A. Yes, sir; six hundred dollars a year.

Q. You are now thirty-three years of age?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At twenty-five years of age you commenced holding office, and have been holding office ever since?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, in regard to some other points. You live in Madison Parish, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you not state to Mr. Burns here, or to some other gentleman in his presence, that you expected to come to Congress next year; or soon?—A. O, no.

Q. Did you not speak about being a candidate for Congress?—A. I may have done that; but I did not say that I expected to come to Congress.

Q. Do you expect to come to Congress?—A. I do not.

Q. Then why are you talking about it?—A. I suppose I can talk about what I please.

Q. Yes, sir; and swear what you please, too.—A. I shall not swear anything but the truth; I do not take oath on falsehood.

Q. But if you talk what is false, are you not aware that it tends to give rise to a little suspicion as to what you say on oath?—A. I do not remember saying to any gentleman those words.

Q. Mr. Murrill, did you ever see that gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know this gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Colonel Baxter, of Texas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been here?—A. Since about Friday week.

Q. Since you came here did you not meet these three gentlemen, and perhaps another, in the rotunda and tell them that you wanted to see me?—A. Yes, sir; I did. And I will tell you why. I had a speech in my pocket that you had delivered in regard to the fresco on the wall there. I stated to those gentlemen that I had in my possession a speech which I considered one of the best I had ever read; and I said I would like an introduction to Senator Voorhees, for I considered him a very able man, although we differed in politics.

Q. Did you not state, in the course of that conversation, that you were opposed to this exodus and would like to give me some points upon which I might draw you out?—A. No, sir; I did not say that. I said that I *was* opposed to this exodus up to a recent time.

Q. Did you not tell them that you were opposed to this exodus *now*?—A. No, sir; not *now*.

Q. Did you not tell them that you wanted to give me some points on which to draw you out?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you quite sure of that?—A. I am quite sure of that.

Q. Then you were joking, or blowing, or whatever I may call it without giving offense, when you were talking about being a candidate for Congress this fall?—A. I do not remember saying anything about that. I may have said something on the subject in a joking manner, but I do not remember it now.

Q. Do you not remember talking on that subject?—A. I do not remember even speaking on the subject at all.

Q. Did you not tell Mr. Burns here when you were going to get your

check cashed that you intended to be a candidate for Congressman ?—
A. I do not remember it.

Q. If you did say it you were simply "gassing;" is that it ?—A. If I said such a thing as that I may have meant it; but I don't remember saying it.

Q. Did you not also say that you stood well with the white people down there, and did not like to see the State and community slandered ?—A. I said nothing about "slandering." I said I stood well with the white people of that community; and I say so now. I stand well except with the bulldozing portion of them.

Q. You live in Madison Parish ?—A. No, sir; not now—not since they run me away.

Q. Since you got a position elsewhere ?—A. I said since they run me away.

Q. It is a pretty good thing to be run away into a Federal office, is it not ?—A. The men that run me away did not give me a Federal office.

Q. Were you a member of the Kellogg legislature, so called ?—A. No, sir; that is the legislature that I was not a member of.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Raby ?—A. George T. Raby ?

Q. Yes.—A. I am slightly acquainted with him.

Q. He edits a paper in New Orleans; what is the name of his paper ?—A. It is the New Orleans Observer.

Q. How does he stand down there ?—A. How do you mean; politically ?

Q. I mean as an individual.—A. He stands pretty well in New Orleans, where he lives, so far as I know. I have not been in New Orleans very much. I know they elected him to the emigration convention held there in New Orleans.

Q. Did you not tell Mr. Burns that about three days before you came up here, Governor Pinchback cowhided him on the streets of New Orleans, and that nobody would believe him under oath ?—A. O, no, sir; I did not say that. I did not suppose that private conversation I had with Mr. Burns would come up here in committee.

Q. I pr. same not.—A. I said that Governor Pinchback had caned Raby on the street in regard to an article that he had written in which he said that he would not believe him under oath. This article appeared in his paper; afterward Pinchback met Raby on the street and caned him.

Q. Did you not say, yourself, that you would not believe Raby under oath ?—A. No, sir, I could not; because I always regarded him as a gentleman, and a man of truth.

Q. You spoke something of Henry Adams' Association, into which they refused to admit politicians.—A. Pardon me, I did not name Mr. Adams; I said there was an association of that kind.

Q. Do you know Mr. Adams ?—A. Somewhat; I have known him for the last twelve months.

Q. Do you know of his having an association ?—A. I know of an association of that kind, said to have its headquarters in that part of the country.

Q. And you are too much of a politician to get into it ?—A. Well, they never did let me into it, that is a fact. It seems to be a sort of Christian association; I think a Baptist association; the most of them that belong to it are Baptists, I understand; I am not a Baptist; I don't belong to the Baptist Church, and never did, and don't suppose I ever will. But four-fifths of the colored people down there are Baptists.

Q. Do you mean to be understood as saying that the Hon. J. Floyd King, of the House of Representatives here, was the leader of the bulldozers?—A. I mean to say that the Hon. J. Ross Stewart, of Tensas Parish, told me that Gen. J. Floyd King, as acting commanding general of the fifth district, led the bulldozers that came into his parish—the parish of Tensas.

Q. You say that the people of Louisiana have a military organization equal, if not superior, to anything they ever had before, even during the war of the rebellion?—A. Yes, sir; I say that the people of Louisiana are better armed and equipped to-day than ever before, to my knowledge, since it has been a State. First, there are the militia, organized under the constitution and law of the State; second, there are the “regulators,” as they are called.

Q. You say that you, yourself, have been an active politician, and your record shows such to have been the case; you were elected to the legislature in 1872, 1874, and 1878; and during the term of the legislature when you were not in that body, Governor Nicholls appointed you inspector of weights and measures?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you have had no trouble in your parish until recently; this last year the trouble commenced?—A. This last year we have had trouble.

Q. You had no trouble until then?—A. We had no trouble in that parish; but in the adjoining parishes they had.

Q. I am speaking of your own parish; in your parish you had no trouble until last fall—no bulldozing, killing, whipping, or anything of that kind?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. And that is the way you came to be elected to office—because you happened to live in a parish that had never been visited by bulldozers?—A. Yes, sir; and I would have been a member of the legislature this time, but for the bulldozing in that parish.

Q. What has been the Republican majority in that parish, during these years—before the bulldozers came in?—A. Twenty-five or twenty-six hundred majority, or a fraction over that.

Q. How many votes did the Democrats have?—A. About 255; for years there has been over 255; the Democrats never have polled, have never been able to poll, four hundred votes in that parish since the war.

Q. Then up to this last year it has not been a bad place for a Republican colored man to live, in Madison Parish, Louisiana?—A. Of course not; it would not be a bad place for us anywhere in Louisiana if the bulldozers would let us alone.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. You say there is no hope for the negro down there, and that they ought not to stay; when do you propose to start yourself?—A. I do not propose to start.

Q. Do you not expect to leave also yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you not expect to go to Kansas?—A. No, sir; nor to Indiana either.

Q. Have you got your place picked out?—A. No, sir; but I shall not go to the coal regions. If I go at all, it will be to California, or somewhere.

Q. You expect to leave Louisiana?—A. In time; whenever I feel like it.

Q. You will not probably feel like it, so long as you hold your posi-

tion in the New Orleans custom-house?—A. I do not expect to hold that position long.

Q. Not longer than the 4th of next March, I suppose?—A. If the Democrats should happen to carry the next election, I shall have plenty of company in leaving Louisiana, I can assure you.

By Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Do you own any property in the parish where you did live?—A. I have sold pretty much all, and I am trying to sell what little is left.

Q. You never expect to return there to reside?—A. No, sir.

Q. Should you have remained there except for this violence?—A. Yes, sir; I should have made it my home for the balance of my days.

Q. Then, by this process, you have been really driven away from the place which you had selected as a home, where you expected to spend your life?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any property in New Orleans?—A. A little.

Q. Have you any property there except what was derived from the sale of that which you abandoned?—A. Yes, sir; a little. I manage to support myself independent of office; I can live without office.

Q. You expect very soon to go out of the State?—A. Yes, sir; before long.

Q. You would not have had this office in New Orleans but for the fact that you had been expatriated from your home?—A. No, sir; I am very sorry that my conversation with these gentlemen has been misrepresented and misinterpreted; they have gone to work and fixed it up to suit themselves. When I said I wanted to get acquainted with Senator Voorhees, it was not—

The CHAIRMAN. O, never mind about that, there has been no harm done.

The WITNESS. But there *is* harm done. It has been made to appear here that I have attempted to scandalize Mr. Raby; that I said nobody would believe him under oath. What I said was, that Raby charged Pinchback with that. Raby and myself do not agree in regard to politics, but personally we are friends. I do not know anything against him as a man. I would not make such an assertion as that unless I was ready to back it. I am very sorry, however, that I ever said anything about the trouble between him and Mr. Pinchback, even in private conversation.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. FOSTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 3, 1880.*

Col. JAMES M. FOSTER sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Colonel Foster, where is your residence?—Answer. Shreveport, Louisiana, parish of Caddo.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. About thirty-seven or thirty-eight years.

Q. What has been your occupation there?—A. That of planting, before and since the war.

Q. You planted with slave labor before the war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What labor supply have you had since the war?—A. From freed-men, as they are known in that country; negro labor mainly.

Q. What per cent. or proportion of your people that you had before

the war have remained with you since?—A. With me personally, do you mean?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. But a very small per cent. of them; they all broke up immediately after the surrender and became scattered; some of them returned and some did not; I have been supplied mainly from others.

Q. Others in that vicinity?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many people do you hire on your plantation?—A. My brother and myself plant both on the river and in the hills on the river near Shreveport, and in the hills lying back fifteen or twenty miles from the river. On the plantation on the river we employ from three hundred to four hundred working hands.

Q. Will you state somewhat in detail your system of working?—A. We have several ways of working, just to suit the laborers. A good many of the hands on our place own their own mules; we let them have the land for a three-fourths interest in the crop, we retaining one-fourth for the use of the land, paying taxes, furnishing houses, wood, &c. We also keep up the plantation, gin-house, &c. That is one way. Another way is to give them one half the crop, and retain the other half for the use of the land. In this case we furnish everything except the food of the laborer. Another way is to hire men for wages. When we hire in that way, we pay as high as fifteen dollars a month—one-half at the end of every month, and the other half when the crop is made, not gathered. In every case we furnish house room, wood, water, &c.

Q. When you pay fifteen dollars a month do you furnish house-room, rations, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, board and lodging?—A. Certainly.

Q. For themselves and families?—A. No; for the working hands themselves.

Q. If the families get anything outside of that they pay for it?—A. Of course.

Q. Do the women and the partly grown children get employment also?—A. Yes, sir; anybody that can work or that will work can get employment.

Q. Is there any trouble about sober and industrious men, women, or children getting employment if they desire it?—A. None in the world. There is a great demand for labor, and generally a scarcity of it. They can get employment anywhere.

Q. Do you mean to say, then, an industrious colored man can lay up money in Louisiana?—A. I mean to say this, that an industrious colored man can lay up money on the Red River and not work more than half the time.

Q. What obstruction is there, if there is any, to a negro laborer getting along as well there as laboring people generally in other parts of the world?—A. I think they can do better than in any other part of the country. And then, as to climate and soil, there is no comparison. They are adapted to the country and climate; they are healthy on the river bottoms, the malaria does not affect them as it does white people.

Q. Are the wages you have been paying—fifteen dollars a month, with house room and fire-wood and rations—the customary price of labor in that part of Louisiana?—A. From twelve to fifteen; a good many planters in our part of the State pay only twelve dollars.

Q. Do you know a man by the name Henry Adams, from that parish?—A. I do, sir.

Q. What is his standing in that community?—A. Well, Adams is a sort of politician there, I think. He has had a good deal to do with

politics in the country. I suppose he labors some on a plantation sometimes; I think he has worked on my plantation.

Q. Politicians, white or black, are not a success as laborers on a farm, are they?—A. They are not very desirable, as a general rule. Adams, I believe, is a pretty good cotton-picker. In the fall some of them make two or three dollars a day. That is a business in which they can utilize the labor of the larger children; those ten years old and upward.

Q. And the women folks?—A. Yes, sir; almost anybody can pick cotton.

Q. Since this investigation commenced it has been advised here, or I have read, I am not certain which, something about somebody who had left your place and gone to Kansas, and had become dissatisfied with Kansas and returned. Please state whether you have had any experience of the sort; and, if so, what it was, and how extensive.—A. Last spring, the spring of 1879, there was considerable feeling in our section in regard to going to Kansas; I think more on this plantation than anywhere else, notwithstanding they were doing well there. They partly quit work. I insisted on their working out their contracts—starting their crops. The end of the whole matter at that time was, that but one man left. I refused to give him rations, and he left. I insisted on their remaining till fall, till the crops were gathered, and I told them that as soon as the crops were gathered I would afford them every facility for packing up and getting away. This arrangement was mutually agreed upon. About the last of December, 1879, about eleven families left that plantation, the largest number that left any plantation in Northwestern Louisiana. It is called the Liberia plantation.

Q. Eleven families left, you say?—A. Yes, sir; making thirty working hands, and between fifty and seventy-five persons in all. I believe it was not more than two weeks before I got a dispatch from one of the men, asking me to help him get back. In a few days more I commenced receiving letters, and that went on until I had received fifteen or twenty letters on the same subject. In the end, to make a long story short, four of the families returned; they were able to get back. The heads of all of these families are present here in this room at this moment. Three more have asked me to help them return, and one of them has written me that he is coming back. He has not come back yet, however.

Q. That makes eight out of eleven families that have come back or are about coming back?—A. Yes, sir; eight out of eleven families. The other three I have not heard from directly; the other three I think bought land there.

Q. Four of the eight have already returned?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And three others have asked for assistance to get back?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you be able or willing to furnish them assistance?—A. I had plenty of labor, and I did not feel like advancing the money necessary to bring them. One of them I thought of helping, but he did not want to come as I wanted him to. He wanted to hire a car to bring his mules and wagons. I wrote him that if he would sell them up there I would advance him the balance of the money necessary to bring him back. These negotiations are necessarily slow. They have been going on since about the 1st of February.

Q. Have you talked with any of these men, and learned what reason they assign for desiring to return to you?—A. I have talked with some of them; I never talked with them much before they went away, because it would have been of no use; they were bound on going.

Q. I speak of the reasons they assigned for coming back—not for go-

ing off.—A. They say that they met with great hardships up there; that it was too cold for them; the seasons up there do not suit them; they do not know how to raise the crops they have up there; as they express it, some of them, they could not make a living up there. From their standpoint, from the way of working that they had been accustomed to, I do not suppose they could.

Q. Who are the men that returned from Kansas who are here now?—A. Henderson Alexander and Wash. Walker.

Q. You spoke about the three remaining families, that you had not heard from, having plenty of money; that they had bought places there in Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did they get plenty of money?—A. They made it on the plantation.

Q. Do you know anything of any disturbance that the Democrats have been engaged in, such as he spoke of here?—A. I did not hear his testimony; I never have read it, only fragments of it, as reported in the Associated Press dispatches.

Q. What outbreaks, if any, took place in Caddo Parish last year?—A. In 1878, I believe it was, was the Caledonia riot; at the election in the fall of 1878. I do not remember any troubles there in 1879.

Q. There were no troubles there in 1879?—A. I cannot call to mind any.

Q. Were such people as plantation laborers engaged in the Caledonia riot?—A. The plantation laborers got involved in this way: Perhaps the politicians were at the head of it, as there are politicians generally at all these polls. The deputy sheriff, whose official duty it was to preserve the peace, got information that the negroes had armed, or were arming. There were but few white people at Caledonia; there was a number of large plantations around there, and the population consists mostly of negroes. The sheriff got information that there were arms in certain houses, and went there, in his official capacity, to inquire into it—or started to go, and a posse with him, when they were fired on.

Q. By whom?—A. By the negroes in the house.

Q. Was that proved on trial?—A. Yes, sir; I was not present at the time; but that was the evidence of the deputy sheriff, and those with him. A man named McNeill was shot. While on this subject I would like to state, in regard to the colored men who went to Kansas from my plantation, that the two men who are here present carried off with them about fifteen hundred dollars in money.

Q. The families that left you?—A. The two men that are here present. The eleven families took off, as nearly as I can ascertain—I cannot state exactly, because they marketed their own produce to a considerable extent—they took off about seven thousand dollars in money and about three thousand dollar's worth of personal property; they took off some twenty head of mules, eight or ten wagons, &c.; that is what I mean by personal property. What with their families and their effects, there was quite a caravan of them, and they created quite a sensation when they passed through Shreveport. The total value of what they took with them, money, and personal property, could not have been less than ten thousand dollars. The negroes working on my plantation owned in their own right over a hundred head of mules. The most of them worked on the first system I spoke of.

Q. What profit could they make yearly working in that way?—A. Many of them made from five hundred to one thousand dollars a year. But they were pretty extravagant, and generally spent the most of it, otherwise they would have bought out all that country directly.

Q. There has been a good deal of talk here about white people cheating the colored people. I do not mean that anybody has said that you cheated your men.—A. O, I expect they would say that.

Q. There has been a great deal of talk of that kind in regard to others—in regard to the white people down there in general. Do you know of any system or practice by which the colored people are cheated out of their wages down there?—A. There is no such system; there cannot be. Here is the security against anything of that kind; the demand for labor down there is greater than the supply; and with the scarcity of labor, and the demand for labor, a planter who practiced any such system as that would soon lose his hands. Negroes can move like anybody else; when they are not properly used in one place they can go to another; they have gone off and left me, and left themselves in debt to me, before now.

Q. If they are not well used at one place they can go elsewhere?—A. Yes, sir. In fact, there has been a great deal of dissatisfaction about that very thing; sometimes one planter will hire another's labor in the midst of the season; and the negro will go off to a neighbor's place and get employment, and that stirs up bad feeling between the planters; they do not think that is right. A does not think it right that B should hire his labor—a laborer who has gone on and partly made his crop.

Q. Therefore you say that the employers, as a class, are moved by interest, if not moved by any better motive, to treat their laborers fairly?—A. If they do not do so they will lose their labor, and be the sufferers themselves. Somebody else will get the labor, and they will find themselves with crops on hand, and no means of caring for them.

Q. You spoke of a deputy sheriff that was shot, or shot at, upon the occasion of the riot to which you alluded; was he killed?—A. No, sir; he was not killed.

Q. What were his politics?—A. Republican.

Q. Was he a colored man or a white man?—A. A white man.

Q. Are the negroes in the majority in your neighborhood?—A. Yes, sir; largely in the majority there and all along the river. That is a river precinct.

Q. If there is anything in addition to what you have already said in regard to your labor system that you would like to say I would be glad to hear it.—A. I might say that the negroes generally do their own trading; they have their own mules; in many cases they market their own crops; in our place last season they marketed over six hundred bales of cotton.

Q. What was paid for that cotton to them?—A. The amount they realized for it?

Q. Yes, sir.—A. About thirty thousand dollars.

Q. They sold cotton to an amount that brought them in about thirty thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir; and outside of that I had settlements with them; I would sell the cotton, and give them an account of sales, and settle by giving them the amount due them.

Q. After they had marketed six hundred bales of cotton, bringing them in about thirty thousand dollars, you marketed some cotton in which they had a joint interest with you, and accounted to them for it?—A. Yes, sir. On that plantation, last season, they realized, in cash, somewhere between thirty and fifty thousand dollars.

Q. What year was that?—A. This past season—1879. Besides that they raised considerable corn.

Q. To what extent did they raise corn?—A. About one acre of corn to five acres of cotton.

Q. Was that more than they wanted for their own use?—A. They aimed to make what they wanted.

Q. To make their own bread?—A. Yes, sir; and to feed their stock.

Q. What stock?—A. Of all descriptions; principally their mules; and besides that, they own a good many cattle and hogs.

Q. Did they raise their own meat?—A. Not a sufficient supply; they had not the facilities. Some of them raise it, in the main.

Q. But they do not, as a rule, make their own pork?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nobody, in that region of country, make their own pork in full?—A. No, sir; we get our pork supply from the West.

Q. In that respect, the negro does as the white man does?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They have their cows for milk and butter?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They raise poultry?—A. Yes, sir. I might add that some of them own land.

Q. How about their being schooled—the people that are on your plantation?—A. They have a church on the plantation that is used also as a school-house; I pass it frequently, and see the school in session; I saw the school in session when I passed it the day I came away. They have public schools, and, I think, private schools; I know they are abundantly able to employ a private teacher, and a good one.

Q. Have you a system by which the teachers are supplied and paid by the public—out of the public funds?—A. Yes, sir, in the State. I am not well acquainted with particulars as to our parish especially.

Q. How many months in the year is school kept in your parish?—A. I cannot answer that exactly; I know the school is generally in session.

Q. The year round?—A. Mostly the year round; eight or ten months at least. I only observe it as I pass the school-house occasionally.

Q. Then the children are by no means denied an opportunity of obtaining an education?—A. O, no, sir. I do not mean to be understood as saying that the public school is kept open ten months in the year.

Q. Do they have any religious services?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there any restraint in the preaching?—A. No, sir.

Q. I think our friend Adams spoke about some of the colored people being required to forego some of the privileges of the Gospel?—A. I do not know anything about that. I know that some preachers came to that place from thirty miles away; they preach whenever they please and wherever they please. In fact, it disturbs me a good deal—not the preaching exactly, but the night services in the quarters, their praying and shouting and singing, and so on.

Q. Of course you must have some difficulties with your people in the courts sometimes?—A. Very rarely. I think I never had but one suit with a negro in all my life.

Q. And you have been planting how long?—A. I was raised there, partly, and have been on the plantation ever since.

Q. You have been planting over thirty years?—A. About thirty years.

Q. Do you know of any cases of men being denied their just rights in the courts on account of their being colored men?—A. I do not.

Q. Do they serve on juries?—A. O, yes, sir. I have served on juries with negroes.

Q. With negroes?—A. Yes, sir. There are negroes on most of the juries there.

Q. In the State courts?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have no Federal court?—A. We have in the State, but not up in that country.

Q. You have no separate Federal court for the north part of Louisiana?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you yourself have served on a jury with colored men?—A. Yes, sir; often.

Q. On the trial of what kind of cases?—A. Civil and criminal cases, both.

Q. On the trial of white men and colored men, both?—A. Let me see: Yes, sir; I have been on juries with both; on the trial of white men and colored men?

Q. Do colored men sometimes sit as jurors on the trial of white men for criminal offenses?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. And on the trial of each other?—A. Yes, sir; white men try colored men, and colored men try white men; the jury is generally mixed, no matter who is being tried.

Q. Are there any colored lawyers in your parish?—A. I do not know that there is a colored lawyer practicing there now.

Q. Do colored men go on the grand juries in your parish?—A. Yes, sir; often.

Q. And on the traverse juries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. If you know of any distinction that is made between colored men and white men, either in the trial of their rights, or in the selection of jurors, or in any other way, I would be glad if you would state it.—A. I do not know of any; I do not mingle in public affairs much; I have never been an officer—I never held an office in my life; I do not know of any distinction or injustice on the part of the white people of my section toward the colored people.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. Is Louisiana your native State?—A. No, sir; I was born in Alabama.

Q. How long have you resided in Louisiana?—A. Since 1842—thirty-eight years.

Q. As you are addressed by a military title, may I ask if you were in service during the war?—A. I was not; that title is gratuitous.

Q. It may be deserved, however. You now reside in Shreveport, I think you said?—A. I have been living in the vicinity of Shreveport about ten years.

Q. How long have you been on Red River?—A. The same length of time, about ten years.

Q. And all the time you have been on Red River you have been in the vicinity of Shreveport?—A. Yes; in the parish—Caddo Parish. I have resided about twenty-five miles from Shreveport, in what is known as the hill country, on the borders of Texas.

Q. Have you resided in the northwestern part of Louisiana ever since you have resided in the State?—A. With the exception of two or three years, I have.

Q. Your active business life has been chiefly spent there?—A. Yes.

Q. You are a planter?—A. Yes.

Q. How large an area of land do you and your brother—I believe you spoke of your brother as being in business with you—control?—A. Three of us together have some nine thousand acres or land on the river, and some hill land.

Q. Including the hill land, what would be the whole amount under your control?—A. We had about three thousand acres of hill land, but we have sold some of that to the colored people.

Q. Well, it would be about twelve thousand acres altogether, in round numbers, would it?—A. Yes.

Q. Is the great mass of land in Louisiana owned by planters, gentlemen like yourself?—A. Yes; the bulk of it is.

Q. About how many of these planters are there. I do not know that that is a very definite question; but what proportion of the valuable land, the land which is cultivated in your section of Louisiana, is owned by planters?—A. What proportion?

Q. Yes; of white men who conduct the business of planting on a large scale.—A. Well, some of the land is owned by merchants; I have not the statistics; it would only be guess work if I should give you figures. There are three classes of men who own the land; the planters own the majority; the merchants own some land that they have advanced on and got possession of.

Q. Taken by way of execution for debts?—A. Yes, sir; and the balance is owned by colored people.

Q. Is that balance a very small proportion of the whole?—A. Yes, sir; a small proportion.

Q. How is the population divided between the races; are there more white, or colored people in your parish?—A. There are more colored people in Caddo Parish than white people.

Q. What is the mathematical proportionment between the two races, should you judge?—A. I think that the colored proportion in that parish is something less than two to one.

Q. Nearly two colored men to one white man?—A. Yes; in the neighborhood of that.

Q. You are very thoroughly acquainted throughout the parish, I take it?—A. I cannot say that I am, because I have never been in any public position at all.

Q. But I do not mean that you have a personal acquaintance with all these people.—A. No; I know of more than I know personally.

Q. But you have had occasion to go through or over your parish and you know the lay of the land and the location of the people?—A. Some portions of the hill country I have been over, and some portions I have never been in.

Q. But you know its general characteristics?—A. Yes; I think I do.

Q. How many colored men do you personally know of who own land?—A. Well, it would take me some time, as I said before, to get at that; the proportion is very small, however.

Q. Do you suppose that one acre in a hundred is owned by colored people?—A. No; I do not think as much as that.

Q. One in a thousand acres?—A. Very likely as much as that—yes, more than that.

Q. Possibly one in a thousand, you say?—A. Yes; we have sold several hundred acres ourselves to colored people.

Q. During the last ten years, do you mean?—A. Mostly during the last five years.

Q. Have you known of sales made by others to colored people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many sales have you and your brother personally made to these people?—A. I think to six or seven families on our lands.

Q. You say seven families on the river lands; now what amount have you sold?—A. About forty acres to each.

Q. That would be about two hundred and eighty acres in all?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that is the amount of land to which the negroes have acquired title from you and your brother, out of the nine thousand acres, during and since the war?—A. Yes.

Q. In what amounts have these lands been conveyed?—A. About forty acres to a family, on the river; on the hills land is not worth as much, and they have bought from one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres.

Q. In what section of the country are these sales usually made?—A. In both; but the majority of sales have been made in the hill lands, because of their cheapness, and a family can buy more there than they can on the bottom lands.

Q. What was the price in the several purchases they made of forty acres each?—A. From fifteen to twenty dollars an acre.

Q. And they have been able to make purchases in the vicinity of six or eight hundred dollars?—A. I did not say that they have been able to do it.

Q. Well, this is what they have made?—A. Yes; but I think they can buy more.

Q. But as a matter of fact they have not bought more?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you noticed on the part of the colored people a desire to obtain lands, and come into possession of homesteads?—A. Some desire, of course, because I have sold them land.

Q. Yes, that must be so in the case of those who have obtained land of you; but have you observed generally an inclination amongst these people to become possessors of homes?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think the colored people as a race generally desire to own land, and are anxious to possess their own homes?—A. I do not think the colored race is very enterprising; that is, the majority of them. I do not think they make money enough, particularly in the hill country, to buy lands and pay for them.

Q. As the result of their labor and the way in which they spend its proceeds there seems to little left, but you attribute that result rather to their improvidence than to a lack of industry, do you not?—A. It is both a lack of industry and then an improvidence in spending what they make, either before or after they make it.

Q. For the whole period of time that has elapsed since the colored people in your vicinity were emancipated down to the present time, what has been the result of emancipation to the race; has the race improved or otherwise?—A. In what respect?

Q. In all respects socially, and in reference to their personal habits and their prospective condition; are they going up in the world or down in the world, or remaining about as they have been?—A. I think the habits of the freedmen are improving; they are getting more industrious and more economical; they are learning more and more that they have got to work for their living, and that they must provide something to live on.

Q. Taken as a whole, do you think they perform the actual amount of labor they did before emancipation?—A. O, no; I do not think half.

Q. You do not think they perform half the labor now that they formerly did?—A. I know they do not. I can illustrate that. I am satisfied that, on the plantation we own, I could work and make the same with one-half of slave labor—with one-half of the number that I now employ. I know that I could do that, because I know what I did make with slave labor, and I know what is produced now. It does not matter to me how many hands are employed, only so that they do not get in debt to me, and are able to pay what they owe me, and thus make something for themselves too. My view is, that to keep my labor I must make my planting a success to them as well as to me, for if I do not it will ultimately fail to be a success to me. And there is twice the amount

of labor on that plantation now, in proportion to the land cultivated, as there was before the war.

Q. That is, twice the number of hands?—A. Yes; three to four hundred hands out on the river would make ten bales of cotton to a hand, while now they do not make more than four to five.

Q. Would you find on each individual plantation as large a proportion of women and children before the war as you find now—that is, have the colored men more generally families?—A. I do not see much difference; they have families now and had then.

Q. Before the war had you a larger supply of laborers brought from Virginia and elsewhere; did you import more labor than you do now?—A. Well, there has been considerable labor brought from Virginia since the war—from Virginia and Alabama mainly.

Q. But it comes voluntarily now?—A. Certainly; the planters go on and get them; labor is scarce in that country since the war, and they go on and get them and induce them to emigrate.

Q. I got the impression from what I have heard that there is a larger demand for labor in your part of the South than generally exists in the South?—A. I do not know as to that.

Q. You spoke of going to other portions of the South and bringing their labor to Louisiana?—A. That is confined to the Red River country, principally, and in those States, perhaps, the land was poor and labor could thus be induced to migrate.

Q. The land is quite as fertile as in other portions of the South?—A. Yes; the lands are fertile and well adapted to the growing of cotton.

Q. What are the principal articles that enter into what you would call the necessaries of a colored man's family?—A. For subsistence, do you mean?

Q. Yes; what does he eat, and what does he wear?—A. A great many hands on my place buy their own provisions and clothing.

Q. Well, I meant to ask what the articles are that they need and generally use?—A. Corn meal, flour, sugar, coffee, bacon, &c.—mainly these.

Q. And this plantation of yours is how far from Shreveport?—A. From five to ten miles.

Q. There are several of them, then?—A. We call it one plantation.

Q. Do the lands join?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. These nine thousand acres, then, are substantially in one body?—A. Yes.

Q. But the location of the laborers is scattered here and there?—A. Yes; they are in settlements scattered about over the land for two or three miles.

Q. And the supplies that they consume are taken to these little villages or hamlets where the colored men reside?—A. Certainly.

Q. And they are brought there from Shreveport?—A. Yes; from Shreveport mainly.

Q. Through whose agency are the supplies furnished?—A. I advance to them when they are not able to supply themselves, but the majority of them do it themselves; they buy directly from the merchants in Shreveport; some of them have credit there and run annual accounts.

Q. Now, what grade of flour does the negro usually consume on your plantation?—A. I do not know about that; I only know that I see them hauling flour out there; they are like white people, and a little fastidious in taste, and many of them have as fine flour as others; they are their own judges about that.

Q. And you do not know particularly about that?—A. No, sir; I have not observed that particularly.

Q. Have you had occasion to furnish these supplies and to know what they have consumed?—A. Certainly; I do furnish some; I have furnished some flour, I suppose.

Q. At what price was the flour sold?—A. Of course I have two prices; I have, as I have said, established very recently a store of my own on the plantation.

Q. Well, wouldn't you give us the particulars in regard to the way this is done?—A. I have a young man who does all the buying and selling; I have not myself time to attend to that. I instruct him in his cash prices to sell at a little over the Shreveport prices so as to cover the cost price and carriage and leave a very small profit after that. In his credit prices, of course, we have more—I think about 25 per cent. on flour, or perhaps 30 to 35 per cent.

Q. More than for cash?—A. No; not in addition to the cash price, but that much over the cost price; of course when we sell for cash we have enough to cover the first cost, and the transportation.

Q. The transportation from Shreveport is by wagon, I suppose?—A. By wagon when the roads are not very bad, and at other times by the Bayou (which makes up into the river) by water; we send around in a few hours by a flat-boat.

Q. How long have you had this store?—A. Only since December.

Q. This last December?—A. Yes.

Q. And very little has been done as yet through your store?—A. We have just established it.

Q. Where they do not pay you a cash price your profit is twenty-five to thirty per cent. above the cost in Shreveport, you say?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, what is the cost of flour in Shreveport?—A. Well, as I said before, I am not very familiar with prices; I have a young man in the store who does all that business for me.

Q. You buy it, however?—A. Yes, sir; I have bought, but I do not keep the run of prices.

Q. It would come to you as a wholesale transaction?—A. Yes; I pay cash; I do not buy on credit. I think that flour is now about six dollars and a half to seven dollars a barrel in Shreveport—although I do not keep posted particularly on that.

Q. That is about what you pay?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know anything about what the colored people pay for flour that they purchase in Shreveport?—A. I do not know only this, that they can buy a single barrel of flour in Shreveport as cheaply as I can.

Q. You do not know to what extent they do it, however?—A. No; I know they buy a great deal.

Q. What does corn cost them in Shreveport?—A. I believe it is now from three dollars to three dollars and fifteen cents a barrel.

Q. What does it cost on the plantation?—A. As I have sold it through the store on twelve months' time?

Q. Is it on twelve months' time that you sell it?—A. Yes; whenever we get the crops ready for the market in the fall of the year.

Q. What would it amount to with the usual percentage of twenty-five to thirty per cent.?—A. Well, at that rate I would instruct my young man to sell it at four dollars a barrel.

Q. That would be thirty-three per cent.?—A. Well, we pay from three dollars to three dollars and twenty cents a barrel in Shreveport; it varies, of course, as freights advance or diminish from Saint Louis

or the west to Shreveport; and then there is the transportation and cost of carriage.

Q. Do you know anything of the quantity and of the various kinds of food that a colored family consisting, say, of a husband and wife and four or five children, consume in the course of a year?—A. Well, they can consume a great deal or they can do with a little.

Q. Have you not some idea of the average cost of it?—A. I can tell you what is necessary.

Q. But do you not know what they actually consume?—A. When they get it from me I can tell, but otherwise I cannot tell; I have no means of knowing.

Q. You have some families with five or six children, have you not?—A. Oh, yes; and some families with as many as ten or twelve children.

Q. Can you not tell us, approximately, what these families consume?—A. The rule I adopt is to advance them about two hundred pounds of meat a year, and meal in proportion, and, of course, to hands that get along well, and that I see have a good prospect, I advance also flour, sugar, coffee, and some clothing.

Q. Well, how have the accounts come out in the final settlement; how has the balance stood?—A. It has always stood in favor of the hands, as I stated a while ago; they marketed six hundred bales of cotton from our place, and their interest in that crop amounted to from thirty thousand to fifty thousand dollars in the aggregate.

Q. Can you not give it more closely than that?—A. I cannot; as I said some of them run up accounts in Shreveport.

Q. Well, take the accounts that are carried on wholly with yourself, the families that you deal with yourself. What was the net balance coming to the help?—A. I would have to have my books and go over them in order to answer that. You will understand that my books are kept by a young man I have on the plantation; he writes up the books and makes the settlements, and calculations on the crop. I get an account of sales and turn it over to him and credit the hands on the one-half or three-fourths system, as the case may be.

Q. How much do the hands earn on the plantation? I would like, if you can give it, to know about what the net balance was that was due to the hands who worked for you on your plantation?—A. Well, take the eleven families that went from my plantation to Kansas—I paid more attention to what they got, because since their return I have felt some curiosity to know how much money they started away with.

Q. I do not see how that will help me in the direction of my question. They took an aggregate of money that represented what they had saved since commanding their own wages; what I wanted to know is how much there was left upon your books as due to your labor at the close of last season when as you say the entire interest that they had in the crop was from thirty to fifty thousand dollars?—A. You will understand the impossibility of approximating to that when I tell you that we begin to work about the first of December, and just as soon as the gin-houses are put in operation (I have three gin-houses on my plantation, two of them being run by steam), we hire then from two to three hundred extra hands, and a great many of these laborers on plantations hire their own hands and settle with their own hands. For instance, a man will make thirty bales of cotton, and he will take out from that four or five bales; they are brought up to the gin-house and in a few hours ginned out, and he takes them to Shreveport. I will perhaps retain one, and he takes the other three and goes down to Shreveport, sells the cotton, and comes back and settles the balance he owes me;

this settlement is about the 10th of December, the picking begins in the latter part of August, and by the 1st of December the gins are started and then these settlements are made nearly every day with some one or other, and they run on through September, October, November, and December—four months. Now, I pay no attention to what they get in the aggregate except that I know how many bales of cotton each one has made, and I know what his account is. And as I said, in some cases I take part of the crop and sell it for the laborer, and settle with him. In another case one has reuted the land for so much money, and he will take the crop and go to town with the first installment of his crop, say, four to six bales, and come back and pay me the amount he owes me on the books. He will perhaps rent his land for so many bales of cotton, or so many acres of land for so much money; in either event he will take the crop and go to town, and I know that he will pay me, and if he does not pay me out of the proceeds of his first installment I know that there are other installments to come on of that crop; and in that way this settlement by different systems running through four months of the year makes it impossible for me to tell you how much each has received; I will state this, that I have paid them a good deal of money, several thousands of dollars in the aggregate.

Q. Can you give an explanation that will show us the profit that comes to the laborer as the result of his year's work? You have given us some idea of it when you say that few of them save anything; but you attribute that to their improvidence?—A. I do not say that few of them save anything.

Q. I understood you so to say.—A. No; on the contrary, they own three-fourths of the mules and wagons on the plantation.

Q. How many would that be?—A. Between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and seventy-five.

Q. How many hands, men, women, and children, are upon the plantation—these nine thousand acres, I mean?—A. But you must remember that only a small proportion of that is in cultivation.

Q. No; I did not understand that that was the case; but assuming that to be so, how many colored people have you of all classes upon the plantation?—A. In the aggregate from three to four hundred that go to the field and labor.

Q. And there would be in addition to these that labor in the fields, their children and those that were not able to labor?—A. Of course; some of them.

Q. But how many hands, men, women, and children, do you have on the plantation?—A. That labor in the field?

Q. No, the entire number as you would go to take a census of them? A. I estimate the number to be from nine to twelve hundred; this year it is more than it has ever been before.

Q. From nine to twelve hundred?—A. Yes.

Q. And they own one hundred and fifty mules?—A. No; I say there are from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five mules on the plantation.

Q. Well, how many do the negroes own?—About one hundred and twenty-five mules; I suppose three-fourths of them.

Q. What else do they own that is there on the plantation?—A. Stock, cattle, and a great many of them own milk cows.

Q. How many cows are owned by the negroes on this plantation?—A. I have no idea; I think one of these men who left had perhaps twenty to thirty cows when he went to Kansas, but he sold out his cattle; I saw him driving them to town.

Q. Was he one of the best examples?—A. I think he was a good average.

Q. Can you give us some idea as to how many cattle there are on the plantation that the negroes own?—A. Well, outside of the plantation the country is a wild swamp country, and the cattle do not run in the plantation at all; perhaps some of them do not see their cattle for three months; I have some that I have not seen for twelve months.

Q. I suppose it is difficult for them to identify the cattle that they do own?—A. No; they have a mark or brand; each individual can tell what he owns; but I cannot, because I have paid no attention to it.

Q. What do these cattle average in value?—A. Well, cattle are cheap; they are worth, I should think, from five to six or seven dollars a head.

Q. And the twenty head that this man had would be worth one hundred dollars in all?—A. Yes.

Q. You spoke of sheep?—A. Yes; but there are very few sheep in that country; they do not do well.

Q. How many sheep are on your plantation?—A. I do not think there was more than one man who had a flock of sheep on the place.

Q. How many colored men owned cattle on the plantation?—A. I could not tell you; that matter is just like the settlements of the accounts that I have been speaking of. I think a great many, perhaps a majority do; some of them own one or two or three milk cows, for instance.

Q. Exactly; is there any other property that they own excepting mules, cattle, and occasionally sheep?—A. Yes; hogs.

Q. Hogs; well, could you tell us anything about the value of the hogs that are owned by the colored people on the plantation?—A. They are not very valuable; they raise the black hog.

Q. And he just raises himself, and they kill him when he is fat enough; but he would not enter very much into an appraisal of the man's estate?—A. O, no.

Q. Is there any other property that you think of?—A. Well, mules and wagons and farming implements, plows, &c.

Q. How many wagons did you say were on the plantation?—A. Thirty or forty.

Q. Owned by colored people?—A. Yes.

Q. Take these wagons when new and what are they worth?—A. From fifty-five to seventy dollars in Shreveport.

Q. And a good wagon such as you used there would last how long?—A. Seven or eight years.

Q. And the colored men own on your plantation how many wagons did you say?—A. Thirty to forty.

Q. A large number that are used in doing the work of the plantation?—A. Yes; they possibly may own more wagons than I have named; very likely they do. We have a lot of wagons that we use, and several families have wagons of their own.

Q. Have you now enumerated all the property that the colored people that live on your plantation own?—A. In the aggregate?

Q. Well, what other property have they, any of them?—A. Nothing but what I have mentioned, except those few who have bought land.

Q. You say that seven have bought land of you on that plantation?—A. Yes.

Q. And you have sold some on the hills?—A. Yes, known as the upland.

Q. And the amount of land you have sold is some two hundred and eighty acres?—A. Yes, two hundred and eighty acres.

Q. And it was worth from —— ?—A. Fifteen to twenty dollars an acre ; that is, when it was sold. It is worth more since they have improved it.

Q. Now, you say that some of these colored people have saved a little money and might have saved more if they saw fit ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What becomes of the money these colored people have saved ; what do they do with it ?—A. Well, they have lived on it of course and some of them have added to their stock of mules ; and those that went off to Kansas, the majority of them, I suppose took their money with them and their mules. Those two men that carried off fifteen hundred dollars, I think spent pretty nearly all of it.

Q. You mean to say that some of the colored people save a little from year to year ?—A. They may have saved a little, but as a general thing I think they have spent their money.

Q. But you say some of them do save their money ?—A. Some of them do.

Q. With the exception, then, of those that went off and carried some money with them, do you know of any who during the last ten years have made any accumulation of money ?—A. Besides those that went off ?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, I should say that a good many of them have.

Q. What have they done with it ?—A. I think a good many who have saved money have been living on it the present year.

Q. Well, but what they have been living on the present year is not the proceeds of this year's work ?—A. I suppose they have spent it.

Q. But I want to know what their net accumulation is from year to year in order to find out, if possible, how fast and how far these colored people are getting rich. I am not now inquiring as to the causes of their becoming poor or remaining impoverished. You attribute it to one cause and they, as you perceive, attribute it to another ; what I want to get at is the fact how much they have actually saved and accumulated ?—A. In a series of years ?

Q. Yes ; on that plantation.—A. Well, you must understand this : when we bought that plantation there were nearly two hundred and fifty bales of cotton made on it the first year, and not more than one-eighth or one-sixth, or perhaps, one-seventh, the number of hands were at work that year that are on there now. We began ten years ago, and every year we have cleared other lands and added to them ; have built other houses and taken in other labor until we have worked it up to what it is now, some twenty-eight hundred acres, or I will say last year about twenty-two hundred acres of land. Some of these hands in the mean time have moved off ; changes are continually being made ; some old hands have gone and some are there now that we began with ; some that we have there now have only been there at work two or three years at a time. The place has been growing very rapidly every year, for the last four or five years particularly.

Q. Now, colonel, from your appearance and manner, and from the statements that you make, I judge that you are as friendly in your management of these people as most any one in your section. Let me ask you now if you believe that the colored people who inhabit your plantation have an aggregate of property, of all descriptions, amounting to ten thousand dollars ?—A. Ten thousand dollars in all ?

Q. Yes.—A. O, more than twice that ; the mules they own are worth that much alone.

Q. You think their mules are worth twenty thousand dollars ?—A. O, yes ; more than that, I am sure.

Q. Twenty-five thousand dollars, should you think?—A. Well, it is impossible for me, as I said before, to tell exactly how much.

Q. How much money do you think they have—they are not likely to have a great deal of money, are they?—A. O, yes, they have a good deal of money now; I am satisfied that some families have more than five hundred dollars each, now.

Q. But that was left over from last year, when you had an unusually good crop?—A. O, no; not particularly good last year.

Q. Well, an average crop, wasn't it?—A. Yes; it was an average crop.

Q. But, as I understood you, they are living on that money now and will not be likely to have much left at the end of the year; then there will perhaps be a little profit on next year's crop, on which they will have to live the following year, and so it goes, as I understand you; so that that does not leave them much ultimate accumulation, does it? And as a matter of fact in estimating the fixed capital they have accumulated during this series of years, you might as well disregard that which they have in their pockets for the purpose of living the year to come, and that which those who started to Kansas had in their pockets did not represent more than they would have eaten up if they had staid at home?—A. Well, that is about it.

Q. Now, do you think that the mules and wagons and cattle and hogs that these colored people own on your plantation would amount in their cash value to-day to more than twenty thousand dollars?—A. Well, perhaps they do not; and outside of the money they have, the aggregate would not be more than that sum.

Q. Well, from your knowledge of it, colonel, would you yourself feel willing to-day to pay more for their property than fifteen thousand dollars?—A. Of course, if I was going to buy, I would take an inventory in order to know exactly what I was buying.

Q. But from your present knowledge, you would not be willing to give more than that sum, would you?—A. Well, if they are all going to leave, of course I would not want the mules.

Q. Now, during these ten years that these people have been on your plantation—and you say there are now between nine hundred and twelve hundred of them of all classes, men, women, and children—you think they have been able to save between fifteen and twenty thousand dollars, and you say seven of them have purchased land, some forty acres each, which they now have in possession?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, colonel, in regard to these mules; if the colored man goes away, as these colored men did, of course they sell their mules, do they not?—A. Those that went to Kansas, with one or two exceptions, took their mules with them.

Q. And their wagons?—A. Yes, and their wagons.

Q. How did they carry them? Did they take them as freight to the river, or did they drive them all the way?—A. I think they drove them to Texarkana and shipped them on the railroad.

Q. What would their mules have sold for in open market at the time of year when they left?—A. At various prices; some of them were old, and not of much account. I suppose they would sell from fifty to a hundred dollars. I offered two hundred dollars myself for one pair.

Q. But that was an extra pair, I suppose?—A. Yes; it was the best pair among them.

Q. And I suppose the poorest mules that were worth keeping at all would bring very little?—A. Well, they would be worth, perhaps, fifty, sixty, or seventy dollars. The majority of them, I will say, however,

are good mules, and I should think were worth, on the average, one hundred dollars.

Q. Do you think anybody in Louisiana uses the colored people any better than you use yours?—A. O, yes; I expect a good many do; I think I am very rough with my people; at least, they will tell you so. I am very rigid in all my settlements. In all my settlements I always go for everything that belongs to me, if not for everything in sight.

Q. And others do the same?—A. Well, I take it for granted that nobody does any worse.

Q. That is, you are as good as any?—A. I do not claim to be any better.

Q. Well, you are as good as the average employer in Louisiana, are you not? You need not be overmodest about it, colonel.—A. I really do not know whether I am or not.

Q. Well, let me ask if you know of any planter in that vicinity with whom the colored people have come out any better than those who have had their dealings with you?—A. Well, I do not know that they have come out any better.

Q. Precisely; you must bear in mind, colonel, that all I am trying to arrive at is an exact knowledge, if I can, of the real circumstances of these people, and this question of motives and all that sort of thing I am not trying to draw inferences in regard to.—A. Certainly.

Q. You spoke of Mr. Adams. From what you say, you do not know much about politicians in Louisiana?—A. No; not a great deal.

Q. Have you taken any part in politics in Louisiana?—A. Not much; I have had very little to do with it.

Q. To what extent have you taken any part; have you taken no interest in preserving the reign of law and order there?—A. Well, that has always been my feeling, that I wanted law and order to prevail.

Q. Has there been any difficulty down there in keeping the colored people in a proper state of subjection and subordination to the laws?—A. Well, the courts are open.

Q. But you understood my question, colonel; has there been any difficulty in preserving order among the negro population down there; any attempts at insurrection or rebellion that had to be provided against?—A. Among the negroes, do you mean?

Q. Yes, certainly; any difficulties of that kind that you have observed?—A. I can't say that I have known any personally.

Q. You think them an aggressive, obstinate, bloodthirsty race, do you?—A. No; I do not regard them as a bloodthirsty race at all.

Q. To be a little more serious, let me ask, is there the slightest difficulty on the part of the white people, so far as the negro is concerned, in living on good terms with him, if there is a disposition to do so?—A. I think not; not in that parish; I think we can get along very well with the negro.

Q. You have never seen the time when you were yourself in any personal fear of the colored people, have you? I do not mean in a sense that implies cowardice, but any time when, as a sensible man, you had any reason to expect that the colored people contemplated doing you or your friends any harm?—A. Well, at times in some sections of the country, on the plantations, during great excitement in a political campaign, when the negroes were inflamed and excited by their negro political leaders, I have thought there was danger to our families there.

Q. Then you have apprehended danger in times of great political excitement?—A. Yes, sir; certainly.

Q. Can you mention specifically any such period?—A. Yes, sir; in 1878.

Q. The negroes were very much excited in that year?—A. Yes, sir; they were about that time in a state of great excitement.

Q. Were the white people excited any?—A. However, I only know this from hearsay. I was not present in the immediate locality of any such excitement. It was about twenty miles away from my neighborhood, in a place where I have some land interests.

Q. Where was it?—A. Down in what is known as the upland of Caddo.

Q. Was it in that place where the sheriff was shot?—A. Yes, sir; somewhere in that neighborhood.

Q. Do you know how that excitement originated?—A. Where?

Q. Down in the neighborhood you mentioned, some twenty miles from your residence?—A. In the hills, I mean; the hills there are what we call uplands; there are no mountains in that country.

Q. Well, that is immaterial. Do you know what that excitement grew out of?—A. I suppose it was the natural result of a political canvass. Both parties were struggling for the ascendancy; the negro leaders made speeches, and in them would advise their people that their rights were in danger, and likely to be taken away from them if they did not carry the day, and on several occasions they were armed—had arms at their meeting places, which they held on the plantations and at the cross-roads.

Q. Do you think at such times they contemplated making attacks upon the whites in any way except in self defense?—A. I do not think that the mass of the negroes did. When they are not excited I am sure they had no such thought; but they are a very excitable people, and can be led on by their leaders and brought into a state of great excitement over what the politicians call their wrongs.

Q. That is, their colored leaders?—A. Yes; their colored political leaders.

Q. You think that these colored leaders are trying to organize their race for the purpose of making attacks on the whites, do you?—A. I do not know that they do, that is, that they have any premeditated design of that kind. I will say that it is not always their colored leaders. I recollect one instance when Mr. Leonard, present United States district attorney, went to a little place called Spring Ridge, some twenty miles from Shreveport—

Q. Let me ask you right here, before you go further, did you ever know any white leaders of the colored people or colored leaders of the colored people suggesting to the colored population that they should do anything more than just enough to secure the right of voting at the polls? Did you ever hear of them proposing to organize for the purpose of preventing white people from voting as they saw fit to vote?—A. Well, I have heard of such things; yes. At Caledonia, for instance, it was the common talk that they intended to prevent the white people from voting.

Q. Did you believe it?—A. I did not know anything about it; it was out of my neighborhood.

Q. Did you ever hear of an instance where the colored people organized to attack the whites to prevent them from exercising their right of voting?—A. I cannot recollect any now; in fact, I do not believe I ever did.

Q. Then you think that all reports of that description are mere reports, and nothing else?—A. I do not know what reports you have ref-

erence to. I might analyze certain reports, and I do not know what I might think of them after I had analyzed them.

Q. But I understood you to state that you never knew of an instance where the colored people were organizing to inflict violence on the whites to prevent their exercise of the right of suffrage?—A. Yes; that is what I meant to state—not in that parish.

Q. Well, in any other parish?—A. I have heard, in some large negro parishes, where there are perhaps ten negroes to one white man, reports of that kind.

Q. But you do not know of any authentic instances yourself?—A. No, I do not.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. What was the result of the Caledonia riot?—A. A good many were killed.

Q. A good many negroes?—A. Yes.

Q. How many?—A. It has been variously estimated. I always thought the accounts in reference to the number killed were greatly exaggerated. I have talked with people who have lived in the immediate neighborhood who pretended to know how many and who were killed.

Q. Well, what is the best information you have as to the number that were killed in the Caledonia trouble?—A. I think, perhaps, half a dozen would cover the whole number, from all I could gather in reference to it.

Q. How many white people were killed?—A. I do not know that any white people were killed.

Q. Is not that the way usually—that negroes are killed in such encounters and the white people are not?—A. Yes; I think so; because after the first fire the negroes always run; they do not fight any after that.

Q. And the white people keep on killing them after they do run?—A. Well, after troubles of this kind start they get into the hands of men who have not the best interests of the country at heart, and others cannot control them after the thing starts; that is the great difficulty about it.

Q. You say that in Caddo Parish the negroes are two to one to the whites?—A. Something less than that.

Q. Well, that is the majority by the election returns, is it not?—A. Something less than that.

Q. What was the result of the election in 1878, after this negro riot?—A. The parish went Democratic.

Q. About how largely?—A. I do not remember.

Q. But a large majority, was it not?—A. I do not remember as to that. I cannot say how it was.

Q. How did it go last fall?—A. Let me see—what election was that? (Reflecting.) It was the election for members of the constitutional convention. I think that was the last election.

Q. How did it go?—A. Democratic.

Q. Do you remember about what majority?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you know anything of any agreement among the white planters or others not to employ Radical colored men—colored men who voted the Radical ticket?—A. Not lately.

Q. Do you know of any such agreement within a few years past?—A. I think a few years ago there was an agreement in some neighborhoods, signed by some planters. They did not all go into it.

Q. What the nature of that agreement?—A. The nature of that agreement was that they proposed not to employ negroes who voted the Radical ticket.

Q. So the negroes to get employment in those localities must not vote the Radical ticket?—A. Well, I do not think anybody ever thought of carrying that agreement out; as a matter of fact, they did not.

Q. Did you enter into that agreement?—A. No; I did not go into it.

Q. Did you say you had continuously three hundred laboring men on your place?—A. For how long a time?

Q. Say during the last year?—A. Yes.

Q. How many people in all did that number represent?—A. From nine hundred to twelve hundred people; at least, that is the case this year; we have increased our force this year.

Q. The cotton crop is really all they have to accumulate upon; the corn they raise they consume, I suppose?—A. Yes.

Q. All they have to sell is their cotton?—A. That is the crop that brings the money.

Q. And they sold from thirty to fifty thousand dollars worth of cotton last year?—A. It amounted to sixty thousand dollars.

Q. Assuming, then, that the average would be forty thousand dollars worth, these laboring men earned for that year forty thousand dollars?—A. Well, it is not all earned that year.

Q. Part of it belonged to another year?—A. To the previous year. For instance, there is the income on their mules that they work; there is an income on that investment.

Q. What would you say was a fair income on the whole for that year?—A. Twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars.

Q. Twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars; then these three hundred laboring men would earn one hundred dollars a piece?—A. Not the three hundred laboring men alone.

Q. Three hundred hands you said?—A. Three or four hundred hands that went to the field; that includes some women and children and boys.

Q. Well, these hands taken together made some thirty-five to fifty thousand dollars, and that would be say eighty to a hundred dollars a piece?—A. This would be after their expenses were deducted.

Q. No, after they sold the cotton; I do not include their living expenses.—A. Well, some of them had money that they lived on from last year.

Q. But the total receipts of last year's labor were twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars, and you say that some three hundred hands were engaged in producing this result. Now is it not fair to say that these three hundred hands earned twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars, out of the net profits of which they had to live?—A. Well, that does not state it; a good many of these hands would work for half, and against a good many of them I would have an account which represented their living expenses for the year, and that had to be deducted before they got any money; that represented their living expenses and had to be deducted.

Q. And others had to pay their expenses out of what they sold? This thirty thousand dollars that they sold is the money result to them?—A. That represents it in the main.

Q. Well, what else is there?—A. I say there is nothing else. By representing in the main, I mean this, that a portion of that perhaps was made the previous year and went into last year's work.

Q. So that the thirty thousand dollars would more than cover the year's result to them.

Redirect examination of witness by the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Did a man by the name of Wils Banks ever work for you ?—A. Yes; he was with me six or seven years.

Q. Was he a sort of leader of the families that went to Kansas ?—A. He took the largest family; I think there were about fifteen in his family.

Q. Has he applied to you to assist him to get back ?—A. Yes, sir; I got a telegram from Banks less than three weeks after he left, and since then I have been receiving letters continuously from him, or letters that were written for him; he cannot write himself. I have received several letters on his account.

Q. Does anybody in your country object to the negro owning laud ?—A. No, sir; on the contrary, thousands of acres of land are owned by these people, and white people are willing to sell to them, if they will only show an ability to pay and demonstrate that they can work sufficiently to pay for it. Land is very cheap.

Q. They would not sell to white people unless they showed a willingness or ability to pay for it, would they ?—A. Of course not.

Q. But they will sell to a black man as willingly as to a white man ?—A. Certainly. I sold lauds, some six hundred acres, for cash, just before I left home.

Q. Do you know of any reluctance on the part of your neighbors to do the same ?—A. None whatever. The colored people, a great many of them, have lands and want to get rid of them, because they are not able to own them.

Q. Speaking of the administration of justice, I have a little curiosity to know your experience about that, whether the negroes do not object more strenuously to being tried by their own people as jurors than they do to being tried by white men, when they are charged with crime ?—A. I have heard that about the court room, and lawyers talking about it, and it is the general expression that the negroes are harder on their own race than the white men were.

Q. So that they are more likely to punish each other severely than the white men are to punish them ?—A. Yes; I have heard of that often, at least a hundred times I reckon.

Q. Something was said about a riot in some place ?—A. Yes, in Caledonia.

Q. Yes; and the first man that was fired upon and hurt was the Republican deputy sheriff ?—A. Yes; and he was leading the *posse*.

Q. It did not seem to be much concerning politics, then ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Afterwards the white people rallied and the colored people ran and they got the worst of it ?—A. Yes, sir; and several were killed; I do not know how many.

Q. Did the deputy sheriff rally his forces pretty well ?—A. Well, yes; I believe he did.

Q. What was his name ?—A. McNeal.

Q. A pretty game fellow wasn't he ?—A. I do not know much about McNeal; he was shot early in the action and I reckon he did not rally much after that.

Q. Was he pretty badly hurt ?—A. He was at the time, although he did not receive any permanent injury.

Q. Do you know who succeeded him in command ?—A. No; I expect every man went on his own hook after that.

Mr. BLAIR. The running then was on both sides!

TESTIMONY OF HENDERSON ALEXANDER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 3, 1880.

HENDERSON ALEXANDER (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Question. State your name.—Answer. Henderson Alexander.

Q. Where do live ?—A. In Louisiana, on Mars' Jim Foster's place.

Q. In what parish ?—A. Bossier.

Q. How far from Shreveport ?—A. They call it four mile and a half to the place I live on.

Q. Mr. Alexander, how long have you lived in Louisiana ?—A. Ever since the s'render.

Q. Where did you live before the surrender ?—A. I lived in Texas, 'fore s'render.

Q. Did you belong to any one before the war and during the war, or were you your own man ?—A. No, sir; I belonged to a man—a white man.

Q. And you became free at the time of the surrender ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Where did you first go for employment, in Louisiana, after the surrender ?—A. Well, I went to Mrs. Cain's, on the river.

Q. How long have you been with the Fosters—with Colonel Foster and his brother ?—A. Ever since s'render. I lived with Mrs. Cain one year, and then with Mr. Simpson three years.

Q. And with the exception of that, you have been with him ever since the surrender ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, if you thought you would better your condition by going to Kansas tell us why and all about it.—A. Well, I always heard talk of Kansas as being a good place to go to, and I always 'cluded I would go there, I heard so much talk of it; they said it was a good place, a good country, and I 'cluded to go there, too.

Q. Yes; what family have you ?—A. Wife and children.

Q. How many children ?—A. Two.

Q. How much stuff had you when you went to Kansas ?—A. I had a good lot of sheep—twenty head of sheep, and about twenty head of cattle and two mules and a wagon.

Q. Had you any money ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much money had you ?—A. About seven hundred and fifty dollars.

Q. About seven hundred and fifty dollars in cash ?—A. Yes, sir; just about that.

Q. Who gave you these glowing accounts about Kansas, as to its being such a good country ?—A. Well, papers came from Kansas; then we 'cluded we would make up some money and send a man there—a delegate they called him—and we sent a man there, and he writ back it was a fine country.

Q. Yes.—A. And for all to come on, it was a good country to live in, a good law-abiding country, and all.

Q. Yes.—A. And me and a good lot of us then held a meeting to make up some money to support that man. And he kept on writing letters, and they was read to us—I am not a reading man—about the country that it was so fine, and so I went on, and it didn't suit *me* no how.

Q. Tell me first how you went. Did you go by boat ?—A. No; on the steam cars.

Q. Where did you take the cars ?—A. I took the cars at Shreveport, me and my family.

Q. Where did you strike Kansas, at Parsons?—A. We struck Texarkana, Cherry Valley, Independence, and Montgomery County, Kansas.

Q. How many were in the party that went with you?—A. Little and big, children and all, about eighty head.

Q. And you landed there with seven hundred and fifty dollars; or how much had you when you got there?—A. Not that much after I got there.

Q. How much had you when you got there?—A. I had six hundred and fifty dollars, and a little over.

Q. Did you take your team with you?—A. Yes, sir; I took my team with me.

Q. And you landed with six hundred and fifty dollars in your pocket and a pair of mules and a wagon?—A. I had a little more money than that when I got there; I had that much, I know.

Q. When did you reach there?—A. About Christmas or a little afterwards.

Q. This last Christmas?—A. Yes.

Q. What did you do when you got there?—A. Well, I got there, and the man we sent there, he writ before we left Louisiana, and wanted to make up twelve dollars and eighty cents, I believe; that was what he spoke of, and if he didn't have it we could not get the benefit of the land; so about six of us made up over twelve dollars and sent it to him; we put it in the post-office on Monday morning and sent it on. And when we got there, well, I axed him about the land, and he could not give any account of the land he had bought at all.

Q. That was the delegate you sent up there, was it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is his name?—A. Henry Tanner.

Q. Well, go on and tell us what you did when you got there?—A. They had no houses for us. They had one house there, and every one of us had to get in that one house. We was all lyin' round there in a jam, and was in an awful fix there; my mother-in-law was sick.

Q. Did you have your mother-in-law with you besides your wife and two children?—A. Yes; and she was old and sick and I got dishearted. And I went round there and tried to rent houses around town, and every time I was goin' to rent a house the white people wanted to sell; they didn't want to rent. Well, we didn't know what to do; we was lyin' there all in a huddle and my mother-in-law she died.

Q. Your mother-in-law died there?—A. Yes; and after she died I jus' got dishearted and said I was going back to Louisiana.

Q. She had never been in such a climate before and it was colder than where she had lived?—A. O, yes, and me too.

Q. It was colder to you too?—A. Yes; I couldn't keep warm; and I got talkin' to 'em—the white men there—and I axed 'em how much money could a man make here in a year. Some of 'em told me he could make a hundred and fifty dollars; and they axed me how much I made in Louisiana; I say, some years I cleared five or six hundred dollars, some years four hundred, and I told 'em I cleared seven hundred and fifty dollars this year. "Well, then," they would say, "old man, you had better staid in Louisiana where you was; what did you come here for?" and I say, "A man is free now to go where he please"; and he say, "Well, you ain't goin' to make that much money here." Well, I got talkin' to 'em about rentin' land, and I said I would rent in Cherry Valley where I was—that's the way the white folks talked. Then they axed me what was the rent for land in Louisiana. Well, I say, some years I pay ten dollars, some years eight dollars, and some years seven dollars and fifty cents, and some years I worked on a fourth. Then they

say, "Old man what you come here for?" and I say, "Well a man is free to go where he please"; and they say, "Well, you ain't goin' to make that much money here." Then I kept lyin' round; I wanted to rent a place, but nobody wanted to rent; they wanted to sell their land—every man I talked to. "Then I'm gwine back to Louisiana," I said; some say, "O, you had better not go back there." I say, "Why?" and one man he told me if I went back to Louisiana I would have to lie around in an old holler log for six months." I say, "What for?" They say, "O, the fellers there will kill you." Then I say, "I'm gwine back." "No, you had better stay here and buy land here," they told me, and I said, "No, I can't stay here, I don't like this country; I don't like it at all, I'm gwine back where I can raise cotton, in the cotton country where I was raised, and am used to, and I always had a good deal; I'm gwine back."

Q. Had you ever been badly treated in Louisiana?—A. Which way do you mean?

Q. Had you been denied your rights, or had you been badly treated in any way?—A. Not me—no, I have not.

Q. Well, I am speaking of yourself?—A. No, sir; I got along mighty well myself.

Q. Did you vote in Louisiana?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you vote whenever you pleased and for whomever you pleased?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you always get the wages you worked for, or did anybody ever cheat you out of your wages? If so, just tell us.—A. Well, a man I lived to after I went to Mr. Simpson, he cheated me I know.

Q. How do you know it?—A. I am satisfied he cheated me because I didn't get nothin'—only got one barrel of flour in a year.

Q. Has Colonel Foster always dealt fairly with you?—A. So far as I know he always did.

Q. Did you make seven hundred and fifty dollars a year when working for him on his place?—A. In the last year?

Q. Yes; the money that you went to Kansas with; did you make that on his place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, that is pretty good wagas for a laboring man, is it not?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you write to Colonel Foster to come back to him?—A. Yes.

Q. Tell how you came to do it; give your reason for it.—A. Well, I got dishearted in Kansas; I didn't like it, and I wrote to Mas' Foster axiu' him could he make me a situation, because I didn't like that country. I writ him before I left.

Q. Did he reply to your letter?—A. I never got no answer; I didn't get it. My family was in disturbment, and that kept me in disturbment, and I lost my mother-in-law, and that kept my wife stirred up all the time and she was cryin' and gwine on all the time, and I jess had to pick up and go 'way.

Q. And you went back to your old place?—A. Yes; I went back to Mas' Foster's because he always done well by me ever since I been with him, and when he make a contract he would always do what he tell me he was gwine to do. I found nothin' agin him, and I went back on his place.

Q. He had nothing against you, had he?—A. He never told me so. I moved back there on the place afore I seed him—I moved back and he didn't know I was on his place till I seed him. I told him I done come back on his place, and he said, "All right."

Q. You just went back without saying anything to him about it?—A. Yes.

Q. And he did not make any objection to it?—A. No; he said "All right"; I was glad to get back to Louisiana because the men, the black men, all around that went from Texas told me theirselves they sent delegates out from Texas and said they was doin' well—had land—and their delegate told 'em that when they got there they said, "Come to Kansas, this is the place for you;" and they went off and sold their things, and what they couldn't sell they gin away, and when the man got there they couldn't make enough to support his wife and two children nohow, and then they gin 'em some Irish potatoes and mackerel and put patched clothes on 'em, and I said, "Then I want to see the man if I couldn't get something too"; and when I went to see the man, I had pretty good clothes on, and he said, "We don't give to men like you that's got good clothes; you've got to look ragged, and we can't help you." That's the way they talked to me all the time. I axed for work, and every time I went to a white man to ax him if he didn't want to hire me, he said, "O, no, old man, we have jus' got enough for ourselves; I can hardly get a livin' myself."

Q. Did they give them all Irish potatoes and mackerel?—A. Yes; They told me that's what they got.

Q. Well, you can get better things than that down in Louisiana, can't you?—A. What, Irish potatoes?

Q. Yes; better than Irish potatoes.—A. Of course, if we work we can get it and buy it, but not if we don't work.

Q. Well, you have had no trouble in getting all you wanted to eat and live upon in Louisiana?—A. No; I always got what I wanted.

Q. But you had to work for it?—A. Yes, sir; we had to work for it to be sure.

Q. What do you think of Kansas so far as you saw it?—A. Kansas is a good place, but it didn't suit me at all; it didn't suit me, of course. It is prairie and the wind blows there pretty hard, and I don't know what to think of the country at all.

Q. Is it a cold country?—A. Mighty cold to me, sir.

Q. Were you not well clad?—A. O, yes, sir; I had on good clothes, a big overcoat and overshoes and good clothes, but I couldn't keep warm nohow to save my life (great laughter). I was done cold all the time.

Q. How did the other colored people, so far as you talked with them, like the country up there?—A. I tell you the truth; them colored people in talkin' to me (some of 'em) said they wanted to get back, but they had nothing to get back with, they didn't have no means to get back. I said to me and myself, "Now, I have got a little money and I had better get back when I can get back"; and that's what I told 'em. One old gentleman wanted me then—he axed me how I was going to get back to Louisiana. "Well," I said, "I am going to take a train and go back so as to get back in time to make part of a crop, and make up my money I had spent." I 'cluded I would go back in my wagon first, me and another man, Wash Walker; I knowed I couldn't get back in time to make a crop, but I knowed I would get back to make four bales of cotton, and that would be more'n I could make in Kansas, because cotton sells for ten cents, and that will be two hundred dollars.

Q. They told you you could make a hundred and fifty dollars a year?—A. Some of 'em telled me that.

Q. And that discouraged you?—A. It put cold discouragement on me of course; my wife was not satisfied and she got me disturbed.

Q. And most of the colored people you met up there were disheartened like yourself, were they?—A. Yes, all of 'em told me that.

Q. How many families went from your place when you went? Colonel Foster spoke of eleven families that had gone off from that plantation.—A. That was about the number I guess. I know it was. Some of 'em wanted to come back when I did.

Q. How many came back?—A. Four came back; one came back and left his wife in Kansas. He rented a place there and said he was gwine to stay this year and try it, and if he didn't make a livin' he would come back too.

Q. You went to Kansas then because it was represented that you could do better there than in Louisiana, but when you got there you found that you could not, and so returned?—A. Well, they told me land was cheap, and I went to Kansas never to come back to Louisiana no more. I went to buy a place.

Q. How much did they ask you an acre for the place you wanted to buy?—A. For a hundred and sixty acres they would ax me twenty-eight hundred dollars for it.

Q. Twenty-eight hundred dollars for one hundred and sixty acres?—A. Yes, sir; and there was seven hundred dollars mortgage on it. Every place I tried to buy had a mortgage on it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is owing to Sherman's financial policy.

Mr. BLAIR. These folks are for Grant, you know.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Well, pretty much all the places you found had mortgages on them. Did they know up there that you had a little money along in your pocket?—A. I don't know whether they did or not; I 'spect they didn't.

Q. What part of Kansas was that?—A. That was in Montgomery County.

Q. Is that in the Southern part of Kansas?—A. It was around Cherry Valley.

Q. How long had you lived on Colonel Foster's plantation?—A. I lived there eight or ten years on Mas' Foster's plantation near Shreveport.

Q. Well, I will ask you if you have not generally, from year to year, made money there—made a good living and saved money; how is that?—A. The first year I went there I worked for wages.

Q. Yes.—A. And after I paid up my store bill the first year I cleared \$107.50; after that I worked a crop every year and cleared money every year.

Q. You cleared money every year?—A. Yes, every year I have been with him.

Q. And you lived comfortably besides?—A. O, yes, sir; I done live quite comfortable.

Q. Well, how has it been with other laboring people of your race who were sober and industrious; did they make up some money each year as well as you?—A. On Mas' Foster's place?

Q. Yes.—A. Yes, all un 'em made a little money; some un 'em made a good deal.

Q. How much money did Walker take with him when he went with you to Kansas?—A. He said he had seven hundred and sixty dollars, I believe.

Q. He had seven hundred and sixty dollars; that was more than you had?—A. Yes, he had a little more'n I had.

Q. Then you had about fifteen hundred dollars between you?—A. Yes, we had that much.

Q. And your personal property was worth how much—how much did you value the personal property that you took along with you?—A. Mules and wagons?

Q. Yes.—A. Two hundred and fifty dollars.

Q. Did he take his mules and wagons?—A. Yes, he taken two mules with him.

Q. Do you think the personal property you had was worth between you some five hundred dollars?—A. Mine and his'n?

Q. Yes.—A. Mine an' his'n was worth a little more. He had better mules than me; his mules was worth about a hundred and fifty dollars apiece.

Q. Very well; now let me ask you, when you voted you voted the Republican ticket, didn't you?—A. I did when I voted; that's all the kind o' ticket I did vote.

Q. The Republican ticket was the only ticket you voted?—A. Yes, that was the only one.

Q. Did Colonel Foster ever interfere with you as to the ticket you voted?—A. No, sir; not me he didn't, and nobody else on the place that I seed of; they always voted as they pleased, and the ticket they pleased; they always voted the Republican ticket, and he never axed me what ticket I voted in his life, I don't believe.

Q. Then the men on his place voted any ticket they pleased?—A. Yes, they did.

Q. Do you know a colored man by the name of Gilbert Myers?—A. Where does he live?

Q. He lives in Caddo Parish.—A. I seed him last Saturday; me and him come to Shreveport together.

Q. Yes; do you know about his owning land and stock?—A. No more'n what I hear say since I been with him.

Q. You did not know him before that?—A. Didn't know him at all; never seed him 'fore I seed him last Saturday.

Q. How old are your children?—A. One is five years old and one is three.

Q. They are not going to school, I suppose?—A. No; they are not old enough.

Q. No, I suppose not. Now, on Colonel Foster's plantation have the colored children advantages of education? Can they go to school when they are old enough and big enough?—A. Yes; when school is on they go to school; school is on now, and they are going.

Q. How much of the year around is the school open for colored children?—A. I don't know, sir; I never taken much interest in that.

Q. But you know that there are schools there now?—A. Yes, sir; there are schools there.

Q. Have they a colored teacher?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know how this teacher is employed?—A. What you mean?

Q. Who employs him, and how much is he paid?—A. He gets so much a month; he is hired by the month, and the children go to school.

Q. How much do they pay?—A. He charges them scholars a dollar a month.

Mr. BLAIR. That is a private school.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and the parents of the children pay so much per head. That is the old field system I used to go to school under.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. One dollar a month, you told me last Saturday?—A. Yes.

Q. You have a church on your place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And preaching there, and religious services?—A. Yes.

Q. Nobody molested you in your church?—A. No, sir; not there they didn't.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. BLAIR:

Q. How old are you, Mr. Alexander?—A. About forty-five now—going on forty-five.

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

Q. How long have you live in Louisiana?—A. Ever since the s'render.

Q. Ever since the surrender?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you lived where you are now in that neighborhood all the time?—A. Same place; one year I lived to Mrs. Cain's, and three years with Mr. Simpson.

Q. And then you went to live with Mr. Foster?—A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been with Mr. Foster?—A. I went to live to Mrs. Cain's—Widow Cain, on the river—

Q. Yes; did you have a good time there?—A. At Mrs. Cain's?

Q. Yes.—A. She paid me.

Q. Why did you leave her?—A. I was a young man then and a m by the name of Allen had a good deal of girls.

Q. What?—A. He had four or five girls.

Q. Did you leave on that account?—A. I followed the girls. (Merriment.)

Q. O, you were courting the girls?—A. I wanted to follow the girls; the girls went with their father, old man Allen.

Q. Where did he go?—A. To Mr. Foster's.

Q. And you followed the old man?—A. No; I followed the girls. (Great merriment.)

Q. You are sure about that—it was girls?—A. Yes. (A perfect uproar.)

Q. Where did this old man go?—A. To Mr. Foster's.

Q. He moved from Mrs. Caiu's to Mr. Foster's. Now, where was the intermediate place you spoke of?—A. Mr. Simpson's.

Q. Yes. How did you happen to go there? Were you still following the girls?—A. Old man Allen broke up and went to Mr. Simpson's and I went there too.

Q. How long did you stay at Mr. Simpson's?—A. Three years.

Q. Did you have a good time there?—A. No, sir; I didn't get my hire—didn't get my labor.

Q. And you were there three years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you married then?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you worked there three years?—A. Yes.

Q. He was a planter, was he?—A. Yes; he was a planter.

Q. And your business there was raising cotton?—A. Yes; cotton and corn.

Q. Did you work hard all the time you were there, or were you an idle, thriftless fellow?—A. I worked part of the crop.

Q. And you were as industrious as the average working people, were you, or were you rather an idler; which way was it?—A. O, no, sir; I worked.

Q. You have been a hard-working man always?—A. Yes; I try to work hard, and make a pretty good livin'.

Q. You have seen other men there and you know how it is in that neighborhood; don't you think that you have been as industrious and hard working as the average of laborers in that country?—A. Yes; some is more industrious than I am.

Q. Some work harder, you think?—A. Some do, maybe.

Q. But I mean as an average, you worked about as hard as the others around you?—A. Yes, sir; of course I did.

Q. And you worked three years at Simpson's?—A. Yes; I worked there three years.

Q. What did you say the trouble was there?—A. Well, I didn't get my labor—what I worked for.

Q. Didn't you have any agreement or contract with him?—A. Not no contract; he said he would do what he say he would.

Q. Well, had you no agreement with him?—A. No; he say he would do what he say he would.

Q. You simply believed that he would do as he had promised?—A. Yes.

Q. In what way, on what plan, were you working for him?—A. I worked for half, and at the end of the year he said we owed it all—our part of the crop.

Q. You were working for half the crop, and at the end of the year he would say that you owed him all you were to have had; is that it?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, didn't you owe him all that you had earned?—A. No, sir; not I didn't.

Q. How do you know that you did not?—A. Because I didn't get only one barrel of flour in a year, and he wouldn't advance on it; he jess didn't do it.

Q. Do you mean that you worked for one-half the crop, and that all you received during the year was one barrel of flour?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were to have had one-half of what you raised for your hire, and all you got was a barrel of flour?—A. Yes.

Q. Didn't you get any money at all?—A. No, sir; none at all.

Q. Didn't he supply you with any provisions, or clothing, or anything of that kind for yourself and family?—A. O, he was to feed me and then give me half the crop.

Q. He was to feed you?—A. Yes.

Q. Of course you did not live without eating?—A. No.

Q. And you got your food and you were to have one-half of what you raised after that?—A. Yes.

Q. But of that one-half did you get nothing whatever excepting this barrel of flour?—A. No; he wouldn't make no settlement at all.

Q. What reason did he give for not doing so?—A. He wouldn't give no reason.

Q. He gave you no reason whatever?—A. No; he jus' say we owed him.

Q. How many others like yourself were workmen on that plantation?—A. A good many.

Q. Well, did the others come out as well as you did?—A. None of 'em got nothing; I tell you the truth.

Q. Well, that is the thing to tell here.—A. That is what I'm gwine to tell you.

Q. How many were there on that plantation?—A. Four or five families.

Q. And you staid there three years?—A. Yes; three years I staid there.

Q. And this was one particular year that you got only one barrel of flour; what did you get the other two years?—A. Well, I don't know, sir; I wasn't no readin' man and I never kept any books at all in the world, but I know that I only got a barrel of flour.

Q. Take one of the other years—you say you were there three years;

what did you get in the other two years; you say one year you got a barrel of flour?—A. Yes.

Q. What did you get the next year?—A. The next year I worked for one-third.

Q. What did you get that year?—A. I didn't get nothin'.

Q. You got nothing whatever?—A. No, sir.

Q. And he would say that you owed him at the end of the year?—A. Every year I come out in debt, 'cept one year I got fifty dollars.

Q. What year was that?—A. That was the last year I worked for him.

Q. And that year you say you got fifty dollars in money?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you get any clothing or anything else from him during that year?—A. No, sir; he wouldn't advance nothin'.

Q. You spoke of a barrel of flour you got; what did you do with that?—A. Eat it.

Q. You said he was to feed you?—A. I bought that barrel of flour myself.

Q. Well, didn't he feed you all you wanted?—A. He gave me meat and meal.

Q. What kind of meal?—A. Corn meal.

Q. Didn't he furnish flour in feeding you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did he give flour to the rest of his help?—A. I don't know whether he did or not.

Q. Well, you worked there for Simpson; tell me what you had to eat; what did you have for breakfast generally?—A. Well, to tell you the truth I lived mighty hard when I staid to Mr. Simpson's.

Q. Yes, exactly; but I want to know what you had to eat; you ate in the morning, didn't you?—A. Yes.

Q. How many times did you eat?—A. Three meals a day.

Q. What time did you eat your breakfast? that is, the morning meal, as we call it up in the North.—A. We eat it about an hour before sun; we generally go to work, and our wife would bring the breakfast.

Q. What time did you go to work?—A. About sun up.

Q. Sunrise, I suppose. How long before that did your wife bring you breakfast to you?—A. An hour of the sun.

Q. An hour before sunrise you went to work and then your wife brings you your breakfast?—A. Yes.

Q. What would your breakfast be?—A. Some meat and bread.

Q. What kind of meat?—A. Hog meat.

Q. Bacon, you mean?—A. Yes; and some bread.

Q. What kind of bread?—A. Corn bread.

Q. Did she bring you any kind of drink?—A. Sweetened water.

Q. And that is your breakfast?—A. Yes.

Q. And, of course, you had enough to make a good square meal?—A. Yes.

Q. You had no trouble to get enough, such as it was?—A. No; no trouble.

Q. Then you would go to work again?—A. Yes.

Q. And work until dinner time?—A. Yes.

Q. What time did you get dinner?—A. Twelve o'clock.

Q. And what was your dinner usually?—A. When we have a garden we have vegetables.

Q. Was your dinner brought to you in the field, or did you go to the house for it?—A. We went to the house for it.

Q. What would you have for dinner?—A. Different things.

Q. Just tell us the things that would be on the table.—A. Well, meat.

Q. What kind of meat?—A. Hog meat.

Q. Hog meat again; what else?—A. Greens and cucumbers, mashed potatoes, and all kinds like that.

Q. I am only asking you in the spirit of proper inquiry, for I want to know just how you lived. I know as much about work, perhaps, as you do, only it has been in another part of the county. What would you have for drink at noon?—A. Sometime we would have milk if we have a cow on the place.

Q. Did you have a cow while you were on Simpson's place?—A. No, sir; but sometime we would have a drink of milk.

Q. Tea and coffee sometimes?—A. No tea; coffee sometimes.

Q. At noon?—A. No, sir; at breakfast.

Q. Sometimes coffee would be brought into the field?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At noon sometimes you would have a drink of milk?—A. Yes.

Q. Otherwise you had water only?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you go directly back to the field when you got your dinner?—A. Towards night.

Q. What hour did you return?—A. About two o'clock we would go out to work.

Q. You would rest, then, for an hour or two after noon?—A. Yes.

Q. And then would go into the field and work until supper time?—A. Until sundown.

Q. Is your supper brought to you in the field, or do you return to the house and close your day's work?—A. In the house.

Q. You close your work at sundown and then go home and eat supper?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What have you for supper?—A. Milk, meat, and bread, and sometimes 'lasses; the like of that.

Q. Well, did you ever, at the expense of Mr. Simpson, while you were there with him those three years, have any wheaten bread, bread made out of wheat flour?—A. Only that one barrel of flour I told you I bought.

Q. But you bought that yourself simply because he would not furnish you with it?—A. He advanced to me to buy that.

Q. Out of your wages, and you had only that one barrel which you had worked for, is that it?—A. No, sir.

Q. He advanced the money to purchase that flour and charged that to you as a part of your half share on your work?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think there is a better man in Louisiana than Mr. Foster—a better white man?—A. There are plenty of good white men there.

Q. But do you think that there is any better white man in Louisiana than Mr. Foster, any man that uses his help better than he does?—A. I couldn't tell you that at all.

Q. Well, have you ever worked for a better man than Mr. Foster?—A. I have worked, too, for Mr. Simpson.

Q. I don't think it ought to trouble you any to answer my question.—A. O, no, sir. I never worked for any better man than Mr. Foster.

Q. Well, is there any man around there that treats his workmen better than Mr. Foster does?—A. Not in paying, I don't think, particularly.

Q. You think that no man treats his work-people better than Mr. Foster in regard to paying them?—A. That is what I think.

Q. But you mean, perhaps, that he makes them work pretty hard, but

pays them as he agreed to do?—A. Yes, sir; he tells them what they have to do.

Q. And they have to do it?—A. Yes.

Q. And if he tells them what he will pay them, he pays them that, does he?—A. He always do.

Q. Did he always pay you just what he promised?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So you don't think there is much complaint among the help of Mr. Foster as to what he paid them?—A. No, sir; I never knowed any time but what he paid what he promised.

Q. He is rather a model in that respect, is he not?—A. Yes, I think he is.

Q. Now, Alexander, you have been a pretty hard-working man; how much property had you when you went to Kansas? You had six or seven hundred dollars, you say?—A. Seven hundred and fifty.

Q. Yes; seven hundred and fifty dollars; and you had, in addition, these mules?—A. Yes.

Q. And putting it altogether, you had between nine hundred and one thousand dollars?—A. Yes, in mules, wagons, and money.

Q. Yes; and when did you get that money?—A. I made that last year from the crop.

Q. But that was what was left over—money due you for work you had done last year?—A. Yes.

Q. How many of you did it take to earn that; did your wife work, too?—A. She generally staid in the house, and didn't work much.

Q. Who did the work with you?—A. I hired a hand.

Q. More than one?—A. One.

Q. No more?—A. Not till I got pushed hard; then one or two when the crop needed chopping out.

Q. Did you hire a piece of land?—A. I rented.

Q. And had to get help to carry it on?—A. Yes.

Q. And after paying your help, you had left at the time of settlement seven hundred and fifty dollars?—A. Yes.

Q. Was that all the money you had?—A. All I made last year.

Q. Had you more than seven hundred and fifty dollars in money—not talking about mules?—A. I had some more that I made last year.

Q. How much more?—A. Seventy-five dollars.

Q. You had seventy-five dollars. Very well. That was left from the year before, was it?—A. Yes.

Q. It was a pretty good crop last year, wasn't it?—A. Yes, a pretty good crop.

Q. Better than usual?—A. Well, it was a mighty good crop on the river.

Q. Do you get good crops all the time?—A. Pretty much all the time, on the river.

Q. Well, you were on the river?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, had you any money in the world excepting the seven hundred and fifty dollars that was left at the end of last year, when you got your crop paid for, and about seventy-five dollars that was left over from the year preceding?—A. That is all the money I had.

Q. You say you had seventy-five dollars left of the year preceding?—A. Yes; about seventy-five dollars.

Q. How much had you at the end of that year—the year before?—A. I cleared over five hundred dollars that year.

Q. How much over five hundred dollars?—A. I don't know how much over five hundred dollars it was.

Q. Between five and six hundred dollars, was it?—A. Yes; over five hundred dollars.

Q. Well, what became of that? You had only seventy-five dollars laid by to pay your rations and hire a hand and make this other crop with?—A. Yes.

Q. Exactly; then out of this seven hundred and fifty dollars that you had you did not pay anything towards help, but paid your help out of what was left the year before?—A. Yes.

Q. So that what was left at the end of the year was to live on and make a crop for the year to come?—A. Yes.

Q. And you cannot make that much in one year and have it left so as to lay it up every year, can you; because that is to be used for the next year?—A. I have to keep that going.

Q. So that you worked there ten years and perhaps longer than ten years?—A. Yes.

Q. And you are now forty-five years old?—A. Yes.

Q. And you have been an industrious, saving, and prudent man, have you? (Witness hesitating.) Or have you been an extravagant spend-thrift, wasting your money and throwing it away?—A. I always spent my money pretty fast—went through with it pretty fast.

Q. How?—A. Paying one thing and another; going to town Saturday. I went to town every Saturday and bought oranges and drank soda-water.

Q. Do you call that extravagant, to buy an apple or an orange now and then?—A. Yes, for my children.

Q. Very well.—A. I would drink soda-water and treat the men around town there every Saturday morning.

Q. Well, how much did you use to spend in treating your friends?—A. Well, I was in town every Saturday.

Q. I want to know how much you used to spend, say, on any given Saturday, at one time?—A. Four or five dollars some Saturdays.

Q. Would you do that as a rule?—A. Yes; I would spend money every Saturday in treating.

Q. Very well; but how much do you imagine that you used to throw away in a year in that way?—A. I couldn't tell you.

Q. Well, you say you used to spend four or five dollars some Saturdays?—A. Yes; sometimes one or two dollars.

Q. How did you spend it?—A. Drinking and treating; I would drink soda-water and one thing or another.

Q. Yes.—A. Lager beer and so on.

Q. Yes; and you would spend each Saturday from one to five dollars in that way?—A. Yes, sir; every Saturday.

Q. Did your friends spend money in that way, too?—A. Some did; some didn't.

Q. They were not all as liberal as you?—A. Some of them was.

Q. As a general thing, did these companions that were with you have as much money as you did?—A. Colored folks, do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. O, some of 'em had a heap more money than I had.

Q. But as a general thing, did these boon companions of yours around Shreveport have as much money to spend as you?—A. I don't know whether they had as much as I did or not.

Q. Well, they used to spend their money treating as well as you?—A. Some would; some wouldn't.

Q. Well, the amount of it is that you didn't try to save much money very hard until within the last few years?—A. No, sir.

Q. Since you have been with Mr. Foster have you been prudent, economical, and saving?—A. Not like I ought to have been doing, sir.

Q. How long have you been married?—A. I have been married about eight years.

Q. How many children have you?—A. Got two living.

Q. You have had more and have lost them?—A. Yes.

Q. Is your wife an economical woman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I wish you would tell me how your wife has been clothed, what dresses and bonnets she has had, and all that sort of thing; what clothing she has had and how much it has cost.—A. I duuno as I could tell, sir.

Q. You know what she has had and what it has cost, don't you?—A. I always tried to keep decent clothes on her.

Q. I merely want to know as a matter of information, Mr. Alexander, and only in that spirit. Now tell me what you have to wear and what you have to eat and drink; I want to know all about it.—A. Well, I always tried to keep good, decent clothes on her and good shoes, but I wouldn't know how much money I would spend for her.

Q. You would buy a bonnet for her occasionally, would you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. More than one a year?—A. About one a year.

Q. What would that cost?—A. I would buy stuff for her clothes and she would make it herself.

Q. You would buy clothing, her gowns and a shawl once in a while?—A. Yes; calicoes.

Q. What kind of clothing would you buy for her every-day garments?—A. Check cloths.

Q. Calico?—A. Check cloths is the name of it.

Q. How much a yard would you pay for it?—A. Twelve cents a yard.

Q. For cotton; I suppose it was some sort of calico?—A. Yes.

Q. And how many dresses would you buy your wife in a year?—A. I don't know, sir.

Q. She generally would buy her clothes herself?—A. Yes; she would raise chickens.

Q. And in that way would get money to clothe herself with?—A. Yes; she would help me that way.

Q. By raising chickens and selling the eggs?—A. Yes.

Q. Were there any other ways by which she could get money?—A. That was all that I know.

Q. How many dresses a year had she had during these eight years; do you think more than one a year?—A. O, yes, I buy one dress a year for her.

Q. Well, how many?—A. Couldn't tell you.

Q. Were they Sunday dresses?—A. Yes.

Q. Of what material were her Sunday clothes?—A. Worsted, sometimes, and gingham.

Q. What did you pay for worsted?—A. Sometimes four bits a yard.

Q. What is a bit; twelve and a half cents?—A. Yes.

Q. And four bits would be fifty cents; that is, for the worsted, and the gingham would be about the same, would it?—A. Yes; it was pretty high, along there, about forty cents a yard.

Q. Now that gives me some idea as to the dresses for your wife; and you dressed your wife as well as the average of women there, you think?—A. Yes.

Q. Rather better, do you think?—A. On the average, yes; some didn't dress as well as she did.

Q. And your children you clothed in a way corresponding with your wife; you took a little pride in that, did you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, now, about the schooling for your children there; is there any public school on this plantation of Mr. Foster's?—A. There has been; there ain't now.

Q. How long ago since there was a school there?—A. I don't know.

Q. A number of years ago?—A. Yes.

Q. Some five or six years?—A. Three or four years.

Q. A private school, is it not?—A. A government school, you mean.

Q. Well, do you know of any government school there?—A. No; there is one at Fillmore's.

Q. How far is it to Fillmore's?—A. A good piece.

Q. How many miles?—A. Don't know exactly.

Q. Ten miles?—A. Yes.

Q. Twenty miles?—A. Not twenty.

Q. What is Fillmore's, a town or a plantation?—A. It is a little town there.

Q. A village?—A. Yes.

Q. Is it on a plantation?—A. No.

Q. Do you know of any other public school around there?—A. I couldn't tell you.

Q. I suppose they have some in Shreveport?—A. I never hear talk of none.

Q. You never heard of any in Shreveport?—A. They ain't going on now.

Q. Did they use to have any there?—A. O, yes.

Q. But they have stopped having them there generally, do you mean? Now, I am talking of public schools.—A. There ain't only one at Fillmore's—only one I can give an account of.

Q. I mean for colored folks; I am talking now of the chances of getting an education for your children.—A. That is a government school for colored folks.

Q. I want to understand this; do you mean to say that you do not know of but one government school for colored people anywhere in your part of Louisiana?—A. Only one.

Q. And that is at Fillmore's?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say there used to be more of them?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, where were your government schools formerly that you know of?—A. Mr. Dillard's place for one.

Q. Was that on a plantation?—A. Yes.

Q. Any other?—A. That is the only place I know.

Q. But there is one in Shreveport?—A. There was one there.

Q. And you know of one at Mr. Dillard's?—A. Yes.

Q. Was there not a government school for colored children on Mr. Foster's plantation?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then that was one more?—A. Yes; that was going on a few years ago.

Q. You say you know of but one, but that formerly there were more government schools; I want to know how many you did know of?—A. Only four.

Q. One in Shreveport, one on Dillard's, one on Mr. Foster's, and the other at Fillmore's?—A. Yes.

Q. And that makes four?—A. Yes.

Q. And they have all disappeared but the one at Fillmore; is that what I understand you to say?—A. That is all I know now.

Q. Now at Mr. Foster's you have a colored school?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Foster, you remember, testified that he had some nine to twelve hundred people on his place, and some three hundred of them working for him; now there must have been some two to three hundred children there, were there not?—A. Yes; he has got lots of people on his place.

Q. Lots of people you say, and no more than one school there?—A. That is all.

Q. How many teachers are there in that school?—A. Only one; and he got an assistant teacher.

Q. How many assistant teachers?—A. Only one.

Q. Is the assistant a man or woman?—A. A man.

Q. How old is this teacher?—A. A young fellow.

Q. How old is this man that keeps the school?—A. I don't know how old he is.

Q. Is he as old as you?—A. Not as old as me.

Q. Well, that is a private school, is it?—A. Yes.

Q. And every scholar pays one dollar a month for his schooling?—A. That's what he says.

Q. How many scholars does he have?—A. Forty, he told me.

Q. Forty; is that all?—A. That is all, he told me last Saturday; I axed him.

Q. Is there any other school on the plantation?—A. No, sir; not on Foster's.

Q. And out of the three or four hundred children there, only forty attend the private school and pay a dollar apiece a month, with no help from the government at all?—A. Not now there ain't.

Q. Not now?—A. No, sir.

Q. What becomes of the rest of the children?—A. Well, the parents don't send their children to school; that is all I know.

Q. Don't they get any education at all?—A. Don't know.

Q. If they do not go to school they are not learning to read and write, are they?—A. No, sir; no more than the Sabbath-school they have there.

Q. Well, what can be done for them in Sabbath-school; do they try to teach them there?—A. Yes.

Q. They don't teach them to read and write in Sabbath-school, do they?—A. They have a spelling-book and a catechism on Sunday morning.

Q. And they get that with religious instruction?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you send your children to school?—A. They are not old enough.

Q. Do you know of any white children around there—any white folks on this plantation?—A. Yes, sir; there are some white folks on Mr. Foster's place.

Q. Who work for their living on his place?—A. O, yes.

Q. And work on his plantation?—A. O, yes.

Q. How many families of them are there?—A. One has got a wife and family, the rest of them are just men.

Q. Without families?—A. Yes.

Q. How much money has this white man with his family saved?—A. I don't know, sir; I didn't have a talk with him about his money at all.

Q. Do you live pretty near him?—A. On the same place.

Q. Well, the place is 9,000 acres?—A. Yes.

Q. How many rods or miles apart do you live?—A. About a mile apart.

Q. Are you acquainted with him?—A. Yes.

Q. Does he rent land?—A. I never axed him.

Q. Is he as old a man as you?—A. I think he is an older man than me.

Q. Has he got a family of children?—A. Yes.

Q. Do they go to school?—A. Since I came back from Kansas he sent his son to Bellevue—a town named Bellevue.

Q. How far off is that from where he lives?—A. They calls it fifteen or sixteen miles.

Q. He sends his boy there and he don't come home at night, of course?

—A. No; he sends his boy and he boards out.

Q. There are not a great many laboring white people around you there?

—A. No, sir; not a great many.

Q. Do you own any land?—A. No, sir; I never tried to buy none.

Q. How many negroes around there own their land?—A. Around where I am living?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, a good deal of them own land there on Bossier Point and Foster's place and around.

Q. Yes; Mr. Foster has told us that he had sold land to seven families, didn't he?—A. Yes.

Q. And they were up in the hills?—A. Yes.

Q. He owns land then, and cultivates cotton and sells it?—A. Yes.

Q. If a man owns land and works for himself, is he not better off than those who do not own their own land?—A. Yes; when he gets a start and gets his land paid for.

Q. Well, don't it take about five or six hundred dollars to get a pretty nice piece of land?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, suppose you have seven hundred and fifty dollars and you are going back there; you can't earn seven hundred and fifty dollars this year if you get a good crop?—A. I won't make that much this year; I aint got the land for it; I got fourteen acres of land this year.

Q. How much did you have last year when you made seven hundred and fifty dollars?—A. Thirty acres.

Q. And you have not got half this year?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have to take the risk on the crop?—A. Yes.

Q. You won't come out a great way ahead in any case this year, will you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then you won't have much to start next year with?—A. No, sir.

Q. Could you not get more land this year?—A. No; it was all took up when I got back, but that man let me come in and give me fourteen acres of his land.

Q. Now, why don't you colored people buy some land even if you cannot pay for it in one year; could you not run in debt, mortgage the land, or contrive some way to get land and pay for it out of what you earn from it?—A. I jess' don't do it; that is all I can tell you.

Q. Well, why did you?—A. I don't know.

Q. If you had a piece of land and owned it, nobody could turn you out of doors, could they?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you would be pretty independent with forty acres and your mules and some cows?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, why don't you do it?—A. Don't know; I don't do it.

Q. Well, won't you go right home when you leave this room and buy land?—A. That is what Mr. Foster tells me; he tells me to do it.

Q. Well, don't you know that when he tells you that he gives you the best advice you ever had in your life?—A. I know it is good advice, but I jess' don't do it.

Q. You have come up here to Washington and we have talked over the subject; now, don't you think you had better go back and take his advice and buy some land?—A. I thought I would do it in Kansas.

Q. But you can do it better there; you were nearly frozen to death in Kansas, you say, with your heavy overcoat and all your good clothes; don't you think it is pretty cool here to-day?—A. It is pretty pleasant here now.

Q. Well, don't you know that we are as far North here as you are in Kansas?—A. O, yes, sir; I believe we is.

Q. Well, that is a matter of climate; we will let that go. Now you have told us about the chances for the education of your people as far as you know. Let me ask you, Mr. Alexander, did you ever vote?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you care anything about it whether you voted or not?—A. Did I care anything about it?

Q. Yes.—A. I wan't no readin' man.

Q. Well, you are not to blame, perhaps, if you cannot read; a great many who can read do not know much; it does not follow always that because a man cannot read or write that he should not vote, but what I want to know is this, whether you had any special desire to vote, whether you cared much about voting?—A. I know it is best for me to vote.

Q. You think it is best for you, but would it make five dollars a year difference to you in your feelings whether you had a chance to vote or not; do you care anything about it?—A. Of course I care something about it.

Q. Well, why do you care about it?—A. Well, we're bound to have a government and President.

Q. What do care about a government or President; what is that to you or to anybody else?—A. Well, we're bound to have them here, I guess.

Q. Yes; and they are going to be either Democratic or Republican, aren't they?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. Well, why is it of any consequence to you whether you vote or not; why can't you leave that just as well with Mr. Foster or Mr. Miller; why do you care?—A. Do you mean just one man to vote and nobody else?

Q. I mean so far as you are concerned; what consequence is it to you whether you vote or not or whether you will let things take care of themselves?—(Witness not answering.)

Q. You have a feeling that you want to vote, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any choice as to whom you will vote for? Do you generally have your mind made up as to whom you will vote for?—A. Yes.

Q. And you vote the Republican ticket?—A. Yes.

Q. Why do you vote that ticket; Mr. Foster is a Democrat, is he not?—A. He never told me what he was.

Q. I didn't ask you if he ever told you; I asked you whether you do not know?—A. I believe he is one.

Q. You say you believe; do you not know that he is a Democrat?—(Witness silent.)

Q. Well, I will ask you why you voted the Republican ticket?—(Witness still silent.)

Q. Did you vote because the majority voted that way and the colored folks followed one another? You colored folks all vote the Republican ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do the Democrats want you to do it; has there been any trouble about the colored people voting the Republican ticket?—A. Not where I voted.

Q. But has there been any trouble about the matter of voting that you have heard of?—A. Yes; I have heard talk of it.

Q. What have you heard said about it?—A. Well, I have heard the white folks want a majority to vote for them.

Q. Which way do the white folks vote there?—A. Always voted the Democratic ticket there; the biggest part of them; some of them voted the Republican ticket.

Q. Well, you mean the white folks generally want you to vote the Democratic ticket and there has been some trouble about; now, what trouble have you heard of?—A. I have not heard of any trouble at all, because I never took much time about voting particularly at all.

Q. Did you ever hear much said about this trouble in voting between Democrats and Republicans?—A. I never took any time in it; I couldn't tell you when I voted. I just voted and went back home.

Q. When did you last vote?—A. It has been a long time since I voted.

Q. How many years?—A. I ain't voted since Seymour and Blair used to run.

Q. Well, that was as far back as 1868?—A. Yes, a long time.

Q. Some twelve years ago?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you never voted since?—A. No, sir.

Q. You are not much of a politician then?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you one of the Republicans that didn't vote at all?—A. I haven't voted since I told you.

Q. Why have you not voted?—A. I didn't care much to vote.

Q. Did you vote for Seymour and Blair?—A. I always voted the Republican ticket.

Q. But did you vote for Seymour and Blair?—A. What ticket was that? [Laughter.]

Q. Did you vote for Seymour and Blair? How happened you to mention their names?—A. I knowed them was running.

Q. Do you know anybody else who was running then?—A. I couldn't tell you; I remember them two.

Q. Did you vote for somebody you hadn't heard of?—A. I only know I voted the Republican ticket—I don't know whether they were on or not.

Q. You did hear of Seymour and Blair?—A. Yes, sir; I heard of them men, I know, and I have not voted since they were on the ticket.

Q. Were they on the ticket you voted?—A. I could not read; I could not tell you.

Q. How does it happen to be in your mind that you voted for Seymour and Blair?—A. I just remember them names.

Q. Did you hear their names mentioned when you were at the polls?—A. Yes; I heard their names before I went to the polls.

Q. Before you went to the polls?—A. Yes.

Q. And you have never voted since then?—A. No, sir.

Q. At no sort of election?—A. No, sir; at no sort at all.

Q. What church do you belong to?—A. The Methodist church.

Q. Well, did you ever vote before this year when Seymour and Blair were up?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many times?—A. Once or twice in my life.

Q. Whom did you vote for the other time?—A. The Republican ticket; I don't know who he was.

Q. Don't you know the man you voted for?—A. No; I only know voted the Republican ticket.

Q. Don't you remember anybody you voted for?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't remember any names that were on any ticket that you voted at any time except the time when Seymour and Blair were up?—
A. No, sir; I could not tell you.

Q. What is the reason you have not voted since?—A. Don't know; I only just let it alone.

Q. Why did you let it alone?—A. I just quit voting.

Q. Why did you quit voting?—A. Don't know what made me quit.

Q. You are a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There must have been some reason why a Republican should stop voting?—A. Well, many men stopped voting.

Q. What did they stop for?—A. They quit; that is all I know; I couldn't tell you.

Q. Can't you give me a reason why they quit?—A. No; I only know they just quit.

Q. Who were they that quit voting?—A. The rest of them on that plantation, a great many of them did.

Q. What ticket did they vote?—A. On Foster's place?

Q. Yes.—A. Republican ticket.

Q. You spoke about your voting the Republican ticket and Mr. Foster not interfering with you in any way; did you not give us the impression that you voted as you pleased right along? Did you not say so in fact?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But you do not now vote at all, you say? Just think a moment whether that is exactly the thing you wish to say. In the first place, you say that you could vote as you pleased at Foster's, and now you say that you have not voted for twelve years. (Witness silent.)

Q. How is that? (Witness still silent.)

Q. In 1868 when you voted for Seymour and Blair was there any trouble then?—A. No; not when I voted.

Q. Was there any trouble about voting in 1868 that you know of or have heard of?—A. I don't remember about it then.

Q. Well, it was when Seymour and Blair were voted for; that is the time I mean?—A. I don't remember any trouble then at all.

Q. Was there not some trouble that year that led you to leave off voting, so that you have never voted since?—A. I heard talk of the Gibson war on the river.

Q. The Gibson war on the river; that was in this same year of 1868, was it?—A. I don't know, sir, when it was.

Q. The Gibson war; what was that?—A. A little riot up the river; that is all I know.

Q. How far up the river?—A. Up the river somewhere; I do not know how far.

Q. What did you hear about that riot?—A. I hear that the white folks and black folks got into a scramble up there and fought each other.

Q. How many miles up the river was it?—A. I don't know.

Q. Was it a good ways?—A. I don't know.

Q. Did you ever see any folks that were in that fight?—A. No; I never did; I just hear tell of it.

Q. Was that about voting?—A. No, sir; it was not about voting.

Q. Well, what was the fight about?—A. It was jiss a colored man and white man got in a dispute, and got to fighting. That's the way I heard it.

Q. Nobody else besides these two?—A. O, yes; a good deal of them went to fighting.

Q. A great many of them were engaged in the fight and nobody got hurt?—A. They said they did.

Q. Who said?—A. I heard them in the settlement on the river talking about it.

Q. How many got hurt?—A. Don't know how many.

Q. They called it the Gibson war?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they white folks or colored folks who got hurt?—A. Both.

Q. How many white folks?—A. Don't know.

Q. How many colored?—A. Never heard.

Q. Which of the two had the most hurt?—A. Couldn't tell you.

Q. You never heard anything about that?—A. It has slipped my memory.

Q. What made you go away from Louisiana?—A. I jus' went.

Q. Why did you go to Kausas?—A. I heard them talk that it was a good country up there.

Q. Well, you were in a good country where you were?—A. Yes; I was in a good country.

Q. Didn't you like it at Mr. Foster's?—A. O, yes, sir; I liked it very well.

Q. Why, then, didn't you stay there?—A. I jus' went to Kansas, that's all.

Q. Would you have staid there if your wife had not made you uneasy?—A. I don't think I would.

Q. Why then did you speak of your wife as a reason for your leaving?—A. She was not satisfied and I got dishearted and was not satisfied.

Q. You were neither of you satisfied, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. Which of you was most unhappy?—A. Both.

Q. You were both homesick and wanted to get back home as fast as you could?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you now propose to stay in Louisiana?—A. Yes, sir; as long as I can get a living.

Q. Well, you had better buy you a piece of land now; don't forget that.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. How much did you lose by your Kansas expedition?—A. When I got back to Louisiana, I didn't have but a hundred dollars left.

Q. You lost some six hundred dollars, then, did you?—A. Yes, sir; about that.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 3, 1880.

Col. JAMES FOSTER recalled.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. This man has spoken of the "Gibson war"; will you tell us what that was?—I never heard it called by that name.

Q. It is the riot they speak of about Shreveport?—A. Well, the only thing I know of that is, that about that time one or two white men were killed—they were tied to trees and shot to death; that was above Shreveport.

Q. Do you know their names?—A. I think one of them was a Mr. Ogden, and the other was—Brownley.

Q. Who tied them to trees and shot them to death?—A. The negroes.

Q. What steps were taken by the whites with regard to that?—A. Colonel Jack Wharton was United States marshal—

Q. Is he United States marshal now?—A. No; he was for twelve months.

Q. What are his politics?—A. He is a Republican now, I believe, though he was a violent Democrat at that time. He was instrumental, I think, in fact he was the leader of the white people, the company of white people who went up there and killed several of the negroes—in fact they killed a good many of them, perhaps fifty.

Q. These two young men, what had they done that they were tied up and shot?—A. I do not remember the particulars about it; I had not thought of it for a long time when you asked me about the riot. It was a good while ago; some ten or twelve years, and I have forgotten the circumstances.

Q. Colonel Wharton was leader, was he?—A. Yes, and he was a violent Democrat at that time.

TESTIMONY OF WASHINGTON WALKER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 3, 1880.

WASHINGTON WALKER (colored) sworn and examined.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Now, Walker, tell us where you live?—Answer. I live in Louisiana.

Q. Whereabouts in Louisiana?—A. Bossier Parish.

Q. On whose place?—A. Mr. Foster's.

Q. Have you been to Kansas?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long did you stay there?—A. I staid there near two months.

Q. How did you come to go, Walker?—A. Well, I heard of the good news and thought maybe I could better my case.

Q. Certainly; and you were right to try to do it.—A. When I went there, and after I got there, I didn't find what I heard to be true, as I thought.

Q. Yes.—A. And I returned back.

Q. You did not find what you had heard to come true?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you join in sending a delegate up there to see how it was?—

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he advise you that you could buy land there, or that he had bought it?—Yes, sir.

Q. How did you find that to be when you got there?—A. I found that to be a mistake. I found I could buy land, but not under the terms he had written to us. We could not farm there as he had written to us; there was not a demand to farm.

Q. How did the people up there seem towards you; did they appear as if they wanted some of you to come from the South?—A. Some did and some did not.

Q. What did those say who wanted you to come?—A. Well, they said they were glad to receive us.

Q. What did they do for you?—A. Didn't do nothing for us.

Q. Couldn't you get a place to suit you?—A. No, sir.

Q. What county were you in?—A. In Montgomery County; that is where I remained during the time I was there before I lauded upon a place called Labette County.

Q. And you wanted to rent a place?—A. I intended to buy if I was suited.

Q. And you could not get suited?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you like the climate?—A. I liked the climate, so far as that was concerned, very well.

Q. It was not too cold?—A. No, not at that time; through that period it was very mild everywhere.

Q. Yes, we had a very mild winter. You did not object to the climate so much, then?—A. No, sir.

Q. What did they ask you for land up there?—A. Well, good land there—what they called good, I am not much of a judge of it—they asked twenty, and twenty-five, and thirty dollars an acre for.

Q. Well, then, if you were not fixed to buy, what could you rent land for?—A. For a share of the crop. I could have rented land and furnished everything myself for a third.

Q. And give a third to the landlord do you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you ever planted grain and relied upon that for a crop to make your money out of it?—No, sir.

Q. Had you ever raised wheat or corn?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have always worked in cotton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much did they tell you you could make by renting ground?—A. Well, they said I could raise from fifty to sixty bushels on the acre.

Q. Fifty to sixty bushels to the acre?—A. Yes, that is what they told me. I think there were some disputed that, and said I could only make, on an average, from fifteen to sixteen bushels on good land.

Q. That was nearer right, as an average. Now, how did the colored people that had gone up there with you seem to like it?—A. Who left the same place with me?

Q. Yes.—A. Some of them appeared to like it very well, and there were three families, I believe, that remained, but they didn't appear to be very well satisfied; but they said as they were there they would stay there and try it.

Q. That was three out of the eleven that went off of Mr. Foster's place, was it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they appeared to be dissatisfied?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, now, as between Louisiana as a place for you to live in, on the one hand, and Kansas on the other hand, which would you choose?—A. Louisiana.

Q. Why?—A. Well, I can make a better living there, in Louisiana.

Q. Yes?—A. The climate suits me better there.

Q. Yes; and you can make more money there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you had any trouble to get work and good wages when you wanted to work?—A. No, sir.

Q. Never?—A. Never.

Q. Does any sober, industrious man of your race have any trouble whatever to get work?—A. No, sir; any good laboring hand can get work almost anywhere there.

Q. How long have you worked for Colonel Foster?—A. Nine years the 4th of this last gone March; about the same time I went to Kansas.

Q. How has he always treated you?—A. Very well.

Q. He always kept his word with you?—A. Yes, sir; always kept his word to me.

Q. And paid you your wages?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much money had you received when you went to Kansas? Some seven hundred and fifty dollars, did you say?—A. Yes; it was \$778.

Q. Clean cash?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you a wife and children?—A. Yes.

Q. How much family have you?—A. Five children.

Q. What personal property had you besides that?—A. Well, I had nothing more than that, and two mules and a wagon, one or two cows, and some hogs.

Q. How much did you sink or lose in this expedition to Kansas and back? How much has it cost you to find out that Kansas is not as good a place for you to live in as Louisiana?—A. I lost near about six hundred dollars.

Q. How old are your children, Mr. Walker?—A. There is one of them will be eleven years old the first day of this coming June, I believe.

Q. Do they go to school?—A. No, sir; I failed to school them; I sent my boy, and I have got a girl who will be seven years old on the 19th day of this coming May. I did send them to school a little over two months last summer.

Q. Is there any want of opportunity to send them to school; have you a chance to send them to school if you desired to do so?—A. I have chances a plenty to educate them; they have teachers there.

Q. Are there any teachers there now on Mr. Foster's place?—A. There has been no complaint for them; they could get teachers.

Q. Are you a church member?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have they churches there and church privileges?—A. Yes.

Q. What are your politics; how do you vote?—A. The Republican ticket when I do vote; but I have not voted for several years.

Q. Why have you not voted?—A. Well, I just thought that it looked like it didn't do me much good. I 'came uninclined to vote for President Hayes. I voted for General Grant for both terms he was elected.

Q. Now, Mr. Walker, you will be asked whether you were afraid to vote the Republican ticket?—A. O, no; I wasn't afraid to vote the Republican ticket, at all.

Q. Did anybody ever molest you in voting?—A. No.

Q. Colonel Foster never interfered with your voting, did he?—A. No.

Q. Did anybody else?—A. No, sir.

Q. What do you mean when you say that you thought it did not do you any good to vote?—A. Well, my meaning was that I thought that it seems since we have been voting and voting the Republican ticket that I really thought that they were not true in a good many points.

Q. That is a good reason.—A. That is why I have not voted.

Q. That is right; you thought they were not doing very well as a party for you?—A. I thought so about their promises.

Q. Yes; they did not stand up to their promises?—A. No.

Q. It was not because anybody had ever threatened you or scolded you, or molested you for voting?—A. No; I voted for General Grant.

Q. In 1868 and 1872 I suppose; you voted both times—for Grant and Colfax first, and afterwards for Grant and Wilson—you voted for them both times?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you would have no trouble in voting for anybody you pleased?—A. I don't know sir.

Q. If Grant runs this summer you will be apt to vote for him will you?—A. I think I will.

Q. Colonel Foster is a Democrat I believe; I did not think to ask him.—A. Well, I never asked him his opinion.

Q. He never interferes with his men voting, does he?—A. He has not with me or no one that I have heard of.

Q. Have you ever been to the court-house, Walker?—A. Yes; I was juryman four years ago up in the precinct, up there to Bellevue.

Q. You served on the jury?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. During the term of court?—A. Yes; all through as a regular jury-man.

Q. How many colored men served on the regular panel?—A. I believe twelve.

Q. How many colored men?—A. All twelve; all were colored except one, I think; sometimes the defendant would turn off different men and then there would come in three or four white men.

Q. Suppose one of your people is charged with an offense against the law, some crime or other, are they as a rule afraid to be tried by white men, and do they want to be tried by their own people; how is that?—A. Well, I couldn't answer that question; I really don't know; I was only on the jury there at the time I speak of, and I have never been a round since.

Q. Well, when you were on the jury there you say there were eleven colored men and one white man impaneled; were white men tried before you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had you a white judge on the bench?—A. Yes.

Q. Was the sheriff a white man?—A. Yes.

By Mr. WINDOM:

Q. You expect to go back to Mr. Foster's place to live, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

By the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you write to Colonel Foster to come back?—A. Yes; I wrote him several times.

Q. Did you get a letter from him in reply?—A. I did not stay to receive any letter from him.

Q. You went back, then, before you could get an answer?—A. Yes; I went back as soon as I could.

Q. Did you go right back on your old place?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was your house there, the house that you occupied when you left him?—A. Yes, sir; but it was occupied by somebody else.

Q. Did you go to another house?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you see Colonel Foster about that?—A. No; I just went on and I went to see Mr. Foster about it, but I missed him.

Q. You just found a vacant house and went into it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And when you met him he told you it was all right?—A. Yes, that it was all right; he made no objection.

Q. And you made a satisfactory arrangement with him about the crop for this spring?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM:

Q. Mr. Walker, how long since you have voted; since you voted for General Grant?—A. I haven't voted since I voted for General Grant.

Q. You say you think the Republicans did not stand up to their promises; what do you mean by that? Do you mean that they did not give the protection to the colored people that they promised?—A. Yes; I thought so; that was my reason for so speaking.

Q. You thought that the colored people needed some protection, did you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you think that?—A. Why did I think that?

Q. Yes; you say that they did not fulfill their promises of protection to your people; that the Republicans promised to do so, and did not. Have you ever heard of any bulldozing around that country?—A. Yes.

Q. You have heard something about it?—A. O yes; I have heard a good deal.

Q. What was it, as you understand it? Did the bulldozers commit

acts of outrage on the colored people; and for what did they do it?—A. I couldn't tell; I only know what I heard.

Q. Well, what did you hear?—A. I only know that I heard there was a little disturbment down at Caledonia betwixt the whites and blacks; I never heard it was to prevent them from voting or not.

Q. Did you ever hear what the blacks did about voting that year; they did not vote much that year, did they?—A. No, sir; it raised a general excitement.

Q. How many black people did you hear were killed at Caledonia?—A. I don't know; I have heard it was about four or five hundred, but I don't know how many.

Q. Did that affair at Caledonia create a general terror among your people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was the effect of that terror to prevent them from voting; did they not understand it was something about politics, and because they wanted to vote the Radical ticket?—A. Yes; that was the understanding among them.

Q. And the effect of this bulldozing at Caledonia was to prevent them from voting?—A. I heard some of them say that, but it was not as I know.

Q. Was there not among your acquaintances and friends a fear to vote on account of that?—A. A fear to vote?

Q. Yes; a fear to vote because that riot at Caledonia had been gotten up, and a great many of them had been killed, on account of political matters?—A. Yes; I suppose so.

Q. You spoke of land in Montgomery County, Kansas, being twenty, and twenty-five, and thirty dollars an acre; was not that land located near the town?—A. In some places it was near the town, two or three miles.

Q. Could you not get lands some eight or ten miles from town for five or ten dollars an acre?—A. Yes; I suppose so.

Q. You got into a very dry part of the country, perhaps. Let me see; Montgomery County is the third among the lower tier of counties in the southeast corner of the State; what do they raise in that part of Kansas, wheat and corn?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say you could have got lands at five or ten dollars a little distance from the town?—A. Yes.

Q. You did not dislike Kansas except that it did not suit you, and that you did not think you would be so successful there as in Louisiana?—A. I didn't think I understood that kind of farming.

Q. Was your family healthy while you were there?—A. Yes, sir; only except it was cold and chilly sometimes.

Q. Did the people treat you kindly as a general thing?—A. Yes, they treated me very well; at least my money carried me through.

Q. Yes; you had money enough to get there, and to support you while you were there?

TESTIMONY OF GILBERT MYERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 3, 1880.*

GILBERT MYERS (colored) sworn and examined:

By the CHAIRMAN:

Question. Mr. Myers, where do you live?—Answer. In the State of Louisiana.

Q. Whereabouts in Louisiana?—A. Caddo Parish.

Q. On what plantation?—A. A place of my own.

Q. You live upon a place that you own?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you lived there?—A. I have been living on the place, sir, ten years last Christmas; but I have only owned it—it has been six years since I bought that place.

Q. Are you a native of Louisiana?—A. No, sir; I was bred and born and raised in Georgia.

Q. How long has it been since you came to Louisiana?—A. I came to Louisiana the first year of the war.

Q. And on the place where you have lived ten years?—A. Yes, sir; I have lived ten years on that place.

Q. How far is it from Shreveport?—A. We call it twenty-one miles.

Q. How much real estate have you, Mr. Myers?—A. I have between five and six hundred acres of land, six head of mules, one little old chunk of a pony, about seventy-five head of cattle, and I reckon seventy-five to eighty head of hogs; somewheres close to that.

Q. When did you buy five or six hundred acres of land in Caddo Parish?—A. I bought my first purchase five years ago of two hundred and eighty acres; that was my first purchase. Last June I bought one hundred and sixty acres more. Last January past I bought one hundred and twelve acres more.

Q. How much does that land stand you per acre?—A. For the first purchase of two hundred and eighty acres I paid ten dollars an acre; for the second purchase I paid five dollars an acre; and the last purchase of one hundred and twelve acres, I paid three dollars an acre for it, sir.

Q. What kind of land is it; cotton land?—A. Yes, sir, cotton land; the hill land and a little on the creek bottom, &c.

Q. You cultivate cotton?—A. Yes.

Q. And hire help?—A. No, sir, I don't hire no help; I work my own children.

Q. What help have you in that way?—A. I have got a good many children; I have two sons living with me, both grown, and their families, and the balance of them; the younger part of them are females.

Q. Were you a free man before the war?—A. No, sir; I never was free till the 'mancipation.

Q. Did you have anything in the way of property when the war closed?—A. No, sir; I didn't have two bits to save my life.

Q. And you have accumulated enough to get five or six hundred acres of land and horses, and nearly one hundred head of cattle, &c.?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Could any other sober, industrious, intelligent colored man do the same if he were to try as hard as you have?—A. Yes. There is a good many in my neighborhood right around me; there is a colored settlement around me doing very well. They have bought land and paid for it.

Q. How many of your neighbors have bought land and paid for it?—A. Right in my own neighborhood some dozen of us right around within five or six miles square, have.

Q. Do any of them own as much as you do?—A. No; I don't think any of them own as much as I do.

Q. How much do you estimate yours to be worth over your debts today, Mr. Myers?—A. I cannot tell you that exactly; I don't know how about the value of property, but so far as debts are concerned, I don't owe a dime in the world; what I have got I paid for and it is mine.

Q. That is a comfortable position for any one to be in.

Mr. BLAIR. Yes; that is happiness below.

By the CHAIRMAN :

Q. Well, would you put an estimate upon your property?—A. I don't know as I could.

Q. Suppose you were qualifying to go on a man's bond, how much would you say your property was worth?—A. I don't know. I always estimate my property at a low profit, because a man increases so slow from it; I hardly could give you an estimate.

Q. Well, your land and personal property that you have spoken of are worth some ten thousand dollars?—A. Probably it is eight or ten thousand dollars.

Q. And you have put a low estimate on it?—A. Yes; I have estimated it low.

Q. Now, Mr. Myers, let me ask how old a man you are?—A. I was fifty-five years old on the 21st of last December past, sir.

Q. And you have raised a large family?—A. Yes; thirteen children; two boys and the balance girls.

Q. And you were a bondman until the war closed?—A. Yes, sir; until I was emancipated.

Q. And you had nothing at all then?—A. No, sir; I had not a thing; didn't own anything at all.

Q. Did you vote?—A. Yes, sir; I voted at every election since they broke up, except one or two, I think.

Q. What ticket did you vote?—A. I have voted both tickets, sir.

Q. Why have you voted both tickets?—A. Well, the first ticket I casted after the break up I voted for the new constitution.

Q. Well, who was on the ticket for the new constitution; what party was it?—A. The Republicans then.

Q. So you voted with the Republicans for the new constitution?—A. Yes, sir; with the Republicans.

Q. And when you voted with the Democrats was it because you liked the men best who were on their tickets?—A. No, sir; it was because I sympathized with my own self, knowing that I expected to stay with them to make property if I could, and the South had always been kind to me. My master that I lived with I nursed him and slept at his mother's feet and nursed at her breast, so I thought my interest was to stay with the majority of the country whom I expected to prosper with.

Q. Did you think the Democratic party in Louisiana would make a better government for the tax payers of the State?—A. I didn't take notice at that time, because I didn't own much; I simply thought I I would own property if I used my exertion that I expected to use, and I just thought this: if I live with a man in the same house, and me and him can't agree, why I could not prosper, for one of us would have to fall.

Q. You live in Caddo Parish?—A. Yes.

Q. In your neighborhood what percentage of white and colored people is there?—A. We get along very well, sir.

Q. That is not what I mean; I want to ask you which have the most there, the blacks or the whites—which number the most?—A. The most people do you mean?

Q. Yes.—A. O, there are more colored people than whites; a good many more.

Q. The colored people largely outnumber the whites?—A. Yes, sir; a good many more.

Q. Mr. Myers, have you ever had any trouble yourself about voting ?
—A. Never in my life, sir.

Q. How about your neighbors ?—A. In my precinct—ward number three—we have never had any trouble in that ward about voting.

Q. How do your colored neighbors vote ?—A. They vote with the party which hangs together.

Q. Do they vote the Republican ticket ?—A. Some take a little fly-off and then go back again—first one and then another.

Q. But they generally go pretty well together, do they ?—A. Yes, sir ; pretty generally.

Q. And they are people of property, too ?—A. Yes, sir ; some of them have property.

Q. How about the courts ? You have a property interest, and have been to the courts a good deal ?—A. No, sir ; I stay just as far away from the courts and law as I possibly can.

Q. I suppose, then, you have never been sued in your life ?—A. No, sir ; I have never been sued.

Q. And you never sued anybody ?—A. Never.

Q. Have you ever been on any of the juries ?—A. No, sir ; I never was on no jury.

Q. How far is the county seat of your parish from you ?—A. It is about twenty-one miles.

Q. So you are a good way off ?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you think there is any reason why the colored people, so far as your knowledge extends, will have to leave Louisiana, in order to make a good living ?—A. No, sir ; I can't see why they should leave Louisiana ; I have talked with them, and to tell you the truth no person has gone out of our neighborhood, except one family that has gone to Kansas ; I never saw one, except the one I met up with the crowd at Saint Louis ; we talked about it down in our neighborhood, and we asked them the reason for wanting to go, and some say it is best for them to go and give one reason and another, but I pay no attention to it.

Q. You have had no education yourself, have you ?—A. No, sir ; not a school education.

Q. How is it with your children ; have you given them an education ?—A. Yes, I have ; all my children of any size can read and write very well, and they are still going.

Q. You never had any trouble then about education in your neighborhood ?—A. True enough I never had much advantages in the public schools ; it was a little inconvenient where I lived and my children did go two seasons to public schools but the balance of the time to private schools, as I preferred them.

Q. You say you prefer the private schools to the public schools ?—A. Yes ; in our neighborhood we have made up a society there that we generally prefer a private school with us, and we have not had but one or two sessions of public schools right around us where we live, but there has been several around, but they are not very convenient.

Q. And in that way you have schooled all your children ?—A. Yes ; I am going to school my children if I have to eat bread and water, and I have done it from the muscle of my own arm.

Q. Are you a church man ?—A. Yes.

Q. What church do you belong to ?—A. To the Missionary Baptist Church.

Q. Is there any interference with religious exercises or rights of the colored people in that part of the State ?—A. None that I know of.

Q. Did you ever hear of any ?—A. We did have a little scrape of that

sort, I believe, about two or three years ago, but we turned it over to the civil court, and we received full satisfaction. That is all the trouble we ever had, and we have a large body of members belongs to the church I belong to, near five hundred.

Q. And you select your own ministers ?—A. Yes, sir.

Cross-examination of witness by Mr. WINDOM :

Q. You say you voted both tickets ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long has it been since you voted the Republican ticket ?—A. I never voted but once, and that was for the new constitution.

Q. About what time was that ?—A. I could go back and tell you, but I can't think exactly when it was.

Q. Well, about how many years was it ; was it eight, or ten, or twelve years ?—A. Yes ; I guess about that long.

Q. And you thought you could get along better with your neighbors by voting the ticket they did ?—A. Yes ; I was living with them, and if the majority went one way, and I expected to stay and prosper with them, I thought I would go with the majority.

Q. If all the colored people voted as the white Democrats wanted them to vote, you would have no trouble, would you ?—A. No ; not a bit of trouble.

Q. Where you are, you say, you have had no trouble ?—A. Where I am, we have had no trouble at all.

Q. Of course you have none ; some of your neighbors, too, own property, and to prevent disturbance and to have everything peaceful they vote the Democratic ticket, don't they ?—A. I have never taken no part in politics.

Q. You have, I see, an idea of making money, and, therefore, you have thought it best to vote the Democratic ticket ?—A. As I told you, my reason for voting was that the majority of the country where I lived in and where I expected to stay, I agreed with them and voted as they did, for, of course, if I didn't agree with them, I could not expect to accumulate property and live with satisfaction.

Q. Do you think that is the way in the country generally, that a man must vote as the majority does in order to accumulate property ?—A. Well, I feel that every man ought to feel an interest to support his own house to the best of his ability.

Q. But you think that under a republican government and in a free country, unless a man votes as the majority want him to vote, he cannot accumulate property and get along well, do you ?—A. I did take a little oversight of some things on the Republican ticket that didn't exactly suit me.

Q. Tell me how this bulldozing business, this shooting and whipping of the colored race down there is done, and why it is done ?—A. I will in a minute. I heard them get up and speak, both parties, and the Republican party always put in their speaking that, if you don't vote the Republican ticket that you could not be a free man ; I thought then that is rather binding ; I thought better, that I would take my chances and have the choice to let me go the other way. If my way carried me into slavery I thought it was my loss.

Q. What do you think about the bulldozing operations around in the various parts of the State in which your race have been shot, and run away, and so forth, in order to make them vote the Democratic ticket, if they would vote at all ; what do you think of that ?—A. I hardly know what to think. I have heard of these things ; I have never seen none of them myself.

Q. Did you ever hear anything of the riot at Caledonia?—A. Yes.

Q. How many of your race were killed in that riot?—A. I cannot tell you to save my life; I don't take the papers.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You don't take the papers?—A. No, sir; I don't take no papers at all.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. But didn't you hear that a great many were killed in that riot at Caledonia?—A. O, yes; I heard at one time that a great number was killed, and another time it was reduced.

Q. Did you hear that any white people were killed?—A. No, sir; I never heard that no white people was killed there.

Q. How many voted the Democratic ticket?—A. I cannot tell you at all; I never heard.

Q. Do they vote the Democratic ticket around you? I mean the colored people?—A. Yes; some of them does vote both tickets. I have got a neighbor where I live and he votes the Republican ticket.

Q. Is it not true that the colored men of property in your neighborhood vote the Republican ticket?—A. My door neighbor never voted any ticket but the Republican ticket, and he owns a good deal of property.

Q. And they never bulldozed your neighbor?—A. No, sir; he is quite a peaceable neighbor, I have heard about some bulldozing, but I never seen any.

Q. But you have heard that these things were going on in your State?—A. O, yes; I hear heaps of things.

Q. Isn't it your opinion that the larger proportion of colored people in your parish are Republicans?—A. Well, I don't know, sir; I could not say.

Q. I guess you don't know much about politics, Mr. Myers?—A. No, sir; not much; very little about politics.

Q. The fact is you make your politics bend to your business, and to your own best interests?—A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. And you think it is safer for yourself and property to vote with the majority?—A. Yes. I believe in taking care of the house where I lives in.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. You say that you were a slave at one time?—A. I am free now.

Q. Yes, I suppose so. Do you know how it happens that while you were once a slave you are now free?—A. No; I have taken several tickets.

Q. Do you think that the Republican party or the Democratic party had anything to do with the question of your freedom?—A. I don't know.

Q. Which do you think most of, your freedom or your property?—A. I think a good deal of both.

Q. Well, which do you think most of?—A. Well, if I had to get shet of either of them, I would rather have my property.

Q. Did you never think that if you had not been made free you could not have had any property?—A. Of course I would have not owned any property then.

Q. No; and you would have been a slave to-day. Of course we cannot study this matter philosophically here; but Mr. Myers, suppose you look that up a little when you get home and see how it has happened that

whereas you were once a slave you are now free and have accumulated some property in consequence of your being free ?—A. Yes, sir; that is all correct.

Mr. BLAIR. Yes; I think it is correct.

By Mr. WINDOM :

Q. Do you think it was these Democratic neighbors that make up the majority around you that made you free ?—A. I don't know, sir; I know I am free. I don't know if it was intended by God for me to be free or to belong to individuals.

Q. Did you ever suspect that it was your Democratic neighbors that made you free ?—A. I never expected to be free when I grew up.

Q. Did you ever suspect that it was your Democratic neighbors that made you free ?—A. I don't know who it was.

Q. Did you never have any suspicions on that subject ?—A. Don't know whether I did.

By Mr. BLAIR :

Q. God works through instruments, you think, and you seem to be a very religious man and have intimated as much; you think that whatever God does he does through some instrumentality ?—A. I reckon he does.

Q. And some instrumentality was used by God to make you free, was there not ?—A. I suppose so.

Q. And you think that instrumentality was the Democratic party ?—A. I don't know, sir; can't say that it was.

Q. Both parties you think, perhaps ?—A. I don't know which it was.

The CHAIRMAN. You think, Mr. Myers, that it is better for a man that has a good deal of property like yourself, and owes no debts, and has a good home, in order to advance the prosperity of himself and his children after him, should have a good government and vote the Democratic ticket. That is all.

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